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THE
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APRIL, 1836.

N^o. CXXVII.

ART. I.—*Histoire de la Réforme, de la Ligue, et du Regne de Henri IV.* Par M. CAPEFIGUE. 8 tom. 12mo. Bruxelles: 1834-35.

WE do not find that this work enjoys much reputation in France, and in many respects we have but an indifferent opinion of its merits. But as the historical views it contains are at variance with those given by authors whom the public has been accustomed to respect, we trust some remarks upon it will not be unacceptable to our readers.

In writing a history of the League it has been the object of M. Capefigue to exhibit a picture of the opinions and character of the age in which it occurred. He has for that purpose accumulated passages from the pamphlets, discourses, letters, journals, satires, and ballads of the times. He boasts of having examined with care the chief collections of manuscripts in the libraries of France. He has made copious extracts from the municipal books of the Hôtel de Ville at Paris, and borrowed occasionally from the private diaries of individuals who took a lively interest or active part in affairs. He has ransacked the archives of Simancas, and abstracted from the letters and memorials that passed between Philip II. and his agents abroad, whatever could throw light on the negotiations and intrigues of the Spanish Cabinet in foreign countries. He has published in his text the materials from which other historians have drawn their narratives.

It cannot be denied that he has added to our stock of historical information. But it must also be admitted that many of the pieces he has inserted are of inconsiderable value when compared with their length and tediousness. The endless repetition of insignificant orders from the Hôtel de Ville, and the circumstantial, but often incorrect reports of proceedings transmitted from one town to another, might have been spared us, or at least banished to an appendix. The truth seems to be, that, like many recent authors of his own country, he has been seduced by the success of Sir Walter Scott into a vain attempt to revive the passions and feelings of the middle ages, by minute and circumstantial details from contemporary writers who witnessed and participated in the scenes they describe. But, wanting the judgment and discretion of that great master in his art, M. Capefigue, instead of enlivening his narrative by the fruits of his studies, fatigues and wearies us with diffuse and tiresome descriptions of shows, mummeries, exhibitions, banquets, collations, and balls—with bells ringing, banners floating, and colours flying in all directions—with honourable mention of the crimson velvet caps and embroidered vestments worn on these occasions; and tedious descriptions of the dresses and decorations of the ladies and gentlemen, and of the accoutrements even of the horses and mules. Mingled with these details we have long and minute accounts of splendid feasts served in gold, with delectable wines and viands prepared for the guests, and money and sugar-plums scattered among the populace. In addition to these amusing and instructive particulars, we have long processions of municipal officers, from the provost to the beadle, and enumerations of all the trades in Paris, from the draper and grocer to the scavenger. In the abundance of his zeal for original information, M. Capefigue favours us with whole pages of orders issued, from day to day, to the train-bands and militia of Paris, which are not more edifying or entertaining than a series of regimental orders regulating the movements of the guard-room.

But it is not of these useless and wearisome details that we chiefly complain. History has been called philosophy teaching by example. It has been described as an impartial tribunal before which men are summoned after death, and acquitted or condemned according to their merits. Its object is said to be the improvement of mankind in wisdom and virtue, and to teach them how to conduct themselves well in all the relations of life. If the historian palliates vice or cruelty—if, not content with tracing and explaining the causes, he vindicates the excesses of error and ignorance, he fails in the duty he has contracted to society by assuming that character. Such is not the view which M. Cape-

figure seems to have taken of the duties of an historian. He must forgive us for saying that his work appears to us to bear the same relation to genuine history which the modern French drama does to the ancient. He has not the vivid imagination of Victor Hugo, but he is a labourer in the same vineyard. He relates acts of perfidy and atrocity without an expression of moral disapprobation; and selects for the object of our sympathy the criminal in place of the victim. Instead of entitling his book a 'History of the Reformation, of the League, and of the Reign of Henry IV.,' he ought to have called it an apology for the crimes of fanaticism, mingled with sarcasms against the wise and good-dreamers and visionaries—who, in times of popular effervescence, seek to moderate the violence of passion and bring back the multitude to a sense of justice and humanity. He is or assumes the character of a furious Leaguer. Without seeming to participate in any of the opinions of the League, he applauds its violence, and blames those who attempted prematurely to check its course. According to the philosophy he inculcates, the masses, when once inflamed, are not to be resisted. They must be suffered to commit massacres without opposition till they desist from lassitude. Attempts to resist them in their fury are the miserable efforts of vain, presumptuous men, ignorant of the strong convictions and violent passions that surround them.

Such appear to us to be the spirit and purport of M. Capefigue's book, and he judges of characters in accordance with his system. Violence, though accompanied with fraud, never fails to obtain his praise, nor moderation to incur his censure. He despises Sixtus V. for his timidity and hesitation in refusing his adhesion to the League, but applauds his legate Cajetano, who exceeded, or rather acted in violation of his instructions;—that is to say, who betrayed in support of the League the authority that employed him. He treats the Chancellor de l'Hôpital with contempt, as a man without sense or courage, who was continually attempting some wretched compromise between two adverse parties that sought each other's destruction. He derides Coligny as a weak, credulous old man—the most paltry character of his time—besotted and deceived by the blandishments and professions of the court, and by his obstinacy and blindness exposing his party to extermination. On the other hand, he regards Catherine of Medicis with admiration, and lauds Philip II. as the greatest of men.

There is no indication in M. Capefigue's work of any warm and sincere, though misdirected feelings of devotion. He avows, indeed, in one passage of his book, that the warmth he manifests on other occasions is not real, but assumed in order to give greater

effect to the scenes he describes.* He speaks at times with complacency of the progress of the Reformation; and even expresses no strong repugnance to what he calls the philosophical doctrines of Servetus. He considers them, on the contrary, as rational and profound opinions, divested of every thing mystical and unintelligible,—unfitted for the age of religious fervour to which they were first addressed,—but pregnant with great results, and destined to be the inevitable term at which the Reformation must arrive. But though apparently indifferent to the dogmas of the Catholic church, he is not the less indignant against those who called them in question. He is a ‘conservative’ in the worst sense of the word. Whether changes be for good or evil, he is averse to them, because they are changes. He is a blind admirer of every thing ancient. His heart is not touched by religious feeling, but his imagination fires at the recollection of the venerable cathedral, with its holy bishops, its lofty spires, its glass of celestial blue, its altars, images, and relics. Even its sacred vestments and consecrated banners, bespangled with gold and fragrant with incense, fill him with enthusiasm. His delight is to recall the times when pious trades and fraternities walked on stated days, in solemn procession; invoking with equal ardour their patron saint and the charter of their privileges—when legates roamed over Christendom with a suppliant generation on its knees before them—and, above all, when the Pope, the centre of unity and order, governed and directed all things by scraps of paper from the Vatican. He laments even the anathemas of the clergy, and sighs at the recollection of a barefooted friar mounted on a pillar in the market-place, or kneeling before a crucifix in the Place de Grève, exhorting and exciting the multitude to the persecution and extermination of heretics. For these venerable legacies of antiquity, whatever crimes or atrocities might be perpetrated, they seem to him justifiable acts, deserving of praise rather than of censure.

He is cured, and so, he boasts, is the age in which he lives, of the frigid philosophy of the eighteenth century, with its sceptical doubts, its cold dissertations, its virulent disdain, its malignant contempt of the past. Surrounded by magnificent ruins, *we* (for he and his age are one) no longer despise the hands that reared them, or imagine that before *us* there was nothing but barbarism and abuse. *We* have left the Encyclopedists far behind—put aside the Voltaires, the Dupuys, and the Volneys—and reached at length the goal of profound and impartial investigation.

That the philosophical school of the eighteenth century, as the unphilosophical school of the present day has been pleased to term it, in its zeal against superstition, bigotry, and intolerance, underrated the benefits which the Catholic church at one time conferred on the world, is not to be denied. It was the Catholic church which communicated to the northern barbarians the first germs of letters and civilisation; and for many ages it was the great bond of union among the different nations established on the ruins of the empire. The superstition it inculcated, among many evils it introduced, had the merit of imposing a moral restraint on the licentious ferocity and unbridled rapacity of the powerful. But such advantages as an ignorant superstition could afford had ceased to be wanted before the era of the Reformation. The house was built, and the scaffolding that had helped to raise it remained only to offend the eye as an inconvenient and unsightly incumbrance. Freedom of enquiry, which the church repudiated, was necessary for the further progress of human society. We may displease M. Capefigue, but we must confess that, with M. Charles Villiers, we regard the Reformation with its fruits as the greatest blessing bestowed for ages on mankind.

M. Capefigue agrees with us in thinking that a revolution in religion was inevitable; and he seems even to admit that in its consequences it has been salutary. But in apportioning his praise and censure among the actors in the great historical drama he attempts to delineate, he uniformly sides with the party most opposed to innovation; and, strange as it may appear, epithets are the weapons he employs to infuse his sentiments into the incautious minds of his readers. They serve him, as they do many popular preachers, in the place of arguments and facts. The great and good Catholic party is the eternal theme of his song. No sooner has a town been stained by the massacre of its Protestant inhabitants than it receives in his pages the appellation of the holy and pious city; and if one of its magistrates treacherously stabs with his own hand a brother magistrate, whose only crime was an unwillingness to join the League, the assassin instantly becomes the brave consul, the intrepid champion of the holy union. If the halls, trades, and fraternities of Paris break forth into acts of cruelty and rebellion, they are described as high-minded bodies acting under a lofty Catholic impulse. When the Catholics violated the first edict of toleration by the massacre of Vassy, and, to secure impunity for the act, arrested the royal family and carried them by force from Fontainebleau to Paris, M. Capefigue coolly observes that they could no longer endure the taunts of a talking, turbulent minority; and when he publishes the secret bond of the triumvirate (Guise, Montmorency, and St

André), by which they engaged to extirpate the Protestant religion, to spare no one in France who had ever embraced its tenets, and to leave no Bourbon alive, that there might be none of the family to avenge the rest, he exalts it into a vast European treaty. On the other hand, whenever the Huguenots are mentioned, the most contumelious and disparaging epithets are applied to them. When they ask for justice and insist on a faithful execution of treaties, they are insolent and imperious. When they accept favours from the court, they are rapacious. When they express distrust, it is not from their experience of former perfidy, but from the consciousness of their own weakness. Their ministers are stigmatized as coarse and rustic preachers—their chivalry degraded into a rude, provincial gentry, with no merit but hardihood—and their chief ridiculed as a poor, beggarly gentleman, as unlucky in his mistresses as in his wife—scorned and cheated by both—not fit to be placed in comparison with the high and mighty family of Lorraine. Very differently does he speak of the Duke of Guise—the Machabeus of the church, the martyr of Catholicism, the personification of the religious and municipal principle, so near placing the crown of France on his own head, with a Catholic glory around it.

Catholicism, according to M. Capefigue, was the life and soul of the middle ages, the bond and animating spirit of society. The unity of religious faith was the basis and principle of government, and every opposition to it was an act of rebellion. To this idea he continually reverts—more especially when he is about to extenuate any atrocities perpetrated by the adherents of the ancient faith. He prepares his readers for the St Bartholomew by reminding them that Catholicism was at that time the foundation of society. In these circumstances, he observes, men of ardent minds naturally regarded every departure from religious unity as rebellion against the social order in which they lived; and in that conviction considered all means of resistance to the innovators as justifiable in the sight of God and man. Those who appeared to take the lead were pushed forward by the multitude behind them. They seemed to direct, but were governed by an influence over which they had no control. In every social crisis, political as well as religious, there is an overruling, invincible necessity, which it is in vain to resist. The man who places himself in the centre of an opinion must submit to its power, and adopt not only its interests, but even its caprices, however atrocious.

Philip II. is the high and almost mystical object of M. Capefigue's adoration. He calls that gloomy, unrelenting tyrant the type or personification of the Catholic principle, and seems to regard him as the spirit of Catholicism incarnate. He knows no

character more complete in all its parts, more in harmony with the high Catholic impulse. Erect in the midst of a society that was crumbling to pieces under the reform, Philip was the great conservative power, the armed pontiff, invoking on all sides the force of society against the disturbing causes that threatened its dissolution. Vulgar minds see in him nothing but inordinate ambition. They are mistaken. He had higher aspirations. He had created for himself a mission,—a great and predominant thought which absorbed every other passion. Living at a time when assassination was a common expedient, an ordinary resource of men in authority, he placed himself at the height of that opinion; and from the elevation he had taken, held out offers of gold and distinction to any man who was able to accomplish the murder of the Prince of Orange. Why should he not? Was not the accursed heretic excommunicated by his holiness, and was not that sentence an interdiction of fire and water, an exclusion from the protection of society? So enamoured is M. Capefigue of his favourite hero, that he calls the sacrifice of Don Carlos a concession to the unity and stability of the Catholic faith; and, though he owns it to have been a cruel deed, he considers it an additional claim to the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

The invincible perseverance of Philip II.—his obstinacy, which made light of obstacles—his dogmatism, which admitted of no shades in conviction—his laborious and indefatigable activity—his policy extending to every part of the world—spies in every corner of Europe—special agents bustling in all directions—the monks and friars of every convent acting as secret and devoted auxiliaries—the ministers and counsellors of every sovereign assailed or corrupted with bribes—letters to the discontented in every country—despatches from the Escorial, corrected by his own hand—fill M. Capefigue with admiration and astonishment. But, if we ask what were the results of this prodigious activity, the answer must be a long catalogue of negative successes. The loss of Holland—the discomfiture of his invincible armada—the failure of all his schemes in France—the exhaustion without fruit of his immense resources—the impoverishment of his kingdom—the degradation, moral and intellectual, of all who had the misfortune to live under his sway. Spain has not yet recovered from the retrograde impulse communicated to her by Philip II.

Attached, as M. Capefigue shows himself on every occasion, to the noble house of Valois, he forgives Philip II. for the duplicity of his intercourse with Henry III. and his mother. If he carried on a friendly correspondence with them as his near and dear relations, whilst he was secretly plotting with the Duke of Guise to

subvert their authority in France, it was the Catholic unity that governed his mind. He saw in the slothfulness and indecision of Henry III. an obstacle to his great design, and was determined to remove it; and for that purpose gave him, in the character of a friend, advice which he intended should lead him to destruction.* After the death of the Duke of Guise he dissembled for a time, but his real sentiments are disclosed in the despatch of his ambassador from Paris, who sent him a letter of congratulation on the murder of Henry III.—an event in which was visibly to be seen the hand of the Almighty.

Next to Philip II., but separated from him by an immense interval, Catherine of Medicis is the great object of M. Capefigue's admiration. Unjustly depreciated by the philosophical school of the eighteenth century, he regards her as the most imposing figure in the portion of French history he has undertaken to illustrate. To raise her in our estimation, he places her on a level with Louis XI., to whom, he pretends, she had many points of resemblance;—the same dexterity and adroitness in eluding or postponing difficulties—the same unwearied ambition—the same political disquietudes—the same restless understanding—and, above all, the same contempt for all around her. That she was equally false—equally perfidious—equally indifferent to every moral, and equally destitute of every humane feeling, where her interest, her ambition, or even her convenience was concerned, may be admitted. That her difficulties, like his, were frequently occasioned by the tortuous course she chose unnecessarily to pursue, may be true. But in what constitutes the highest merit, in the school of morality admired by both,—the ultimate success of her machinations—she was vastly his inferior. Louis left a minor to succeed him, the absolute master of France. Catherine presided, it is true, over three turbulent reigns; but when she died, one half of the kingdom was in arms against her son. She was active, intriguing, and insinuating, but destitute of steadiness in her conduct, and incapable of perseverance even in her favourite schemes. When she had nearly accomplished the ruin of the Huguenots by the massacre of St Bartholomew, she abandoned the fruits of her crime, by leaving them in possession of Rochelle, in order to place her son on the throne of Poland, from which, in a few months, he fled with ignominy and disgrace. Without foresight, and yielding to some immediate pressure, she made peace or engaged in war—without ability to preserve the one or means to carry on the other with success. Conceit in her

own dexterity and management involved her in a multitude of difficult negotiations, in which she scrupled at no concessions to obtain the immediate point she had in view, without regard to the consequences that might follow. Unable to comprehend the value of a direct and straightforward course, she was insincere in her language, and oblique in her conduct. Huguenot or Catholic, as it suited her interest, she deceived and disappointed both; and yielding by turns to every party, she lost at length the confidence and respect of all.

If we were to judge from M. Capcfigue's book, we should say that the standard of historical morality in France had been greatly lowered since the days of Thuanus, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. We look in vain through his pages for any sympathy with the unfortunate, however innocent. We meet with no generous indignation against the persecutor and oppressor, however guilty. If he can dazzle our imagination with vivid descriptions, or give a direction to our feelings by epithets appropriated to the impression he desires to make, he is content. If he ever deviates into compassion, it is when some atrocious criminal is brought to punishment. When the Duke of Mayenne put to death the ruffians who had murdered the President de Brisson and other counsellors, he laments the proscription of such stout hands and bold hearts, and every now and then sheds a tear for the great popular leaders that perished on that occasion.* When the city of Paris is rescued from its fanatical chiefs, he cannot take leave of its bloody municipality without a pang.

It is curious to observe how accidental coincidences confound and obliterate his perceptions of right and wrong. Because monks and friars fought at Saragossa against the invaders of their country, he sees no blame in the monks and friars who took up arms at Paris, for no other reason than that they were not allowed to burn or banish their countrymen who differed from them in religious opinions.

He frequently invites a comparison between the Catholic League and the Revolution of 1789. Both were disgraced, we confess, by cruelties and excesses. But there is a difference between them which has escaped his penetration. The ends they proposed were different. The object of the League was to exterminate or expel from France all who had embraced a different faith from the Catholic. The object of the Revolution of 1789 was to establish religious liberty and civil equality in their fullest extent; and to give to the French people security for good and just

* VI. 66; VII. 3, 111.

government in all times to come. We put aside the speculative doctrines maintained in either of these revolutions, as well as the farcical exhibitions that disfigured both. The avowed purpose of the one was persecution : the declared object of the other was justice. Similar events in both may have followed in the same course. Men from the same classes in society may have taken part in both. But such points of resemblance no more identify these two popular movements, than the fact that they happened to come from the same village, identifies the soldier who defends, with the traitor who betrays his country.

Of the notions he entertains of political wisdom we shall give only the following instance. After relating the murder of the Duke of Guise at Blois, he is at pains to assure us, that the purpose of the King in that assassination was not to restore peace to France, by giving liberty of conscience to the Huguenots, but to substitute himself as head of the Catholic party, in place of the Duke of Guise. He adds, with the greatest coolness, ' il se ' trompa dans ses calculs, mais sa pensée était politique.'

He is not only conservative in his attachment to every thing that exists or has ever existed, but averse to every exertion of the understanding that can expose established institutions to any danger. He calls the spirit of free enquiry introduced by Luther a sad though noble principle, which saps and undermines every thing elevated that cannot be justified in the eyes of reason, and has no respect for errors or abuses consecrated by time. Catholicism, royalty, and legitimacy, he laments, have fallen under its influence. It is now attacking government and the right of property. Nothing, he adds, can avert the unsparing destiny which pursues nations that have once abandoned conservative principles. But he consoles himself with the reflection, that, though shipwrecked in recent storms, these principles are still engraved in the hearts and superior reason of the few who have eyes for futurity.

The professed object of M. Capefigue's book, is to abate the virulence and assuage the violence of political animosities. But how does he pursue—how does he attempt to carry into effect that benevolent intention? He espouses with warmth the most bloody of the contending parties that took part in the theological warfare of the sixteenth century. He endeavours to warm the imagination and to rouse the passions in its favour. He insults and depreciates its opponents. He finds an excuse for its leaders in the necessities of their situation—in the popular movement that surrounded and hurried them along. When the wise and moderate attempted to check the fury of the fanatical multitude, he stigmatizes them, in the language of the times, as men of

lukewarm consciences, without energy of character, more accursed than the Huguenots themselves, who did nothing but divide the party of the league, and weaken the great masses that mustered round the Duke of Guise. When he relates the carnage of St Bartholomew, he might be mistaken for Marat or Tallien giving an account of the massacres of September; and, when he speaks of the victims, he reminds us of the expression of Barnave, in a moment of criminal exaltation, ‘*le sang qui coulait, était-il donc si pur ?*’

M. Capefigue divides his history into three periods. In the first, he describes the violent shock given by the Reformation to the opinions, feelings, and habits of the Christian world. He then proceeds to the resistance or reaction in France to the new opinions promulgated by the Reformers. He concludes with an account of the compromise or adjustment effected by Henry IV. between the two parties, after the ardour of both had been worn out and exhausted by the civil wars. He represents these three periods of *action*, *reaction*, and *transaction*, as necessary consequences of the principle of free enquiry introduced by Luther into the midst of a society constituted on the basis of the Catholic Church. He forgets that the succession he describes was, in a great measure, peculiar to France, or was at least marked by stronger features in that kingdom than in any other part of Christendom; and that it is therefore to be explained, not by general causes, but by particular circumstances in the state and government of France.

For some time before the Reformation, there had been a slackness of religious fervour throughout Christendom. There was no tendency to scepticism or infidelity; but much apathy and indifference on questions purely theological. The ancient heresies that afflicted the Church were sunk in oblivion, or had ceased to attract attention. A taste for letters and for the arts had succeeded to these unprofitable exercises of the understanding. Men of inquisitive minds were engaged in the study of ancient literature; and those of a disputatious turn found ample materials for controversy in settling the respective merits of Aristotle and Plato. Sometimes an indiscreet disputant made his appearance, who questioned some dogma hallowed by the Church; but such acts of imprudence arose more from the wantonness of literary discussion, than from serious or rooted conviction; and therefore yielded without resistance to the first admonitions from authority. Implicit submission to the decrees of the Church was an article of duty among the learned as well as the illiterate. The uneducated vulgar acquiesced without doubt or hesitation in the doctrines delivered by their teachers, and submitted with pious and

credulous respect to all the duties and observances they were called upon to perform. If the Church had lost somewhat of the reverence it formerly inspired, and no longer possessed the influence it once enjoyed over the minds of its votaries, its doctrines had not been impugned nor its authority contested. A succession of profligate, ambitious, and licentious pontiffs had indeed lowered the character of the Papacy, and revived the pretensions of the bishops and doctors of the Church. The wealth, arrogance, and luxury of the higher clergy had awakened the cupidity of the great, and excited the indignation of the pious. The coarser and grosser vices of the inferior priesthood had offended and disgusted even the populace. Ignorant, impudent, and dissolute, the monastic fraternities had fallen into contempt. A reformation in the discipline of the Church had become inevitable. Accident extended the reform to its doctrines.

The first attacks of Luther were directed against abuses which the Pope might easily have corrected, without exposing to hazard his authority, or bringing the unity of the Church into danger. The scandalous excess of indulgences might have been abated, and a pernicious but profitable traffic retained for the Church, if the early opposition of Luther had been soothed by concessions, instead of being inflamed by ill-timed obstinacy, and the rigid exercise of an authority he still respected. The violent and ill-advised course adopted by the Court of Rome drove the reformer into rebellion. Exasperated by the severity and injustice of his treatment, Luther proceeded from objecting to the sale of indulgences to impugn the authority by which they were granted. The fundamental principle of the Catholic religion was implicit submission to the decrees of the Church. That principle once rejected, it was easy to foresee that the unity of doctrine could not long be preserved. In a subject of such interest as religion, it was impossible that the minds of men could lie dormant, when their attention was once roused to it; and in the discussion of questions so far above human comprehension, it was impossible that the language in which the Church had chosen to clothe its mysteries, should appear equally satisfactory to all. The authority of Scripture, substituted in place of the decisions of Popes and Councils, multiplied the chances of disagreement. If the field of controversy was narrowed, the ancient landmarks were destroyed. Throwing aside the traditions and decrees of the Church, Luther admitted no rule of faith but the Holy Scriptures; and subjecting every article of religion to a scrutiny by that test, it is only wonderful that he retained so much of the system he has so powerfully contributed to demolish. The practices and articles of belief most familiar to the people were discarded with disdain.

Vows, pilgrimages, private masses, the invocation of saints, the necessity of confession, the efficacy of absolution, the divine authority of popes, bishops, priests, and other fallible men were assailed and swept away. The multitude, delighted with the privilege of deciding on questions which they had been hitherto called upon to admit without examination, entered with newborn zeal into the discussion; and soon became familiar with the sacred volumes, from the perusal of which they had till that time been debarred. The adherents of the ancient faith were unprepared for such controversies. They were not deficient in ability or learning. They were versed in all the subtilties of dialectics, and armed to the teeth with the decrees and canons of the Church. But they were unacquainted with the Scriptures, and unprovided for the new warfare to which they were summoned. They were excellent gladiators, according to the mode of fighting to which they had been accustomed. But their adversaries, 'instead of pushing *in tierce* pushed them *in carte*, and came so thick with their thrusts, that it was not in nature to parry them.' The Catholic divines, like the Children of the Mist in the 'Legend of Montrose,' had to contend with bows and arrows against musketry; and experienced the fate of the Prussian and Austrian armies, while combating with their slow methodical tactics the activity and enterprise of revolutionary France. Till years of study and discipline had qualified the Catholic clergy for the contest, they were beat out of the field in every rencounter.

The first onset of the Reformers was irresistible. They fell on the advocates of the Popedom with the same spirit and success that animated the followers of Mahomet when they attacked the decrepid empires of Persia and Greece. If the ancient religion had not been supported by those who had, or thought they had an interest in its preservation, it must have perished before its militia was harnessed and drilled for battle. If in many parts of Christendom it still held its ground, it was by the assistance it received from its ancient rival, the temporal authorities of the state. A review of the progress of the reform will justify the view we have taken of its fortunes.

Wherever the Reformation was heartily seconded by the civil power, it was triumphant with little or no opposition;—as in Sweden, Denmark, in many of the free towns and states of Germany, and in some of the cantons of Switzerland. Where it was alternately encouraged and persecuted, but finally supported by the state, as in England, it ultimately but more slowly prevailed. Where it was violently and tyrannically opposed by a weak or distant government, as in Scotland and Holland, it forced its way by overpowering the resistance made against it. On the contrary, where it

was steadily and vigorously put down by strong and vigilant governments, with the Inquisition as their ally, as in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, it was effectually and completely suppressed. Where persecuted and indulged by turns, and at length proscribed by the state, as in Poland, Hungary, and France, it led to civil wars and dissensions which were not for ages extinguished. Its fate every where depended, not on its excellences or defects,—not on the purity of its morals, nor on the truth of its doctrines,—but on the passions and interests of the people to whom it was addressed.

Francis I. was careless and indifferent about creeds and articles of faith ; but, like many other men of the world, he had a superstitious reverence for the outward forms of religion, and had many selfish motives besides for opposing the Reformation. By his Concordat with Leo X. he had obtained the patronage of all the great ecclesiastical dignities and benefices within his dominions, and had consequently an interest in preserving them. He was alarmed by the free opinions on civil liberty that followed the progress of the reformers. He disliked the austerity of their doctrines, and was personally offended by the censures they had openly cast on his own licentious course of life. In these sentiments the courtiers, who shared in his pleasures and partook of his bounty, heartily concurred ; and, when roused from his apathy by some indiscretions of the Reformers, he found in the University and Parliament of Paris zealous and powerful auxiliaries against the torrent of innovation. Both these bodies had been themselves reformers of the Church ; but the reforms they had contemplated were in its discipline, and not in its dogmas ; and when left behind, both were indignant to see the German reformers go beyond them. The University, and her mellifluent daughter, as M. Capefigue calls her, the Sorbonne, pronounced the doctrines of Luther to be heretical ; and the Parliament found ancient laws in abundance that punished heretics with severity. From these passions and interests combined, the Reformation must have been stifled in France, as it was in Italy and Spain, if the political connexions of Francis with the German Lutherans, and the protection given by his sister to preachers of the new doctrines, had not enabled the Reformers to obtain such a footing in the country that they could not afterwards be dislodged. They had the advantage also of exemption from the vigilant cruelty of the Inquisition, which the ancient jealousy of the Parliaments against the Church had not suffered to penetrate into France.

The persecutions of Francis I. and of Henry II. had retarded, but not entirely arrested, the progress of the Reformation. It was in vain that the condemnation of heretics had been transfer-

red from the Parliaments to the clergy. The Protestants continued to gain ground. At the commencement of the civil wars, they reckoned more than 2000 congregations in France, comprising one-seventeenth of the whole population of the kingdom. Many of the principal nobility, and some members even of the Parliament itself, had openly adhered, or were secretly inclined, to their opinions. But the relative position of the two parties was materially altered since the time when Luther began to write. The ancient faith had been wrought into a consistent and methodical system, with an answer, specious or solid, to every objection that had been urged against it. Every outwork of the church was fortified with vigilant and intelligent sentinels provided for its defence. Without contesting the authority of the Scriptures, the traditions of the church and expositions of past times were invoked to explain their meaning, where they were ambiguous, and to supply their deficiencies where they were silent. A new race of men had sprung up among the Catholics, nurtured in theological disputation, and as well qualified as their adversaries to discuss the mysterious doctrines of religion. The monastic orders were no longer ignorant and illiterate. In the Jesuits, the church had obtained a well-disciplined and devoted army, ready to vindicate her cause against all who rejected her authority; and in the Capuchin friars she had found an irregular, but ardent militia, well fitted by the lowliness of their origin, and the ascetic tenor of their lives, to win the admiration, and gain the sympathies, of the multitude. Instead of the indolent or philosophic indifference of Leo, the Popes had become earnest in their faith, and fierce disputants for the doctrines of their church; and, in the same proportion, they had become merciless and intolerant. It was a saying of Paul IV. (Caraffa), that fire was the only cure for heresy, and that no one who had been once a heretic was ever thoroughly reclaimed. All were inflamed with the same zeal that animated the Reformers; and, from the numerous rites and splendid forms of their worship, they had more powerful means of working on the imaginations, and moulding the habits of their adherents. While parties were thus balanced, the intemperate zeal of the Protestants led them to mutilate the images, to scatter the relics, and to insult the ceremonies which the people still venerated and respected. The sacrifice of the mass in particular, the holiest of mysteries in the Catholic church, was regarded as an abomination by the Calvinists; and the adoration rendered to the consecrated wafer considered an idolatrous worship, which it was sinful to tolerate. Yielding to this fanaticism, the Protestants were guilty of outrages which inflamed the minds even of the indifferent against them. In every

town of France there were municipal corporations, companies of tradesmen, and artisans, brotherhoods for social or charitable purposes, that worshipped at the same shrine,—used the same consecrated banners,—venerated the same patron saint,—and feasted or fasted on the same occasions. Insults offered to their worship, magnified and exaggerated with rude but popular eloquence by the priests and friars, roused the indignation of these bodies against the profane heretics who had no respect for things sacred. The municipal institutions of France were at that time sufficiently popular to partake in the feelings and sentiments of the multitude; and were yet so dependent on the Crown as to receive their impulses in a great measure from the Government. While the towns were thus under the double influence of the clergy and of the governing powers of the state, numbers of the provincial nobility, with their followers and dependents, took the side of the Reformation; and in their remote, obscure, and almost inaccessible castles practised their religion with impunity. Thus it happened, as is justly remarked by M. Capefigue, that, contrary to what took place in the rest of Europe, the towns in France were chiefly Catholic, while in many provinces a large portion of the people became Protestant. This was more particularly the case in the southern provinces, where the Waldenses and Albigenes had formerly flourished.

When Catherine of Medicis assumed the regency she might possibly have succeeded in rooting out the heresies introduced into France, by either exterminating the Huguenots or driving them out of the kingdom. But in that case she must have acted, with relentless rigour and decision, on the high Catholic principles of the Duke of Guise. She might, on the other hand, have established liberty of conscience, and maintained tranquillity; if she had followed with steadiness and resolution the wise and mild counsels of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital. She did neither; and, favouring Protestant and Catholic alternately, she ultimately lost the confidence of all. Equally indifferent to both religions, she was at first inclined to the Huguenots, from her jealousy of the House of Guise. It was at this time she held the colloquy at Passy,—a vain and injudicious attempt to reconcile the two religions by mutual concessions. The breach was too wide and too distinctly marked to be thus soldered. Both sides had expressed their doctrines in terms too explicit to admit of accommodation or compromise. The conference served only to bring more clearly before the public the points in which they differed; and to rivet both parties more firmly in their opinions. The colloquy of Passy was followed by the edict of toleration in January 1562,—the most wise and beneficial measure that could have been adopted,

if it had been supported with vigour by the Government. The promptness of the Duke of Guise, and the delays of the Prince of Conde, threw Catherine into the hands of the Catholics. With her usual versatility she espoused, and thenceforward attached herself to their party; not from any predilection for their creed, but from aversion to the Protestants as contumacious and rebellious subjects who preferred their conscience to their allegiance.

When peace was restored, after the death of Francis Duke of Guise, a firm and upright government, might have maintained the edict of toleration, and saved France from the miseries of intestine war. Both parties had tried their strength; and both had found their means inadequate to obtain a complete victory over their opponents. It was only necessary to restrain, with a strong and impartial hand, the excesses of both. It is in vain to say, that the fanaticism and hatred of the two religious parties were so intense that they could not live together in peace. We have only to look to the pacification of Switzerland in 1531, and to the tranquillity of Germany, after the treaty of Passau, in 1552, to be convinced that, even at this early period of the Reformation, nothing more was wanting to establish religious harmony in France than firmness on the part of the Government, and adherence to the edicts of toleration, which from time to time it conceded. But, instead of this policy, Catherine was seduced by Philip II. of Spain into the project, no longer practicable, of extirpating the Protestant religion throughout Europe.

Whether any positive treaty for the extirpation of heresy was concluded at Bayonne, or a mere understanding to that effect entered into between Catherine and the Duke of Alva, is a point contested among historians. Certain it is, that no such treaty has ever been published; but, in rummaging among the archives at Simancas, M. Capefigue has discovered the project of a treaty of alliance between France and Spain,* which, he thinks, was prepared for that conference, and submitted to the French Government by Alva. By that treaty, the two contracting powers were to maintain and defend the holy Catholic religion by all the means they could employ; they were to suffer no exercise of the new religion within their territories, in public or in private; they were to banish all Protestant ministers from their dominions, on pain of death if they returned; they were to admit, without modification, all the decrees of the Council of Trent; and to employ no person in any public service or judicial office who did

not make a satisfactory profession of his religious belief, and enjoy the reputation of a good Catholic. M. Capefigue also admits, that expedients to get rid of the Calvinists in France were discussed at Bayonne; that the Duke was averse to any terms of accommodation with them; that means of destroying them, root and branch, were under consideration; and that, from Alva's despatches, it is clear the plan of a general massacre was entertained, and not rejected by the heads of the Catholic party. But though it was proposed, and perhaps agreed to, at this conference, to get rid, by any means whatever, of the Huguenots, he cannot believe that the massacre of St Bartholomew, afterwards executed at Paris, was planned at that interview. We agree with him entirely in that opinion. All we contend for is, that the design to extirpate heresy from France, adopted at Bayonne, was never abandoned; that it was prosecuted at first by encroachments on the edict of toleration,—afterwards attempted by arms,—and, finally, all but accomplished by treachery.

Vexatious infractions of the edict of pacification,—ordinances modifying and explaining its provisions to the detriment of the Huguenots, rumours of the sinister projects entertained at Bayonne, the advance of Alva's army along the eastern frontier of France, the pretext afforded by that march for taking Swiss Catholics into the pay of the Government, and the refusal to admit Protestants into its service—excited such alarm among the Huguenots, that they flew to arms, and had nearly succeeded in surprising, at Meaux, the person of the King. A sharp war followed, succeeded by a short and treacherous peace. The court, instigated by the Pope (Pius V., Ghisleri), a merciless, but sincere fanatic, who had been head of the Inquisition, determined by force or fraud to extirpate heresy from France. Measures were taken to prevent the Huguenots from ever assembling again in arms; but their leaders, having eluded the toils that had been set for them, escaped to Rochelle, and renewed the war. Twice defeated in general actions, and deprived by death of some of their principal leaders and ablest captains, they were still able, under the guidance of the Admiral, to make head against their opponents. Tired at length with fruitless hostilities, both parties became desirous of repose. Notwithstanding the fanatical exhortations and bitter remonstrances of the Pope, peace was concluded, on terms more favourable to the Huguenots than, from the relative position of the two parties, they had reason to expect; and then began that course of policy which terminated in the massacre of St Bartholomew.

M. Capefigue is one of those who maintain that the massacre at Paris was not the result of premeditation. He thinks it arose

out of the religious bigotry of the times, exasperated by the jealousy and indignation of the Catholics at the apparent favour shown to the Huguenots, and by the hatred of the Parisians to the rude and insolent gentry from the provinces, who had accompanied the King of Navarre to the capital. He believes that Charles IX. was sincere in his professions of regard to the Admiral, and that he was compelled unwillingly to give his assent to the foul and bloody execution that took place, by the necessity to which he was reduced of joining decidedly with one or other of the contending parties. His chief argument in support of this opinion is derived from the unfeigned alarms entertained at Rome and at Madrid while the Admiral was apparently in favour; from which he infers that no traitorous plot could have been in agitation, as these two powers must have been informed of it. We are far from being satisfied with this reasoning. If such a plot was in preparation, there was no chance of success but by keeping it secret; and there could be no motive for imparting it to those who, by their distance from the scene of action, could take no part in the tragedy. We are ready to admit that the Catholics were inflamed with the most furious bigotry and most rancorous hatred against the Huguenots, and that they extended the massacre beyond the intention of its contrivers. But a review of the history of the times convinces us that a plot for entrapping the leaders of the Protestants, and involving them in one common destruction, had been long entertained by the Queen-Mother and her son.

Previously to the peace of St Germain, in 1570, it is acknowledged that the dispositions of the court towards the Huguenots had remained unaltered. From the conferences at Bayonne to that period, every edict in their favour had been violated, or modified to their prejudice by subsequent ordinances. The King had never forgiven the insult offered to his dignity by the attack on his person at Meaux. Within a few months after the conclusion of the last peace, there had been attempts made to surprise the chiefs of the Huguenots, whilst dispersed and living in security at their respective houses. An edict had been passed, disqualifying them from all offices in the state and magistracy. There was no excess of violence and cruelty that had not been practised against them: they had been pillaged and insulted with impunity, and many of them assassinated. One of their leaders had been killed in cold blood, after he became a prisoner of war; another had been basely murdered by one who was familiarly called the 'King's Bravo'. That no faith was to be kept with heretics was the atrocious language held at court; and to destroy them, whether by open violence or secret treachery, was held to

be a just and meritorious act. Under these circumstances, there could be no confidence, or grounds of confidence, on either side. Suddenly a new line of policy was adopted by the court. Contrary to what had taken place on former occasions, the peace of St Germain was observed with the most scrupulous fidelity. If any excesses were committed through the bigotry of individuals, they were repressed and punished. Even-handed justice was dealt to both parties. Perseverance in this system would in time have restored tranquillity to the kingdom; and two religious sects might have lived together at peace, in France, as they did in Germany and Switzerland. But time was required to allay the distrust which former treacheries had inspired. The leaders of the Huguenots, mindful of the dangers to which they had been exposed after the peace of 1568, remained at Rochelle. Pressing invitations to court were conveyed to them, through persons in whom they had confidence. The strongest assurances were given to them of the King's desire to admit them into his councils and service. Lures were held out to them of a war with Spain, in support of the insurgents in the Netherlands. Overtures of marriage with one or other of the King's brothers were addressed to Elizabeth of England, the great protectress of the Protestant cause. To meet them half way, the court removed from Paris to Blois; and the Duke of Guise, the inveterate enemy of the Admiral, was induced to retire to his government. Overcome by the repeated solicitations of the King, the Admiral repaired to Blois, accompanied by a select body of his friends. He was there received with every manifestation of affection and respect, admitted to the council, encouraged to take a lead in its deliberations, and, after multiplied favours to himself and his party, dismissed with honour, and urged to return and complete the work he had begun. Then followed a proposal of marriage between Margaret, the King's sister, and Henry, Prince of Bearn. 'The young Margaret,' as M. Capefigue, in false and mock heroics, deplores, 'was torn from the heir of Guise, and delivered over, an illustrious hostage, to the Huguenots. The beggarly house of Navarre,' he indignantly continues, 'the rendezvous of the provincial gentry, was elevated to a level with the high and royal race of Valois.'

The numerous difficulties opposed to the marriage of Margaret with Henry having been overcome or eluded, it was proposed by the King that the ceremony should be performed at Paris. The Huguenots would have preferred Orleans, or Blois. They were aware that Paris was the most bigoted city in France, and the most adverse to them and to their religion. But, confiding in the sincerity of Charles, they complied with his wishes, and

repaired in great numbers to the capital. Hardly was the marriage concluded, when they were involved in a general massacre, by his orders. Within a few days he avowed the deed, and expressed as much abhorrence and detestation of the Admiral as he had shown kindness and affection to him when alive.

They who vindicate the memory of Charles, pretend, that, having been convinced by experience of the inefficacy of religious persecution, he had no other desire, after the peace of St Germain, than to preserve the tranquillity he had restored. But if peace had been his sole object, why not content himself with maintaining and enforcing his edict? Why bring the Huguenots to court, employ them in his most secret councils, and invest them with his apparent confidence? The slightest reflection must have convinced him, that such demonstrations of favour could not be conferred on Protestants without giving offence to his Catholic subjects. M. Capefigue represents the Admiral, and other chiefs of the Huguenots, as forward, presumptuous men, who thrust themselves into the service of the King, and assumed the direction of his affairs against his wishes. But the reverse is notoriously the fact. It required many messages by Cossé, Biron, and others, besides letters of invitation from the King and Queen-Mother, before the Admiral could be prevailed upon to quit his residence at Rochelle and trust himself at court; and it was not till after the secret conference of the King at Lumigny with Prince Louis of Nassau, La Noue, and Teligny, on the affairs of the Netherlands, that he could be persuaded there was any real intention to make war on Spain in support of the Flemish insurgents. For what purpose but to allure the Admiral to Blois, and afterwards to Paris, did Charles propose and entertain a project, which his correspondence at Simancas shows he never meant seriously to execute? If he desired the marriage of his sister as a pledge and bond of peace, why celebrate the nuptials in a place animated with the most deadly hatred against those he intended to conciliate? Why entice the Huguenots to a city the most adverse to them of any town in France? Why assemble the two parties in presence of each other, if he meant to prevent hostilities between them? If Charles, as M. Capefigue pretends, was compelled by the discontents and menaces of the Catholics, to undo in one night what for two years he had been labouring to accomplish—if he had brought himself to such a pass, that he had no other means to regain their confidence and convince them of his repentance than by glutting their vengeance with the blood of those whom trust in him alone had placed within their reach—what but his

own conduct had reduced him to that situation? And, supposing the statement of M. Capefigue to be correct, what ought to have been the determination of an honourable mind, compelled to choose between danger to himself and treachery to those who had confided in him?

After the blow was struck, every act, every expression of the King betrayed the hollowness and insincerity of his former professions. If the confidence and affection he displayed towards the Admiral had been real, could these sentiments have been converted, within a few days, and without the slightest provocation, into the most ferocious and savage hatred? If his former demonstrations and declarations of regard had been sincere, is it conceivable that he could have gone voluntarily to contemplate,—and seeing, that he could have indulged in brutal jests on the mangled remains of a man, whom he had embraced as a father some months before—whom he had treated ever since as the most confidential of his friends—and from whom he had last parted with professions of the most tender interest in his safety, and imprecations of the direst vengeance against the assassin who had attempted his life? We doubt whether M. Capefigue's experience of revolutionary times can furnish him with any transmutation so violent and so sudden. But we must either admit, that fear of the Catholics produced this extraordinary change in the mind and dispositions of Charles; or acquiesce in the opinion of his contemporaries, that, in his conduct and language to the Huguenots, he had been false throughout.

The pride of Charles had never forgiven the enterprise at Meaux. Having tried open force without success, he dissembled his resentment, and watched his opportunity for vengeance. It would be ridiculous to affirm, that the details of the St Bartholemew had been arranged for months or years before hand; but it seems to us clear, from the whole tenor of the intermediate transactions, that, from the interview at Bayonne to the massacre of Paris, there was a plot to get rid, by any means whatever, of the Huguenots, which was never for an instant abandoned by the court. It is not impossible that, dazzled by the splendid visions of conquest and glory placed before him by Coligny, the irregular and unsettled mind of Charles may have vacillated before the moment of execution. But this is a mere conjecture, founded on the memorials addressed to him by Nevers and Tavannes. That the marriage of Margaret was originally proposed as a means to ensnare and destroy the Huguenots is apparent from the conversation of the King at Blois with the Papal Legate,—the only stranger to whom he seems ever to have given a hint of the foul and treacherous purpose he had in contemplation. To

Philip of Spain he went no farther than to assure him, that the marriage of his sister with the Prince of Bearn would conduce to the service of God, and to the profit of his kingdom. But that monarch, as M. Capefigue himself admits, was not altogether a stranger to the thought of making an end of the Huguenots.*

Of the political consequences of the St Bartholomew it is unnecessary to enlarge. It alienated and separated from France the German Electors—the Swiss Confederacy—the Flemish insurgents—and the Queen of England—her natural allies. It bound her to the King of Spain; and, while her Government continued in the same fervour of Catholic zeal, it made her subservient to the policy of that ambitious potentate. At home, it destroyed all chance of peace or tranquillity in France while any existing prince of the house of Valois survived. The Huguenots could have no confidence in treaties made with persons who had so foully deceived and betrayed them. They were compelled, in self defence, to remain continually under arms, or to insist on places of surety for their protection. The Government had no alternative but either to subdue them entirely, or allow them to retain a number of fortified towns and garrisons for their security. The course taken by Catharine and her sons neither reduced them to obedience, nor left them quiet. Urged by the violence and bigotry of the Catholics, Henry III. made war repeatedly on his Protestant subjects. But the wars he had unwillingly undertaken he pursued without vigour or perseverance; and, yielding to his natural indolence, or to the insinuations of his mother, he was always ready to negotiate. Treaties hastily concluded were as hastily annulled. Hostilities, commenced without adequate preparation, led to no decisive results, and ended in some temporary compromise. His prodigalities kept him poor. His profligacy and frivolity deprived him of all respect and esteem. Tired and dissatisfied with his tergiversations, and, in spite of his ascetic and devotional practices, doubtful even of the sincerity of his religion, the ardent Catholics lost at length all confidence in his government. Leagues or associations were formed in every part of France in support of the Catholic faith,—or rather in hostility to its opponents; and these leagues, confederating under a common head, assumed and exercised for a time the supreme authority of the state.

There are no occurrences in the religious wars of France more interesting to us, and more pregnant with instruction, than the formation of the League, and the calamities that flowed from it.

At this very moment we are threatened with a visitation of the same kind. After slumbering for a century in apathy and indifference, the Protestants of Ireland have suddenly emerged into zeal and activity. Many of them, heated by controversial discourses, and inflamed by itinerant orators, have become zealots and fanatics in good earnest. Others are influenced solely by their fears of losing the political ascendancy they have so long abused. All profess a furious and bigoted aversion to those who differ from them in religious faith. Following the example of the Catholics of France in the time of Henry III., they have formed themselves into unions or associations exclusively Protestant; and so deeply are they imbued with the intolerant and uncharitable spirit of the 16th century, that, like Paul IV., they have no confidence in the sincerity of any man's conversion from religious error, and refuse to admit any one into their lodges who has ever been a Catholic. From small and contemptible beginnings, in a remote and obscure province, they are now extensively diffused over the empire; and threaten to become as formidable to the state, and as destructive to the peace and order of society, as ever the League was in France. The constitution and spirit of the two associations are alike. Hatred of a rival sect, and implicit submission to their leaders, are the fundamental principles of both.

It must be owned that, in one respect, the Leaguers went farther than the Orangemen. The professed object of the League was not only to maintain the Catholic as the dominant religion in France, but to suffer no other worship within the kingdom. The Orangemen are more moderate, at least in their language. Provided they have the execution of the law in their hands, they ask for no legal authority to persecute. On the other hand, the declaration of allegiance made by the Orangemen is qualified by a proviso, that it shall be binding only 'so long as the King, his heirs, and successors support the Protestant ascendancy;' while the Leaguers, at the commencement at least of their career, vowed to the King the most implicit and unqualified obedience.* The difference, however, is more apparent than real; for no sooner had an edict of toleration been extorted from the weakness of Henry III., than the Leaguers, unmindful of their former professions, began to form machinations against him. One David, an advocate of Paris, proposed, in a council of the League, to set aside the King and his brother; to alter the course of succession; and to place the

Duke of Guise on the throne. The time was not yet arrived for so daring an enterprise; and the papers of David, which had fallen into the hands of his enemies, having been published, the Catholics thought it prudent to deny their authenticity, and maintain they were fabrications of the Calvinists. Within a few years, the project he had conceived and prematurely divulged became the great and undisguised object of the League.

The League was unlimited in its numbers, and exclusively a Catholic association. When arrived at its maturity, it was composed of all ranks, descriptions, and conditions. Like the Orangemen, it had a prince of the blood at its head, the nearest but one in the line of succession to the crown. Among its members it included many of the ancient as well as of the recently created nobility, and several bishops,—the most foolish, the most knavish, and most fanatical of their order. At Paris, it comprised presidents, counsellors, and retired members of the supreme courts—under-secretaries and clerks in public offices—notaries, attorneys, advocates, and members of the university—wealthy shopkeepers and artisans—and it descended even to boatmen, horsedealers, and scavengers. From Paris the same spirit was diffused over all the considerable towns of France. In the rural districts it enlisted many of the provincial gentry, with their followers,—forming the chief military strength of the kingdom, but as ignorant and illiterate as the clod on which they trod. Zeal supplied money and arms. The priests and friars were not wanting in their exhortations. The people were told that the tolerance of heresy was an offence against God, and the sacrifice of heretics an acceptable offering in his sight.

Wherever these illegal associations made their way, troubles and disturbances followed in their wake. Before them was peace and tranquillity—behind them enmities and disorder. Every district into which they penetrated became a scene of turbulence and intestine war. The ties of friendship and neighbourhood—the bonds even of kindred were rudely and violently broken by a fanatical clergy, in the name of Heaven. The master grew suspicious of his servant, and the servant became a spy upon his master. Confiding in their strength and union, and trusting to the secret favour they enjoyed at court, the dominant party exercised every sort of outrage against their opponents, without regard to the edicts of peace and toleration proclaimed by the government. Riots, ending not unfrequently in murder—private assassinations—arbitrary arrests and imprisonments—open pillage and spoliation in the face of day—predial depredations under the cloud of night—unjust exactions under the colour of law—illegal exclusions from municipal

offices and corporations—personal insults and bodily injuries—were suffered and inflicted without repression or redress from the courts of justice. The weaker party, as may be supposed, retaliated when occasions offered; but the Catholics, abusing their superiority, were usually the aggressors. The Huguenots, sensible of their weakness, asked for nothing but permission to live at peace under the protection of the law. The Leaguers were loud in their complaints, and menacing in their language, if they were not allowed to persecute to the death, or banish from the kingdom, every one they chose to brand with the note of heresy.

Henry III., instead of exerting his authority to put down the League, thought it a master-stroke of policy to become a Leaguer himself, and assume the title of supreme head of the confederation. It was a puerile expedient, and answered none of the purposes for which it was intended. It neither gained for him the confidence of the union, nor took from the Duke of Guise the direction of its affairs. His adhesion had no other effect than to give somewhat of a legal character to associations formerly illegal; and to diffuse them more universally over France. The time was at hand when he was made to feel at once their power and their distrust of his sincerity. The death of his brother, the Duke of Anjou, having left no intermediate heir between himself and the King of Navarre, a relapsed heretic, the chiefs of the League concluded a secret treaty with Philip II. and other Catholic powers for the exclusion of Protestants from the throne, and demanded loudly a war of extermination against the Huguenots. Unable to resist them, he employed his mother to negotiate; and she, with her usual flexibility to pressure from without, yielded to their wishes. War was declared. The royal army, under the Duke of Joyeuse, was defeated at Coutras by the King of Navarre. The Duke of Guise, more able or more fortunate, repulsed and cut to pieces the Reiters, who had attempted the invasion of France from Germany. Proud of their success, the Leaguers held a meeting at Nancy, from which they insisted on terms that left the King little more than the nominal government of France. Henry hesitated, negotiated, attempted resistance; and was at length driven ignominiously from Paris on the day of the Barricades. A feigned reconciliation followed; which ended in the assassination of the Duke of Guise, the rebellion of the League, and the murder of the King. His successor, Henry IV., had to combat many years for his crown, and obtained it at last with difficulty, by abjuring his religion, and adopting that of the majority of his subjects. The violence of the League had in the mean time be-

come exhausted; its most furious partisans had perished; and liberty of conscience, which the Protestants had forty years before prayed for in vain, was granted to them, with other immunities, which, at the commencement of the civil wars, they had not thought of asking.

In the latter part of his work, M. Capefigue recounts at length the difficulties through which Henry IV. had to wade in order to obtain the peaceable possession of his throne. The subject is better suited to the caustic temper of the author than the ardent scenes of the preceding wars; during which we have been often at a loss to know, whether, in commemorating the popular excesses of the League, he was serious in the commendations he bestowed, or in the party he espoused. But in describing the venality, servility, and corruption that prepared the way and marked the progress of victory and submission, he is quite at home. Such scenes and personages as a restoration exhibits, he seems quite familiar with; and in nothing is he more successful than in stripping the ambiguous character of Henry IV. of the false splendour that has been thrown around him. His gasconading humour—his sallies of coarse and homely pleasantry—his frankness, not unmingled with dissimulation—his well-timed effusions of cordiality and kindness—his apparent warmth of heart and real selfishness of disposition—his talent for gaining adherents when he wanted their assistance—his facility in parting with his old friends when he had no longer occasion for their services—are painted to the life. We should, indeed, require nothing more than the execution of Biron to dispel the chivalrous illusions which poets and philosophers have shed around the character of Henry. The death of Biron may have been a useful stroke of policy, but it was a cold-blooded act of ingratitude. The first and noblest of the Bourbons saw one of his earliest friends, the man to whom he had been indebted in his utmost need, without whom he must have been a fugitive and exile—he saw this man depart from his closet to certain death, when one word from his lips would have awakened Biron to a sense of his situation, and obtained from him a confession of the criminal projects he had entertained, but never carried into effect. The defence of Biron is a masterpiece of eloquence and feeling; but it made no impression on the obdurate mind of one who could pardon and show mercy when he was to gain by his clemency, but had no real generosity or kindness in his heart.

Since the preceding pages were written, the ‘Orange Associations’ have received what appears to be their death-blow. Their

frantic declarations, their pernicious designs, their traitorous suggestions, have been exposed, and their secret correspondence brought to light. Ashamed and alarmed at the disclosure, their leaders have denied or shrunk from the connexion; and renounced a confederation full of danger to themselves, and pregnant with mischief to the community. The more ignorant and fanatical of their followers threaten to keep together and maintain the unions they have formed. But, when the head is severed, though there may still remain for a time convulsive motions in the limbs, they must quickly subside, and can do no harm. It is to be hoped that in this, as in other countries, men will at length be convinced, that they may hold different language on mysteries, which no one even pretends to comprehend, without detesting each other with mortal hatred, or imputing to their adversaries practices, intentions, or principles which they have solemnly disavowed. Whether an unknown quantity be called x , y , or z , ought to be a matter of as little importance in civil polity as it is in algebra. Acts, not opinions or formulas of belief, are the proper objects of human legislation.

ART. II.—*Musical History, Biography, and Criticism; being a General Survey of Music from the earliest period to the present time.* By GEORGE HOGARTH. 12mo. London: 1835.

MR HOGARTH'S work is one of the few on the subject of music which, though popular, or, in other words, intended for the mass of the public, is by no means superficial. The author is evidently well qualified for the task which he has undertaken, not only as a scientific and agreeable writer, but as one who has carefully noted the progress of music during his own day, and studiously investigated its past history. His book, besides being a judicious compendium of almost every thing valuable and interesting in relation to the subject, contains many striking observations, and much original criticism; which, proceeding from a mind well versed in the theory of composition, are calculated to carry great weight, not only with the public, but with all competent judges. There can be no doubt, therefore, that it will supply an important desideratum; and it is to be hoped that, by disseminating sound principles of criticism, and correct views as to the true character and object of musical composition, it will contribute in no slight degree to the regulation and improvement of the public taste.

Beginning with the state of music among the Hebrews and Egyptians, Mr Hogarth has traced its progress from the time when it first took root in Italy, through the early periods of the Christian Church and the middle ages, down to the present day ; and whilst he has with great judgment characterised the different Schools which have successively sprung up in Italy, Germany, France, and England, in the departments of the Church, the Theatre, and the Chamber, and the various styles of composition which have from time to time prevailed, he has omitted no opportunity of enriching his narrative with curious and amusing traits, incidents and characters. Minute information in a work of this size is not to be expected ; and we are not inclined to find fault with the author for having slightly noticed, and sometimes omitted, artists who have occasionally figured in the musical world. By keeping in the background, and in some instances excluding altogether those whose works produced no great or lasting effects, he has been enabled to dwell with greater freedom and effect upon the different epochs, and to bring out in stronger relief the more prominent and attractive features of the general history.

We believe that there are comparatively few who feel themselves much attracted towards the purely scientific details of this art ; and there are not many who show any very extraordinary zeal to accomplish themselves in the principles and practice of composition. Indeed, however curious and interesting, in an abstract point-of view, the study of the former can be of little use except to such as devote themselves to the higher branches of the mathematics ; and proficiency in the latter, that is to say, such a practical knowledge and command of the art of the composer as are necessary to enable a person to express his ideas in the language of music with fluency and precision, can only be acquired after a course of systematic discipline ;—quite incompatible with the general education and avocations of all but professional musicians, or such as make music the subject of their almost undivided attention. The cultivation, however, of a taste for music, accompanied with a moderate degree of skill in the management of the voice or of an instrument, rests upon totally different grounds, and may be considered as within the reach of all whom nature has endowed with the requisite susceptibility. A work like the present, therefore, is calculated to be highly useful. It may serve, too, as a sort of bulwark against those never-ceasing inroads of prejudice and bad taste, to which, from the number of empirics by whom this profession is overrun, its students stand peculiarly exposed. It has unhappily of late been found so convenient for teachers, or *professors*, as they are pleased

to style themselves, both instrumental and vocal, to eke out the emoluments of their vocation by the profits of their own musical publications, that the recommendation of the best models,—those which alone can purify and exalt the taste,—has been generally found to be in direct opposition to their own interest. It need not therefore be wondered at, if we are accustomed to see the routine of musical tuition run through, without any farther knowledge being gathered of standard and classical compositions than if they never had existed ;—that we should occasionally hear Mozart denounced as an ancient ;—and even Beethoven, with his varied and magnificent harmony, originality, and pathos, set aside ; and the attention of the rising generation, if not wholly engrossed with diluted and often incorrect adaptations and arrangements of foreign operas, and the songs of third-rate theatrical composers, at best directed to vain attempts to signalize themselves by the showy and ungraceful productions of the fashionable Viennese and Parisian composers of the day.*

In music, as well as in architecture, there are certain forms of beauty which have an existence recognisable at all times, and in all ages, independently of the caprices and fluctuations of fashion ; and these are not to be looked for in the attempts of the illiterate and ignorant, but in those efforts of highly cultivated genius which have commanded the admiration of the world, and rendered the names of their authors immortal. With all our modern improvements, Handel, Haydn, and Mozart must never be lost sight of. They are the great landmarks of the art. Variety and brilliancy of effect may have been superadded by their successors ;—a Weber and a Rossini may have tracked out unknown and unfrequented paths of modulation ;—a Beethoven may have untwisted hidden chains and combinations of harmony ; and the invention of new instruments and the improvement of the old may have added largely to the capabilities of the orchestra : but the master-pieces of art to which the eminent composers above-mentioned have given birth, will find their way to the imagination and the heart, from generation to generation ; and must always form the ground-work of every liberal and perfect system of musical instruction.

* Handel (says Mr Hogarth) was the greatest of musicians ; and it is not more probable that the lustre of his name shall be dimmed by age, or impaired by successful rivalry, than that any such thing shall befall the names of Homer, Milton, or Michael Angelo. Since his day, indeed, music, in some respects, has been progressive. Melody has become more rythmical, flowing, and graceful ; the powers of instruments have been

enlarged, and numberless beautiful and striking effects have been obtained by successive discoveries in regard to their treatment and combination. Hence the music of the theatre and the chamber has gained greater freedom, variety, and richness; and hence the Italian operas of Handel have shared the fate of all the dramatic music of his day. They have sunk into oblivion and for ever; for were their revival attempted, their beauties could not prevent them from appearing dry, constrained, and meagre to modern ears; and the world could never return to those forms of theatrical composition which, in the progress of taste, have been necessarily abandoned. But the music of the church, the noblest branch of the art, has remained unchanged for generations, and will probably remain unchanged for generations to come. Founded on the great principles of harmony, established by the ecclesiastical composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is constructed of materials over which time has small power; and the few ornaments which may be applied to it by the varying taste of different ages, can but slightly affect the aspect of its massive and colossal structure. Compared to this accordingly, all other kinds of music appear to be fleeting and ephemeral. In every country it is the oldest music that is extant; and in our own, the walls of our cathedrals may still re-echo the sacred strains of Gibbons and Tallis, Purcell and Boyce, after all the profane music that has been produced, from their days to our own, shall have been swept away. It is on this foundation that Handel has built the stupendous choruses of his oratorios. Their duration is independent of the mutability of taste or fashion. They make the same impression now as when they were heard for the first time; and will continue to act on the mind with undiminished power so long as the great principles of human nature shall remain unchanged.

To these opinions we readily subscribe. The great improvement which has taken place in dramatic and vocal music, and the refinement of modern melody, must for ever preclude the resuscitation either of Handel's, or any of the other operatic compositions of his period; and this is a remark which applies even with greater force to the happiest effusions of the composers who have preceded him. We think, therefore, that in one instance, at least, Mr Hogarth's enthusiastic admiration of genius has prompted him to express himself in a way somewhat at variance with the observations we have quoted. We allude to what he says of Purcell, who was cut off in 1695, at the early age of 37. There can be no doubt that this great artist took pains to form his style on the best Italian models of his time—those of Carissimi, Stradella, and others; and that he succeeded in rivalling them in the graceful flow of his melody, while he excelled them, and all his contemporaries, in its admirable and expressive adaptation to the meaning and accentuation of the words, which more than any thing else has extended his popularity almost to the present day,—especially from the fine scope which most of his songs have afforded to the powers

of some of our most celebrated singers. On the other hand, these compositions were written at a time when, as Purcell himself says, music was 'in its nonage.' Their general character sounds crude and ungainly in ears accustomed to the smooth current of modern times; and Mr Hogarth himself justly characterises them as being often 'rude and ungraceful, extremely 'unequal, combining elegance and coarseness, symmetry and 'clumsiness:' yet to our great surprise he says, 'The disuse 'of all these great and impressive compositions, the performance 'of which besides voice and execution, requires intellectual 'power and consummate musical knowledge, argues little in favour of the improvement of singing in our time; but they will 'be sung to enraptured audiences, long after the fashionable 'favourites of the present day are lost in oblivion.' From these observations, which appear to us to be irreconcilable with those just and well-founded canons of criticism the author has elsewhere laid down, we must take leave to dissent. Whilst we admire 'these old and antique songs,' and enjoy their performance in private (from the associations attached to them), we confess we rejoice that they no longer form a part of the 'order of the day' at our public concerts. We view this as a decided proof of the superior refinement of modern ears; and we sincerely deprecate any revival of them in this shape as more likely to lead to a retrogradation, than to an advancement of the public taste.

To the well-directed efforts of the Italian composers of the last century, seconded by those of Emanuel Bach and Haydn in instrumental, and Gluck and Mozart in vocal and dramatic music, we owe that freedom from the absurd restraints of the old contra-puntists, by which their successors have been enabled to range over the wide expanse of the world of sounds, unobstructed by any barriers save those which nature has appointed. Whenever the productions of genius and taste are curtailed of their fair proportions by artificial systems, and chained down by the fetters of scholastic rule, they are sure, sooner or later, to find their true level in the neglect of the public; but when the laws of nature are taken for our guide, as these never vary, the necessary condition of perpetuity is established; and works written upon that principle have a period of duration attached to them, limited only by the intensity and force of the creative power by which they have been called into existence. Until this great revolution was effected, we consider music to have been much in the same state with philosophy during the middle ages. From the time that Monteverde first published his '*System of Discords*'—or, to go back to the almost fabulous ages of Greece, from the time that

Timotheus was banished by the Spartan Senate for his audacity in adding one string more to the lyre,—every successive introducer of chords, discords, and modulations has been assailed as a rash and dangerous innovator,—a musical anarchist ; and, much in the same way as we read, that when Galileo invented the telescope, there were people so averse to open their eyes to any truths inconsistent with their favourite creed, that they positively refused to look through it, we find the grave German masters refusing to listen to Haydn's first trios ; so many and so glaring were their acknowledged deviations from the *good* old rules. But ever since he and his contemporaries succeeded in establishing the broad principle, that every thing is allowable in music which does not offend a cultivated ear, the progress of improvement became certain ; and we can no more think of retracing our steps in this art, than of exchanging the knowledge and power which we have obtained over the material world, by experimental investigation, for the barren subtilties of the schools. Upon these grounds we infer the durability of the works to which we have alluded.

In the lyrical drama, musicians were not so fortunate as poets in possessing nearly perfect models handed down from antiquity. In their art, no Sophocles or Euripides led the way. The Italian opera did not emerge till towards the end of the fifteenth century ; and for a century after that, it could scarcely be said to have any style of its own. Its music was the same with that of the church, with a sprinkling of madrigals and popular songs ; but, after the invention of recitative, the application of symphonial accompaniment, the establishment of a style of melody congenial to the expression of the words, the gradual embellishment of the vocal parts, and the improvement of those of the orchestra—the true principles of the lyrical drama, were laid open by Marcello, and first practically illustrated by Gluck ; who, in the year 1764, composed an opera (the ‘*Orfeo*’) according to strict dramatic rule ;—the music being closely subservient to the action of the piece. Since that period the form has remained the same, however much the details may have been varied, by the different styles of melody which the genius of a Mozart, a Cimarosa, a Rossini, and a Weber have from time to time produced ; as has the amalgamation of orchestral and vocal effects through the agency of the dramatic symphony,—an idea which the master-mind of the first of these composers at once conceived and brought to perfection.

The forms of the symphony, and of every description of concerted piece which comes under the denomination of instrumental music, have also been matured during the same period ; so that

the works and the reputation of the great composers by whom all this has been accomplished, rest upon a foundation quite as durable as do those of the most illustrious poets and dramatists. Those who are destined to follow after them have not to invent new forms, but simply, adopting their master-pieces as models, to approximate to their excellence where they can, and to improve upon the originals where improvement is possible. Whether such a symphony as that of Beethoven in C minor will ever emanate from any other musician, or whether the splendid productions of Mozart will ever be transcended, is like asking whether any future painter ever will equal 'The Last Judgment' of Michael Angelo, or the Cartoons of Raphael.

These observations do not extend to music of a sacred character. This has run a career of its own; and its constitution and fabric were determined at a much earlier period. Where the object is to heighten the fervour of our religious feelings—to exchange for the vanities and frivolities of this fleeting scene 'the thoughts 'that wander through eternity'—to call our attention to the truths of revelation, and to fix our minds upon that great Being to whom our prayers are addressed,—it would seem almost to savour of a truism to remark, that the tone and style of all such compositions should be one of extreme simplicity,—chastened and purged as far as possible from all profane and secular associations; and this style, in a theocratic state like that of Italy, naturally enough springs up in the very infancy of the art, before variety of modulation and harmony, with the allurements which they hold out to the fancy of the composer, has been introduced. The strains of such music, when they are solemn and impressive, may be imperfect, monotonous, and rude, but not the less adapted to the purpose required. Whether they are heard, 'in service high 'and anthems clear,' resounding through the 'embowered roof' of the sanctuary, aided by the powerful influence of 'the 'loud pealing organ' and all the imposing accessories of Catholic worship,—or issuing from the rough untutored voices of the rigid adherents of Calvin, in some lone valley or mountain glen,—they serve equally to awaken and sustain the spirit of devotion. Were it otherwise, how could we account for the fact that the Gregorian Chant has been used in the ritual of the Romish church from the sixth century down to the present day, precisely in the form in which it was then established; or the still more extraordinary circumstance, that a composition written two hundred years anterior to this,—the celebrated Canticle of the 'Te 'Deum,' by St Ambrose and St Augustine,—should still be admired and (we have M. Choron's authority for the fact) appreciated as much as the sacred works of many modern masters. Such is the noble simplicity of these ancient chants and church

services, and their total dissimilitude to every thing heard upon lighter occasions, that when used at solemn festivals, especially during Lent and the holy week, they are sure to make an indelible impression on the mind; and to be ever afterwards associated with ideas of veneration and awe. These feelings may sometimes be not a little enhanced by the reflection, that in these solemn strains we are listening to relics of even much more remote antiquity; the Gregorian ritual having been formed chiefly from fragments of the ancient Greek and Roman hymns and the chants used in the religious ceremonies of the Jews, which were afterwards transferred into the service of the early Christian church.

That after the invention of counterpoint, in the eleventh century, these chants, and the early music of the church, should have been encumbered and buried under an accumulation of learned harmonies and figurative descant, wrought out, like so many problems, to the utter disregard of melody, is precisely what might have been expected at a period when music was classed as a branch of the mathematics (forming a part of the *quadrivium*, along with arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy). But in the same way that the Italian and German composers of the last century liberated music of every other kind from the narrow routine to which it was circumscribed by the pedantry of their age, Palestrina, in 1555, by one masterly stroke, not only saved the music of the Church from the total annihilation with which it was threatened by the Council of Trent, but placed it on a footing which has left literally nothing for his successors to do but to imitate his style and to write after his example. And it is not easy to overrate the genius of the composer, who could at once, in the face of a system so opposite, direct the powers of harmony to their legitimate object,—the strengthening and enriching of melodies, chaste, sublime, and full of expression.

In England, Dr Tye had the merit, even before the time of Palestrina, of abandoning, in some of his compositions, the artificial and complicated methods of his day; and Tallis, Bird, Gibbons, and others, during the Elizabethan age, profiting by his works, and those of Palestrina, and the Italian composers who followed his footsteps, succeeded in bringing ecclesiastical music to a state of grandeur, simplicity, and purity which has never been surpassed; whatever improvements may since have been effected in the flow of the melody—the accentuation and expression of the words, the delicacy of the accompaniment, and the general contexture of the parts. It is singular that English composers alone should, down to the present day, have adhered to the exclusive ecclesiastical style; but to this distinction they

are unquestionably entitled; and it may well console us for our admitted inferiority in music of a theatrical and miscellaneous nature.

'The choral music,' says Mr Hogarth, 'appropriated to the service of our cathedrals, is peculiarly English, and differs essentially from the sacred music of every other country. It belongs to the school of composition founded by the great harmonists of the sixteenth century; and the grave and religious character impressed upon it by Gibbons, Tallis, and Bird, has been preserved by the unbroken series of distinguished musicians, who, down to our own time, have devoted their talents to the service of the Church. Our music consecrated to religion retains the grand and solemn harmony of the old masters; and if its melodies have in the progress of time acquired additional grace and smoothness, they have not lost the serious and chastened expression which befits the language of devotion. It admits none of those light and tripping measures, which, in the words of Pope,

" Make the soul dance upon a jig to Heaven,"

or rather draw it down from those heavenly contemplations which religious music ought to inspire, and fill it with the thoughts of worldly pursuits, and trifling amusements.'

'England is thus entitled to boast that her cathedral music is superior to that of any other country, and that while the music of the Church in Italy, and even Germany, has degenerated, ours retains the solemn grandeur of the olden time. Our services and anthems, too, are more vocal than the masses and motets of the Romish Church; for, in these, the voices are very frequently subordinate to the rich and powerful instrumental symphony which accompanies them. Our cathedral music is accompanied by the organ only, a kind of accompaniment that is not liable to the changes which orchestral music is constantly undergoing; and, from its grave and solid style, is calculated to support and enrich the vocal harmony, without withdrawing the attention from it. The more independent vocal music is of instrumental accompaniment, the less it will be subject to the mutability of taste and fashion; and this is one cause of the durability of our cathedral music.'

Mr Hogarth more than once expresses this apprehension as to the perishable nature of instrumental music, founded upon the changes to which instruments are liable;—a subject which admits of considerable difference of opinion, and which would require much more space for its discussion than can be here spared. We shall therefore satisfy ourselves with remarking, that these prospective alterations are by no means certain; and that their probable effect in impairing the durability of modern orchestral composition has been over-rated. In our opinion, the immutability of the scale itself, and of the limits within which the essential elements of harmony are circumscribed, would at all times supersede the necessity of any farther change than one analogous to that by Mozart, when he modernized the symphonies of Han-

del's 'Messiah,' by the addition of such accompaniments as the extended knowledge of wind instruments rendered available. Our ecclesiastical music has, no doubt, owed its preservation to the circumstance here alluded to,—of the accompaniment in our cathedrals having been confined to the organ; and the admission of a variety of instruments,—both from the connexion with the dramatic style of composition, and the circumstances attendant on its execution,—has as certainly been the cause of the adulteration of this kind of music in Italy, Germany, and France. For ourselves, we are rigid enough to desire the exclusion of all instruments but the organ from the religious services of the church; because we do not see how they can be introduced without, in some degree, disturbing the solemnity of the occasion. The organ, from its being, we may almost say, set apart for purposes of religion, and its peculiar suitableness for the production of sublime effects, of itself inclines the mind to feelings of devotion; but the different instruments of an orchestra have an opposite tendency; and are as certain to awaken the recollection of scenes of gaiety, enjoyment, and revelry—the ball, the concert-room, and the theatre. It has happened also, that composers, feeling it impossible to bring all the resources of modern melody and harmony within the bounds of strict ecclesiastical composition, have written their masses and motets in the same style, and with all the gaiety and florid beauty of the music of the drama. Even the sacred works of Haydn and Mozart are cast in this mould;—excepting the 'Stabat mater' of the former, and the 'Requiem' of the latter. In the last of these, in particular, while the sacred character is maintained throughout, the airs have all the grace and freedom,—the instrumentation all the resources, of modern refinement; and in this impressive work, and the perfect manner in which, in his operas, this incomparable artist has contrived to blend the varied powers of the orchestra with the voice, without ever allowing the former to encroach on the latter, he has exhibited the finest models which exist of these two styles of composition; but models, we fear, so difficult of imitation, that for aught we have yet seen, they seem destined to be the despair, as well as the admiration, of all future composers.

We are glad to observe that, in their sacred compositions, there is now a disposition in Germany to return to the pure style of the old masters; and that they are travelling by the route pointed out to them in the works of Sebastian Bach, Handel, and Graun;—not, however, we trust, to the exclusion of the improvements which have arisen since their time, when they admit of being introduced without detracting from the grave devotional character to which they aspire. In oratorios, which, as they

form no part of the service, are not, strictly speaking, church music, although usually performed in churches, a greater latitude may be reasonably allowed; of which we have examples in Haydn's 'Creation,' and Beethoven's 'Mount of Olives;' though it must be confessed that the sublime effect of the latter composition, considering the more than ordinary sanctity of the subject, is greatly lessened by the purely dramatic tone which pervades it, almost from beginning to end.

This blending of the sacred with the profane is perhaps the greatest musical vice of the age; and it is gratifying to find that it is in the course of being reformed. Even Dr Crotch, who writes an essay for the purpose of showing that the art is on the wane (though in reality he proves nothing but that in sacred music the old ecclesiastical methods have been departed from), will now be satisfied that the case is not so hopeless as he is inclined to represent it; especially since he admits, that in other respects, the modern system has brought the ornamental and beautiful to a degree of perfection to which it had never previously reached. Although we may be destined, at some future period, to see new inventions and improvements in instruments,* or, in other words, in the *media* through which composers may hereafter express their ideas, and which may impart additional variety to their phrasology, and heighten the force of their sentiment, the language of music is already fully formed and developed; and we see nothing to warrant us in anticipating future discoveries so novel as materially to affect or alter the practical system of musical composition. Composers appear to us to have, at the present moment, the best and most perfect models to direct them as to the course which they ought to pursue; and their destination for good or evil will depend upon the originality and strength of their own genius, and the critical judgment of the ordeal through which their productions have to pass. It is important, therefore, that that ordeal should be as pure and free from prejudice as possible; and hence the value of such a work as this of Mr Hogarth. Taken as a whole, we have nowhere seen a sounder or more unexceptionable body of criticism; or one which, considering the variety of topics which it embraces, affords proof of a more extensive range of observation. His comments on Handel, Haydn, Mozart, the English Church and Theatrical Composers, Cimarosa, Beethoven, and the German school generally, are eminently deserving of approbation. The merits of the latter are balanced and appreciated with equal discrimination and impartiality. As a specimen, our readers may take the following observations, and part of his critique on Beethoven:—

* Germany, during the seventeenth century, produced a great number

of excellent musicians, several of whom once enjoyed high reputation, but their works are now utterly forgotten, and little more is known of them than their names, a catalogue of which would be wholly uninteresting. At that period, the music of the Germans was distinguished by learning and depth, rather than facility and grace: by intricate combinations of harmony, rather than flowing and expressive air. This, indeed, is in a considerable degree the character of the German music to this day, when compared with that of Italy. But the more recent German composers have drawn, from the fountain of Italian melody, draughts which have awakened their imagination and refined their taste; their music has gained beauty and simplicity, without losing the richness of its harmony. In saying this, we mean it to apply to those only who have studied the Italian models, for it is undeniable that much of the German music is still dry and overlaboured, abounding in rugged combinations, and deficient in smooth and agreeable strains, partaking too much, in short, of the qualities of *sauc-kraut* to all but German tastes. We mean our remark to apply to all the music of Mozart, to most of that of Haydn, to those parts of all the greatest works of Beethoven, where the most enchanting strains of melody come upon the ear, through his wild and gloomy masses of sound, like gleams of sunshine through the clouds and darkness of an April sky; and, finally, to the best and happiest effusions of Weber and Spohr.—

As a musician, Beethoven must be classed along with Handel, Haydn, and Mozart. He alone is to be compared to them in the magnitude of his works, and their influence on the state of the art. Though he has written little in the department to which Handel devoted all the energies of his mind, yet his spirit, more than that of any other composer, is akin to that of Handel. In his music there is the same gigantic grandeur of conception, the same breadth and simplicity of design, and the same absence of minute finishing and petty details. In Beethoven's harmonies the masses of sound are equally large, ponderous, and imposing as those of Handel, while they have a deep and gloomy character peculiar to himself. As they swell in our ears, and grow darker and darker, they are like the lowering storm-cloud on which we gaze till we are startled by the flash, and appalled by the thunder which bursts from its bosom. Such effects he has especially produced in his wonderful symphonies. They belong to the tone of his mind, and are without a parallel in the whole range of music. Even where he does not wield the strength of a great orchestra; in his instrumental concerted pieces; in his quartetts, his trios, and his sonatas for the pianoforte, there is the same broad and massive harmony, and the same wild, unexpected, and startling effects. Mingled with these, in his orchestral, as well as his chamber music, there are strains of melody inexpressibly impassioned and ravishing; strains which do not merely please, but dissolve in pleasure; which do not merely move, but overpower with emotion. Of these divine melodies, a remarkable feature is their extreme simplicity. A few notes, as artless as those of a national air, are sufficient to awake the most exquisite feelings.

The music of Beethoven is stamped with the peculiarities of the man.

When slow and tranquil in its movement, it has not the placid composure of Haydn, or the sustained tenderness of Mozart ; but it is grave, and full of deep and melancholy thought. When rapid, it is not brisk or lively, but agitated and changeable,—full of “sweet and bitter fancies”—of storm and sunshine—of bursts of passion sinking into the subdued accents of grief, or relieved by transient gleams of hope or joy. There are movements, indeed, to which he gives the designation of *scherzoso*, or playful ; but this playfulness is as unlike as possible to the constitutional jocularity to which Haydn loved to give vent in the *finales* of his symphonies and quartetts. If, in a movement of this kind, Beethoven sets out in a tone of gaiety, his mood changes involuntarily,—the smile fades away, as it were, from his features,—and he falls into a train of sombre ideas, from which he ever and anon recovers himself, as if with an effort, and from a recollection of the nature of his subject. The rapid *scherzos*, which he has substituted for the older form of the minuet, are wild, impetuous, and fantastic ; they have often the air of that violent and fitful vivacity to which gloomy natures are liable ; their mirth may be compared to that of the bacchanalian effusion of the doomed Caspar. They contain, however, many of Beethoven's most original and beautiful conceptions ; and are strikingly illustrative of the character of his mind.

The works composed by Beethoven in the latter years of his life are not so generally known or relished as his earlier productions. These earlier compositions are clear in design, and so broad and simple in their effects, that, when they receive justice from the performers, they at once strike every one who is susceptible of the influence of music. In his more recent works, his meaning is obscure, and in many instances, incomprehensible. He has cast away all established models, and not only thrown his movements into new and unprecedented forms, but has introduced the same degree of novelty into all their details. The phrases of his melody are new ; his harmonies are new ; his disposition of parts is new ; and his sudden changes of time, of measure, and of key, are frequently not explicable on any received principles of the art.

It is in his symphonies that the powers of Beethoven's genius are most fully displayed. The symphony in C minor stands alone and unrivalled ; and the *Sinfonia Pastorale* is probably the finest piece of descriptive music in existence. Every movement of this charming work is a scene, and every scene is full of the most beautiful images of rural nature and rural life. We feel the freshness of a summer morning. We hear the rustling of the breeze, the waving of the woods, the cheerful notes of birds, and the cries of animals. We stray along the margin of a meandering brook, and listen to the murmuring of its waters. We join a group of villagers, keeping holiday with joyous songs and dances. The sky grows dark, the thunder growls, and a storm bursts on the alarmed rustics, whose cries of dismay are heard amidst the strife of the elements. The clouds pass away, the muttering of the thunder is more and more distant, all becomes quiet and placid, and the stillness is broken by the pastoral song of gratitude. Nothing can be more beautiful or more true to nature than every part of this representation. *It requires no key, no explanation, but places every image before the mind with a distinctness*

which neither poetry nor painting could surpass, and with a beauty which neither of them could equal.

Here the enthusiasm of the author has carried him off his feet; for we must say that the concluding part of the last sentence puts us not a little in mind of one of the pleasing exaggerations of a certain captain mentioned in 'Peter Simple,' who describes his mother as being so splendid a pianoforte player, that upon one occasion, when she was delighting her friends with her performance, she introduced an imitation of thunder so exquisite, that the cream for tea became sour, besides three casks of beer in the cellar! This is scarcely more laughable than it is to say, that the descriptive powers of the *Pastorale*, great as they undoubtedly are, or of any instrumental music unaccompanied by words, ever can place imagery before the mind, with a distinctness equal to poetry or painting. Beethoven himself seems to have been of a different opinion; as he has here furnished us with an explanation, in words, of the different scenes intended to be delineated;—knowing that the graphic power of his pencil, without such explanations, could never be made to convey any definite idea of visual objects, or to give any thing more than the general character of certain emotions, or to excite certain trains of association.

But the only offence for which we feel seriously inclined to take Mr Hogarth to task, is his unceremonious treatment of the present Italian school, which he dismisses in the following sentence:—

'The present Italian composers are mere imitators of Rossini, and are much more successful in copying his defects than his beauties. They are, like him, full of mannerism, with this difference, that his manner was his own, while *theirs* is *his*. They occasionally produce pretty melodies, a faculty possessed to some extent by every Italian composer, however low his grade; but in general, their airs are strings of commonplace passages, borrowed chiefly from Rossini, and employed without regard to the sentiment and expression required by the scene. Their concerted pieces are clumsy and inartificial, and their loud and boisterous accompaniments show a total ignorance of orchestral composition. This general description applies to them all—Pacini, Mercadante, Bellini, and Donizetti, are all alike—"fortem Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum," and have not a single distinctive feature.'

Now we think that most people will agree with us in considering these observations as unjust in their application to all the Italian composers above named—more especially to the last two; and we cannot avoid expressing some surprise that censure so indiscriminate should have found a place in a work, in other respects so distinguished for its candour, judgment, and good taste. We shall here confine our remarks to Bellini, whose career, quite as brilliant as that of Rossini, has unhappily been closed by his late

premature death. His *Pirata*, *Straniera*, *Norma*, *Sonnambula*, *Capuleti e Montecchi*, and latterly his *Puritani*, no sooner appeared than they were represented, and re-echoed by myriads of voices and instruments throughout all parts of the civilized world. It is now several years since his popularity commenced; and from an Italian Journal, at present lying before us, which contains theatrical intelligence from every town in Italy, it is pretty evident that its tide is only rising to its height; for, strange to say, in this country so prolific in this species of produce that a year never passes without ushering into existence at least forty or fifty new operas of different masters, there is at the present moment nothing but the productions of Bellini to be any where heard. And are we to believe that the homage thus spontaneously rendered to the talent of this composer—not in one place or country where the taste for a season might be partial or contracted—but in all quarters, arises from a mere popular hallucination as to the excellence of his music? We confidently ask, whether any instance can be pointed out where the general verdict of the European public has proved to be unfounded? The signal success of Paganini, whom we are sorry to see Mr Hogarth also attempting to depreciate (alluding to Spohr as the greatest of all violin players *par excellence*, and only acknowledging the supremacy of the former in some particulars), is another parallel case. The least acquaintance with Bellini's compositions is quite sufficient, we should think, to rescue him from the imputation of being a mannerist, and a mere imitator of Rossini. His style is eminently chaste, and entirely free from that species of meretricious embellishment, which, repeated as it is *ad nauseam* throughout his works, so much disfigures the music of the latter. Besides being perfectly original, it is more graceful, flowing, and infinitely more impassioned. In this respect, and in its freedom from all pedantry, we regard the melody of Bellini as a decided advance in the progress of the art; and a still farther developement of that principle of the modern system which has been at work ever since the refinement of melody became an object of attention. Bellini (more than any other author since the time of Mozart) addresses us in the simple, unadorned, and unaffected language of feeling and nature; and, so far from answering the description given in the above quotation, we venture to affirm that no music written for the stage was ever more strictly subservient to the situation and action of the drama. In fact, he is one of those rare artists who forget every thing else, and throw themselves into the scene with all the fervour and inspiration of a genuine *improvisatore*. His instrumentation (perhaps for that very reason) is not carefully elaborated, like that of the great German composers; his talent did not lie in that depart-

ment; but it is by no means liable to the objection of being noisy and obstreperous: on the contrary, it has frequently been found fault with for being too gentle and subdued, by persons who did not advert to the extreme propriety of this mode of accompaniment,—where, for example, in the *Sonnambula*, the contrary would have been palpably irreconcilable with the continued sleep in which the senses of the heroine are absorbed; and in other cases where it is thinly spread or partially suspended to make room for the expression and energy of a Rubini, a Grisi, or a Tamburini. These operas are not to be examined merely on the face of the score;—they are not to be scrutinized like a miniature or a cabinet picture;—but to be judged of like a well-painted scene in the theatre, by their effect upon the audience; and he who should detract from their merits, because he had succeeded, upon a near inspection, in discovering a few theoretical blemishes not discernible to the ear, would in all probability withhold his admiration from the finest effort of the scenic art until he had found his way behind the scenes, and there satisfied himself as to the *minutiae* of the work, and the manner in which the colours were laid on. There are few of those critics so acute in finding out errors in black and white, who would be able to detect them in the course of the performance. Amidst scenes of deep interest, such as Bellini has depicted, they are seldom, if ever observable; and where it is otherwise, it appears to us that we have no more to do with the original score, than with the paper on which it was written. To all who could coldly sit out the representation of one of Bellini's tender and impassioned operas, insensible to its beauties, unmoved by its inspiring strains, and intent upon nothing but the technical errors into which the composer, in the heat of his fancy, may have been hurried, we would say, in the often quoted words of Rousseau,—‘If you are calm and tranquil amidst the ecstasies of this great art, if you feel no delirium, no transport,—profane not the sacred shrine of genius with your presence; what can it avail you to *hear* what you cannot *feel*?’

The general critical observations in which we have indulged in the preceding pages, have left us no room for the many entertaining details connected with the personal history of musicians which Mr Hogarth has taken great pains to collect, and to which he has done ample justice in the narration. The various circumstances which mark the early rise and developement of musical talent—the ecstasy with which the young enthusiast drinks in the delicious sounds,—the irrepressible ardour and perseverance with which he pursues the vocation to which nature has called him—the proficiency which has sometimes been attain-

ed in this art, more than in any other, at a period long before the other faculties are brought to maturity—the habits of composition of the great masters, and those peculiarities of disposition and temperament for which the sons of fancy seem to be all more or less remarkable—these might well form the groundwork of some interesting speculations. But we cannot at present do more than refer to Mr Hogarth's work, which will be found highly acceptable to the general as well as to the musical reader.

ART. III.—*The Arians of the Fourth Century, their doctrine, temper, and conduct, chiefly as exhibited in the Councils of the Church, between A. D. 325, and A. D. 381.* By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, M. A., Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo. London: 1833.

WE have been induced to notice this work, not for the sake of its merits as a history, which we are not disposed to rate very highly; but on account of certain doctrines spread over it which have of late been warmly patronised by a particular school of Churchmen, amongst whom Mr Newman holds a distinguished place.

In the volume called 'Tracts for the Times,' published not long ago at Oxford, their peculiar opinions may be found; though they are perhaps best known practically by their watch-word, 'Apostolical Succession.' They are not mere antiquarians—distinguished only by the number of old-fashioned folios which they have explored. They are men of our own times—holding opinions which sway the tone and temper of many a mind at this day; and wielding an influence whose centre is perhaps to be placed in our universities, but whose circumference is wide enough to enclose the remotest corners of the land. Nor let our readers be surprised to find them pouring forth all their choicest treasures on so uninviting a subject as the old and bitter controversies which saddened and disgraced bygone days. For antiquity is their idol, and they would rather err with the men of the fourth century than see the truth with those of the nineteenth.

But we must not at once class them among common Anti-Reformers and High Churchmen—the genus is a large one, and possesses many species—some coarser and more selfish, others more refined, and obeying the laws of a sincere though mistaken

conscience. Mr Newman and his friends are not swayed by a gross attachment to the prelacy or ecclesiastical dominion—theirs is no profane and vulgar clinging to the temporalities of the Church; nor is their intolerance the same with that of a Laud or an Atterbury. It is but justice to them to say, that their views are less worldly, and the objects they aim at of a nobler character: the worldly power and splendour of the establishment are less attractive to their ambition than the more real, and to an educated and thinking man, more precious power of ruling the minds and consciences of men. But though they do not share the feelings, and build their opinions on the same basis with the great mass of High Churchmen, they contribute perhaps the most valuable aid of all to the general cause. They are constantly appealed to by the baser sort as splendid proofs that talent and lofty feeling support the justice of their cause. Their most distinguishing feature, and that on which they most pride themselves, is the great and almost exclusive prominence which they give to the moral part of our nature, combined with a sort of hatred of the authority of reason. This is the key-stone of their whole system. They are ever dwelling on the importance of our moral feelings—they paint, often with truth and beauty, the excellence of a correct and well-regulated moral habit; and they show us how the practice of good quickens the moral sense, till at last it becomes a kind of instinct, shrinking without effort from the touch of evil, and embracing as akin to its nature, what is good and true. They tell us, with Bishop Butler, that the highest perfection of man consists in the unreserved obedience of the will to the law of good, and to God as the fountain of all good; and they carefully direct their efforts to tame and discipline the unruly will of man, and to excite and cultivate in him a taste and relish for goodness, and a distaste of evil. So far, nothing can be more justly conceived—nothing better adapted for the improvement of our being. But in the method by which they purpose to attain their end, they fall into very serious errors, that entail consequences of no slight mischief. The wish to stifle, at its first rising, every impulse of rebellion in the spirit, and to bring it to that high point of rendering the love of good and the horror of evil instinctive, makes them lay stress upon the cultivation of right habits alone,—to the disregard, and even to the suppression of all exercise of the reasoning faculty. Man's reason is a sovereign power; it feels itself to be an independent judge, possessed of the right of pronouncing its own decrees. This at once seems to them a counter authority to the moral habit;—it questions, examines, and discriminates, where the other implicitly obeys. Hence the vehemence

with which they proscribe its rule; and the unwearied and even self-denying labour with which they crush every impulse of curiosity, every desire to think freely, which rises in the soul.

Now all this might hold very well, if we were surrounded with things unmingledly good and unmingledly evil. But it is wholly forgotten, that good is so intimately, so invisibly mixed up with evil, that it requires not only a right feeling to love and embrace it when it is found, but the exercise of every faculty of man to separate the metal from the ore in which it is imbedded. Man's actions are so complicated, the workings of the best human counsels so intricate, that even the most practised judgment is often puzzled to detect their true character; and, as every one knows, the best intentioned plans are not seldom productive of the widest mischief. Now, there being nothing so ready as reason to which we could appeal, a most perplexing dilemma presents itself to men who trust to habit merely. The independent use of reason would at once set up a precedent for doubting and not obeying; and they well know that such is the influence of this faculty, that, once established, it would quickly control the whole mind. From this difficulty they save themselves by a strange expedient—they refer us to authority—they tell us to seek out the example of good men who have gone before us, and to take them for the standard of our conduct. In this way, they endeavour to find solutions for the thousand questions that life asks, without exposing the mind to the risk of discovering the odious supremacy of reason.

This system, like every other, has had its good and its bad results. It has led its followers to search with no common diligence into the lives of those who adorned past ages by their goodness; and often to contemplate their course with feelings of the truest affection. They have loved to catch a glimpse of those peaceful and heavenly rays which have shone amidst the thick darkness of evil generations—they have traced with reverence and fondness the paths of those heavenly pilgrims, and have tried to catch a portion of their spirit. And, in this retrospect, they care not to scrutinize the intellectual workings of great men, or irreverently to explore those mighty struggles of the understanding which have raised up noble institutions as 'so many fortresses of good in the land of evil: their sympathy is drawn out by the gentle virtues which graced their hours of privacy and of peace; it is the beauty of temper and character which makes their hearts glow as they gaze. Undoubtedly, too; such contemplations must react most favourably on themselves; the more sensitive they become to the beauty of moral excellence, the more likely is it to call forth imitation, whilst its

reflection in their own character ensures to them the submissive homage of many noble spirits.

But there is also a reverse to the picture. Perhaps the greatest, and in its effects the most ruinous, of its consequences is the contracting of their minds to value but one, or at least only a few, forms of good and truth. In the study of history they never fasten their attention on the intellectual efforts of any great men or illustrious period. They are never zealous for that noblest of all its ends, the watching how great principles have been variously applied in different ages, and have required modification, and even total alteration, to be capable of maintaining the same effect on society. But on the contrary, it has been their delight to trace out one character, one truth, one form of virtue only. This they recognise to be of value and none other. And this one they seldom analyze so diligently as to know wherein its vitality lies. They embrace it in the lump;—just as in the case of those good men whose characters they take for their models, they suffer their minds to dwell only on those brighter rays which have pierced through the gloom of ancient times; and gladly let their faults and weaknesses be lost in the general obscurity. Now this bondage to one form of good, gives rise to two very grave and very painful blemishes in the character of these men. It makes them guilty of obedience to evil, and then of uncharitableness. Their desire to find patterns of perfect goodness, to the imitation of which they may surrender themselves without the harassing restlessness, or the dangerous guilt of doubt, begets in them a habit of fixing their looks on the attractive points only; and of neglecting and even becoming indifferent to the evil by which all human virtue is accompanied. Hence they use no small ingenuity in discovering traces of beauty and utility in the most minute acts, and even in the most equivocal measures of their models; and when all the rest of the world has become convinced of the worn-out old age of many an institution, they can still furnish themselves, out of its ruins, with the elements of glowing contemplation or more practical usefulness. In this respect they present a most striking contrast to their more common allies, with whom they are leagued to resist all change. Whilst these last are loud in the defence of a state of things, from which they derive profit or worldly dignity, the others rally with the ardour and fond love of enthusiasts to the succour of that organization with which their best thoughts, their dearest speculations, and some of their most elevated feelings, have been associated. Hence they are never found on the side of mere gross corruption; or of systems which cannot move the human mind to good. When men of more enlarged views are asking for modifications, which, chang-

ing only the organic form, preserve the inward spirit, they cling to the well-known image all the more tenaciously; because the power of fancy and association enables them to endow with vitality that which to every one else is become dead and worthless. Thus they resolutely exclude the Dissenters, not only from the honours, but also from the teaching, of the national universities;—choosing to dwindle down, if needs be, into the teachers of a mere sect, rather than have the associations of the place marred by the presence of anti-churchmen, and of being daily reminded of the unwelcome truth, that men may grow in the attainment of knowledge, and moral and spiritual worth, without agreeing with them on church discipline. And whilst they have conscience enough generously to allow Dissenters to have universities of their own, where they avow a very inferior education would be received, no murmur of reproach rises within their souls as they turn a deaf ear to the cry of the country, that those who are raised to offices of trust and power should be trained in the highest teaching which society has to bestow. Nay, we are not sure that they would not infinitely rather live as martyrs under the baneful operation of laws framed by ill-educated and ill-disposed men, than lend the smallest aid in training their minds, when young, to all things lovely and true, at the sacrifice of wounding one of their favourite contemplations. Finally, in the same spirit too, these very men have been most forward in the recent successful attempt to resist the substituting in the room of Subscription to the Articles, a Declaration which they do not deny to contain its fullest meaning;—actually calling upon those who find it a snare to subscribe assertions which they have never thought of, and often never read, to think obedience better than mental conviction, and then conspicuously and unequivocally to testify this their persuasion, by using a form of words which common reason declares to mean one thing, and the church rulers choose to say means another. The other fault with which we charge them is that of the most bitter uncharitableness. With much in their habit of mind most thoroughly opposed to the spirit of Judaism, they have not been able to escape from the evil temper which their blind attachment to the outward form wrought in the ancient Jews. What shall we think of one of their chiefs, the very apostle of their party, proclaiming lately to the world, that he knows no more whether a Dissenter can be saved than he can tell what will become of a Mahomedan or a Hindoo? What can we think, but that such a man has wellnigh sublimed away all true feelings of brotherly love? He has gazed so long on one object, that his moral vision has become affected with the same disorder which befalls the bodily eye when it has been fixed too

long on a single colour. Surrounding objects have lost their own colours, and shine only in unnatural ones. If you appeal to the lives and holiness of many Dissenters he will probably fly to scepticism for shelter; and will ask you, how you can be sure that such holiness is not altogether an illusion? He will tell you that you are begging the question in conceiving holiness to be possible when found out of the Episcopal Church. Thus, they overthrow the foundation of Christianity; while they so libel it, that if it were really what they represent it to be, its fall would be scarcely matter of regret. For what more perilous and madder scepticism than to doubt whether evident goodness be what it seems to be,—what viler idolatry and superstition than to prefer what is formal to what is moral—agreement in ceremonies to sympathy in holiness?

Nor will it avail them to answer, as they have done, that they can hold no fellowship with such as refuse obedience to Christ's commands; for who does not re-echo the same sentiment? They forget the immense distinction between the refusing to do a thing when we know that Christ commanded it, and the leaving it undone, because we believe he did not ordain it. And melancholy, indeed, must be the impression left on every candid mind, that however such persons may profit in their private meditations, they are little fitted to promote God's cause in the world by sympathy with good, however defaced or imperfect it may be;—that by confining their love to a narrow portion of Christ's flock, they must withhold their aid, and their affectionate prayers, from those whose hearts may be sinking in the struggle against outward and inward sin;—that they understand and feel little of that spirit which led Paul to observe the Jewish law himself, and risk his life in resolutely delivering the Gentiles from it; and made him become all things to all men, that he might save some.

Such we conceive to be the principles and temper of mind of this Theological School, and such are some of the most pernicious results which have flowed from them. Now, it might seem very strange and unaccountable, that, while enforcing the obligation of authority, they should never have perceived that those who were the first to lay down principles and rules for the guidance of their followers, having no model or previous standard of authority to go by, must have derived them from the suggestions of that reason which is the birthright of all mankind. There is no escape from this conclusion, except in the supposition that the motives of human practice rest on the basis of experience. So truly empirical and unphilosophical an hypothesis, we believe, they would repudiate as eagerly as ourselves; but they are saved by a most fortunate peculiarity in the history of the Church.

Other sciences are of human invention : Christianity is a revelation from Heaven. They claim a superhuman origin for their doctrines. This is their chosen field of battle : here they throw up their strongest intrenchments, and proudly defy reason to enter. Our first teachers, say they, received their doctrines from the fountain of truth itself. When reason lay perplexed and baffled, they came to her rescue with truths that were not of her own devising. But so equally exclaim their opponents. The apostles are enlisted on each side, and victory still inclines to neither party. In this danger, these men fall back on tradition ; they call upon it to explain what is doubtful in the language of the inspired apostles—to pour forth her hidden treasures, which were too precious to be entrusted to the profane world at large, and were reserved only for the few. They challenge our obedience—on pain of forfeiting our allegiance to the great Head of the Church—to that body whom he has appointed to be his representative, and to declare his will to man. On the strength of this argument they ruled triumphantly for many ages ; but in respect of it, they have made one, and only one, but that so fatal a mistake, that it has destroyed its strength for ever. That mistake was the *Reformation*. During centuries of undisputed sway, this privileged class,—these depositaries of the keys of religion,—so disgusted the feelings of men by their vices and worldly-mindedness,—so insulted their understandings by the vast pile of senseless tradition, which they covered with the broad shield of apostolical authority, and did such violence to the strongest and best impulses of our nature by forbidding men to think, except in such forms as they prescribed,—that the patience of meek and servile nations could endure no longer. In the terrible day of battle against the hosts of authority and power, men fled to their only but long despised protector, and they found it a tower of strength. The Reformation was achieved in the name and by the authority of *Reason*. It appealed from the Church to common sense, for the interpretation of Scripture. It asserted, and for ever established the right of every man to judge and decide for himself, what Scripture reveals and requires. But it also exposed the English Church to the double danger of either losing the obedience of the people, or compromising the principles on which she exacted it. In this strait, she wisely and rightly sacrificed her former title, and chose the cause of liberty and truth.

But as soon as the peril was over, she straightway set herself to repair the breach, by which she had stormed the stronghold of Catholicism. She strove to wrest from the people the very weapon to which she had owed her victory : she laid the founda-

tions, if not of scriptural exposition, yet of ecclesiastical supremacy, on the basis of authority. Her clergy could no longer demand obedience as the officers of that great society, which was independent of all temporal government, and had made Rome the capital of a spiritual kingdom, comprising most of the nations of Europe. They could no longer proclaim, that those who separated themselves from them tore asunder their connection with the one great community of Christendom, and were thus shut out from the kingdom of God. Yet the political character of the Reformation, in England, which prevented the breaking up of the establishment, kept alive the feeling, both in the clergy and the people, that the title of religious government was not altered. The same persons, to a great extent, remained the spiritual pastors of the nation; the whole structure of the hierarchy was retained. Abuses, it was represented, had been remedied, but the essence was still the same. This impression was further promoted by the close alliance which the Church now entered into with the King. The executive functions only seemed transferred from the Pope to the King: the relation of the clergy to the people was preserved in all its integrity. The clergy preached the indefeasible right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience; and the royal power was willing to receive the blessing and sanction of religion, as of something superior to itself. By this alliance the Church secured one most important advantage. It masked the true character of its title. Its immediate dependence on the King, and not on the whole Legislature, prevented men from clearly seeing that it was entirely the offspring and creature of the State—the first and best of its institutions, but still originally established by, and exercising powers derived solely from the State. The constant and despotical jurisdiction which the King was ever exerting in the discipline, ritual, and other matters of the Church, caused people to overlook the fact, that this very power was bestowed on the sovereign by the great council of the nation,—that the Protestant Church was called into existence by act of Parliament,—and that bills affecting the Church in every respect were constantly discussed and passed in Parliament.

Thus the clergy, with the help of the royal power, have been plotting ever since, a counter-revolution. They would have gladly suppressed all recollection of the Reformation;—they would have men abstain from scrutinizing too minutely the mode and principles of that great revolution. They endeavoured to persuade us to link on Protestant Episcopacy to Catholicism—purified, indeed, by a violent and irregular convulsion; but, after the paroxysm of the fit was over, still remaining essentially the same body.

But, presently, the rude shock of Puritanism and Dissent assailed the Church; and it became necessary to repair her ruined works, if she would maintain her position. Two systems of defence only could be resorted to. Either, with Hooker, they must identify the church with the state, and rest the rights of the clergy on the will and enactment of the whole society; or, with Mr Newman, they must set up the higher and independent appointment contained in 'Apostolical succession.' The former of these lines of defence is impregnable; it can only be broken through when the society itself is dissolved. But, though the true one, it found no favour in the eyes of churchmen. With much of the form of Catholicism, the Church of England retained a large portion of its spirit; and nothing could be more thoroughly contradictory to that spirit, than that those who had claimed kings and princes for their subjects should now hold their offices on the tenure of the will of the general government, and exercise these powers as trusts delegated to them by an earthly authority. The other theory, therefore, was loudly and eagerly proclaimed; and, at the same time, it found in the ceremony of ordination a very ready means of spreading and perpetuating the delusion. The imposition of hands, in that solemn rite, easily led the imagination to believe that it conveyed a more sacred and a superior sanction than any which the state had to bestow. It carried the mind, with a feeling of respect and awe, through the long line of God's ministers, up to the appointment of the first bishops by the hands of God's inspired messengers. In this association lies the main strength of the party. But wise and good men in England, who do not hold 'Apostolical succession,' may yet claim a share of its influence. They may be Episcopalians; as thinking, amongst other reasons, that Episcopacy is the most ancient form of church government, and as such fills the mind with noble recollections of greatness and goodness, whose influence none who know human nature can ever despise. But they are Episcopalians, not in obedience to any apostolic command, but because the Legislature of England has chosen to adopt that system of ecclesiastical polity; and because they acquiesce in the wisdom of the reasons which guided its choice. For what else is the much talked of 'Apostolical succession,' but a vain attempt to suppress the great fact established by the Reformation; and to blind men against seeing, that the Reformation settled the same great truth in ecclesiastical, which the Revolution of 1688 did in civil affairs? These two decisive acts of interference, by the whole nation, with the established order of things, have alike proclaimed that every society is supreme over all human affairs, and possesses both the right and the power to create, modify, or abolish all offices and

institutions whatsoever. For, to say that the clergy, after their rights, their internal government, nay, even their faith and their doctrines have been altered or prescribed by act of Parliament, still command obedience by virtue of having received imposition of hands from Catholic priests, is as absurd as to say that the successors of James II. were entitled to the allegiance of Englishmen, because Mary belonged to the royal family; or, because William, like his predecessors, had been anointed by an archbishop at his coronation.

The Roman Catholics, indeed, are perfectly consistent and intelligible in the theory which they support. They tell us that the clergy are a self-electing corporation, endowed with qualifications for the pastoral office which can be found no where out of its pale. They claim a peculiar and perpetual gift, exclusively appropriated to this corporation; namely, such a measure of inspiration as shall enable them to pronounce infallibly what is Christian truth. This, indeed, would be a good and satisfactory reason for constituting such persons exclusively our spiritual teachers: the inference is perfectly just, if ever the premiss assumed is granted. But that premiss the Reformation has declared to be false. It proclaimed the unsoundness of many of the doctrines taught by these Episcopally ordained teachers; and that, as we have said before, upon the authority of reason alone. Thus infallibility falls to the ground; and thus 'Apostolical succession' becomes a mere lifeless form. For, as Dr Arnold has well shown, the clergy cannot be priests, because Christianity knows but of one; nor can they be governors, because the laws of England have taken away all government from them; nor are they infallible, because the Reformation has rejected their teaching as wrong: and if they are not priests, nor governors, nor infallible, what is the substantial faculty or privilege conveyed by ordination? There remains only one possible supposition more; namely, that our Lord enjoined this form of appointment for all those who were to minister in the word. Now, it is never pretended, that the Scriptures expressly declare the imposition of hands to be indispensable for the constituting of a minister. In its strongest form, the argument asserts only that such ordination was the universal practice in the apostolical times; and has been continually, though not exclusively, practised in the Christian church. We do not need such a sanction to feel assured that Christ will bless those who are charged with the office of providing for the spiritual interests of men. And so seems the Church of England to have thought, when it commissioned laymen to perform the duties of the clergy, in any parish where no ordained minister was to be found. Nor can it ever be proved that a form in itself indifferent, and containing no

intrinsic moral reason for its being continued at all times, is of permanent obligation, unless explicitly enjoined by God himself. In the case of the only two such forms retained by Protestants, we have the clearest command of Christ himself; but no where are we told that all churches must maintain Episcopal ordination. No one ever doubts that the Republic of America has an equally religious right to the obedience of every Christian in the United States, as the Emperor of Russia has to that of his Christian serfs. Nor would the French Republic, once established, have been unable to claim submission in the name of religion, because it had overthrown the most ancient line of kings in Europe. Every one knows that the legitimacy of a government is not to be measured by its being of one particular form; but by its fulfilling the purposes for which all government was instituted. In the same manner, precisely, we maintain, that the title of a system of church government does not depend on its resemblance to that which prevailed in apostolical times; but on its realizing, under the circumstances in which it may be placed, those great ends for the sake of which all Christian communities have been anxious to have some form of church government. In both cases, the ends alone have been pointed out by God; the means he has left to the choice of men.

Mr Newman seems well aware of the force of what precedes; for his work is a covert attempt to come back to the strong ground of the Catholics; and to set up a claim of peculiar and distinct qualification imparted to the Episcopalian church. He no where, indeed, discusses the question of 'Apostolical succession;' but he lays an admirable foundation for it, by leaving on the minds of his readers the impression that the church, and the ordained clergy, were the same; by enforcing the authority of councils, in which bishops alone sat, to declare the truth; and above all, by constantly appealing, not to an interpretation of Scripture founded only on common sense, but to the hidden and esoteric meaning, of which he represents the bishops and clergy to be the sole depositaries. He treats of times when the priestly character of the clergy began to be strongly developed; and his delight is to paint the bishops as they then were,—dispensers of oracles to people already much infected with superstition, and rulers of the Christian society. But especially does he exult in his love for the Church of Alexandria, of which he may well be reckoned a disciple. Their contemplative mysticism—their allegorical philosophy—their graduated scale of Christians—their hidden mysteries for the perfect—their catechetical school for novices, are fondly and enthusiastically described. No other period of past history presented so fair an occasion of illustrating

the predominance of authority—no where else has authority been supported by such real claims to respect, or misled by fewer worldly motives—at least before the time of Athanasius. In Athanasius, indeed, the mystic turned persecutor. Submission and childlike obedience were no longer claimed as due to eloquence and piety, and hidden stores of wisdom. They were more effectually enforced by the sword. But this new feature does not alter Mr Newman's attachment to the Alexandrian church: like all fanatics he is quite ready to execute judgment on such as are so wilfully blinded as not to think as he does.

This partiality for the Alexandrian fathers, Mr Newman, has betrayed at the very beginning of his book. He cannot endure for a moment the common opinion, that the odious heresy of Arius sprung from Alexandria. The church, where the secret mysteries were most carefully unfolded, and the most renowned teachers of authority exerted their full force in training up the religious habits of their flock, must, at all ventures, be vindicated from the guilt of having given birth to a sect, so noted for the boldness and inquisitiveness of its reasonings. Hence Paul of Samosata, and the proselyte Lucius, are called up from the middle of Asia to stand sponsors to Arius—though Mr Newman, after having raked together all he can find about these men, is obliged to content himself with calling them founders of a sophistical school, rather than of a religious sect. He finds, too, that nine out of thirteen of the bishops who supported Arius at Nicea, came from the patriarchate of Antioch. But how could this be otherwise, when the council was composed almost exclusively of Syrian bishops? And even were this not so, we might not choose, like Mr Newman, to take up the views and feelings of Athanasius; and set down all for Arians who were not of the Alexandrian party. Mr Newman in all this matter is a partisan, and not an historian. He says nothing here of Origen, and his determined opposition to the Athanasian formula; nor of Dionysius, who was charged by his own flock with having denied the consubstantiality of the Son. Yet these were Alexandrians, and are known to have held opinions that sounded like, if they were not identical with, those of Arius. Mr Newman has no inclination to enquire whether these doctrines, either from being misunderstood, or in any other way, could have been the logical and historical predecessors of the Arians; for that would bring out an Alexandrian origin,—a thing not to be thought of. It is at once shorter, and easier, with the Athanasians, to lay all the credit of this monstrous birth on the unknown opinions of the Syrian Paul and Lucius.

But, after all, the field of investigation must be enlarged. It is comparatively insignificant to enquire whether Antioch or Alex-

andria gave birth to Arianism; or whether Paul of Samosata or Dionysius was the first to teach the Arian doctrine. We cannot content ourselves with so superficial a cause as the mode of thinking of a single bishop; or even the metaphysical but unimpassioned skill of the schools of sophistry. No man has ever become great otherwise than by seizing and developing elements already pre-existent in the individual mind or in society: it is only in the first knowing the value of, and giving active effect to, truths which other men possessed in obscure consciousness, that his greatness and his command of the ready obedience of his fellow men really consist.

We must, then, endeavour to ascertain what there was in the doctrine of Arianism itself, and what in the social and intellectual state of the times in which it flourished, which could invest a speculative doctrine with such practical importance. We must enquire whether any peculiar feature characterised the questions debated among Christians during the third and two following centuries. Now did the Christian doctrine present itself in the same form then as in the two first centuries of the church? Unless we are mistaken, we fancy we can discern a broad and well defined difference.

The doctrines of the Gospel, among the early Christians, were considered in their bearing on the spiritual regeneration of man. The confirmation of the main points of natural religion, man's alienation from God, the means of recovery through Christ, and the awakening of an inward spiritual life, were for them the great objects of consideration. Their spirits had been quickened to an inward communion with God; and in the morning of this their spiritual life, they felt the joys of a new and elevated being; whilst the assaults of persecution left them no leisure for any thing save the realizing of these glorious truths. Their martyrs and confessors enforced Christianity as a practical system against heathenism; and were too busy with the strife against outward foes to be able to turn their thoughts within, and enquire into the connexion of the whole system of Christian doctrine.

But presently peace was won, and the truth of the Gospel established throughout the world. The whole range of human knowledge then became essentially modified by its revelations, and in each new developement of the human mind the Christian faith entered as a primary element, or at least as a new starting point for future progress. This reaction of all active thought upon Christianity was also fostered by an external circumstance of the highest moment. The iron despotism of the Roman government, and the moral helplessness of a slavish and often distressed population, had well nigh extinguished all intellectual life among men.

But God has never suffered evil utterly to crush the faculties and instincts of man. A powerful refuge was raised up in Christianity, for freedom of thought, then nearly expiring; and men of nobler mould, who were cut off from mental activity in the ordinary pursuits of life, fled to save themselves from intellectual death within the Christian pale. Without, all was torpid, servile, dead; within, mental vigour and moral energy wrought in full force. The elevating power of their faith had triumphantly sustained the moral natures of the Christian martyrs against the terrors of despotism; and when intellectual independence had perished within the political association, a new society sprung up by its side, destined to vindicate the freedom of the human mind.

While, then, the cause of man's moral nature, still required the daily sacrifice of the blood of heroes to secure the safety of his spiritual life, there was no time, no inclination for speculative enquiries. But God's servants were not thus always to be tried; and Christianity contained in itself the germ of a much wider developement. For, whilst it can adapt itself to every stage of society, and even in the lowest can provide for the most essential wants of our moral nature, it still calls forth the exercise of every one of our faculties: and has ever proved itself the most powerful instrument for the civilisation of mankind. Hence, as soon as the Christians ceased to battle for their lives, they were irresistibly impelled into a course of progressive developement. Christianity was an epoch not only in religion, but also in philosophy. Many of its simple facts were decisive solutions of much disputed problems; and its chief doctrines, few and simple as they are, laid the solid basis of a vast superstructure of knowledge. The declaration of him who knew what was in man, on some of the deepest questions connected with our nature, made men eager to study the Christian scheme in all its bearings; and, comparing it with past and present experience, thus in a manner to reconstruct their knowledge. Nor is the genius of Christianity averse to the inward acting of man's mind upon himself. Undoubtedly it prescribes limits to the searching scrutiny of reason; but these very limits reason alone can determine from the word of God; and would itself be the first to condemn those who wander beyond them. The guilt of such presumption does not lie in the vigorous exercise of the intellect; but in the vain effort to establish conclusions where no premises have been granted. Hence a healthy moral tone is most necessary for the right use of our thinking faculties; because its almost instinctive impulses can alone restrain our curiosity within the legitimate inferences from those facts, which our inward and outward senses supply, as a basis for our reasoning. Right reason, therefore, as well as religion, forbids

such idle speculations. But on the other hand, the free spirit of genuine Christianity encourages the most ample use of our reasoning powers. Neither in respect to his intellectual or his moral nature does it transform man at once into a perfected being. It furnishes him only with a few leading principles in both ; and calls upon him to fulfil his earthly calling by keeping up constant and progressive improvement of mind and spirit.

Now, what was the distinguishing feature of the Christian society when persecution ceased to impede its course? What but a strong and sustained effort to draw from revelation philosophical answers to the great questions of man's moral being? The subjects on which Christians wrote and Councils debated, embraced the chief questions of moral philosophy. What was the Alexandrian Church—where flourished the most active minds of the day—but a school of moral philosophy? Of what did Clement and Origen write and teach, but of the great doctrines of the creation, and of the existence and nature of God? To what do the heresies of Praxeas, of Paul of Samosata, of Noetis, of Sabellius, relate, but the reconciliation of the Christian views of God with those previously suggested by man's moral nature? What do Mani and Pelagius speak of but the deepest questions in morals? What is Gnosticism—then so widely spread—but an entire structure of moral philosophy? Every where we observe the human mind pressing to explore anew these great questions with the aid of Christian light; every where we see the new point of view which Christianity introduced. Now, this character of the literary theology of the age, explains the rise, or rather the existence, of the Arian and other heresies. They are the genuine offspring of the peculiar form of mental developement at that day. An eagerness prevailed to reduce to system the detached revelations respecting the Deity scattered over Scripture; whilst the peculiar manner in which the Father, Son, and Spirit are there represented, increased the number of attempts to arrive at some compact and consistent system. The character of the revelation is wholly practical, and in no way metaphysical. Hence the philosophical difficulties that occur, in putting Scripture together, remained to be answered; and hence the manifold and vain attempts in every country, and in every part of that period, to frame a satisfactory metaphysical theory. Most superficial, therefore, is Mr Newman's attempt to make Arianism the creation of Paul of Samosata, or of Arius. It is the legitimate child of the prevailing temper of the time; and the particular Arian solution of the difficulties of the Trinity could not fail to be called forth, whe-

ther Paul had belonged to Antioch or Alexandria, or whether he or Arius had never lived at all.

But why then does Arianism fill so much larger a place in history than other heresies? How was it that this storm agitated the whole Christian world,—barbarian and civilized alike; so that the effects of the commotion are even felt at the present day? Because church questions had become matter of politics. The Christian society had entered into a new relation towards the Government. When Christianity was made the religion of the State, a new element was introduced into ecclesiastical discussions. Other interests besides those of pure religious truth came into play. Up to this period synods of bishops, uninfluenced by political feelings, had decided doctrinal disputes. Excommunication had been their only punishment; whilst refractory sects were looked on as mere varieties of heathenism. But its intellectual vigour soon rendered the Christian society a real substantive power in the State. It was the only living thinking society in the world; and, as such, the most powerful body in the empire. Whoever wielded its force was master of the state. The adoption of Christianity by Constantine is nothing else than the State being absorbed in the Church. Politics and Church matters became nearly synonymous. Then came the debasing influence of worldly motives; ecclesiastical sentences enforced by the sword; a religious court party showering down bishoprics on its friends, and deposing its foes. Thus the very intellectual life which had exalted the Christian society became the means of its corruption. It was profaned into the debating ground of politics. Bishops were often seen at councils voting the creed of the emperor to be orthodox; and then hurrying home to seize every opportunity of retracting their confession. Nor could the decrees of Councils any longer restore peace; for a defeated party, instead of yielding to the general sense of the Christian society, or renouncing their connexion with it, endeavoured, and too often successfully, to regain the ascendancy by means of the influence of the court. Thus, the spirit of resistance was kept alive; and agitation and intrigue were ever busy, whilst the prospect of civil and clerical advancement depended on a Christian's dogmatical opinion on some theoretical point. We conclude, then, that the necessary and progressive developement of the human mind, resulting from the new truths Christianity had established, or the modification it had given to old ones, and, in the next place, the interference of a foreign and worldly power in the deliberations of religion, were the real and active causes of the Arian and other controversies.

Mr Newman reviews at great length, the character of the

Church of Alexandria. Alexandria was at this time the chief seat of philosophy in the world : it had given birth to a new and much celebrated sect. Even the Jews had caught the infection, and, with Philo, had tried to make a fusion of Judaism and Platonism. The Christian writers also are strongly tainted with the prevailing literary character ; and professedly sought to represent Christianity in a form suited to the philosophical spirit of the age. It is impossible to form a right judgment of the Alexandrian Christians without enquiring into their contemporaneous history. Mr Newman most blamably neglects to do this. He assumes, throughout his long account, that the system of the Alexandrian fathers proceeded from an independent, unbiassed conviction. He makes no allowance for the influence of the literature that surrounded them ; but at once identifying their system with that of the earlier church, proceeds to explain it as if it were the only true and legitimate one. This is a most serious fault in any man who professes to be a historian. It necessarily condemns him either of gross partiality for his previously formed opinions, or else of great incapacity.

The next point upon which Mr Newman comments is the distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine. Strange to say, he does not drop the least hint that this classification of truths prevailed without, and even previously to, the existence of the Alexandrian Church. He looks upon it as a mere Christian practice, and as such illustrates it from Scripture. Is it that Mr Newman is ignorant that Plato, as well as many other Greek philosophers, had thus divided their doctrines ? Or is it rather, that it does not suit his purpose to let his readers see how much influence heathen literature had on the developement of Christian doctrine ? We protest against such unfairness, as entrapping persons into the belief of a notion which is utterly opposed to the true spirit of Christ's religion ; and which never sprung up from it as from its own native soil, but was transplanted into it by those very Alexandrian doctors, from the domain of Pagan philosophy. Plato has proclaimed the spiritual perception of the inner meaning, hidden under the outward form, which was the privilege of the philosopher ; and in the first centuries after Christ, in the celebrated school of the Neoplatonicians, there was no tenet so favoured,—so fundamentally essential to their system,—as the elevating of the intellectual life, the inward contemplation of the learned, above the outward views of the uneducated man. This notion of an esoteric doctrine soon passed from the purely heathen, and the half Jewish school of Philo, into that system which tried to philosophize Christianity. The distinction between faith and knowledge, the common, mo-

ral, and the intellectual life, forms the very basis of Gnosticism. Hence arose the obvious wish of the Christian teachers,—on the one hand, to enforce the essential distinction between the practical and moral nature of Christianity, and the mere intellectuality of the Gnostics,—on the other, to represent the Christian faith to the learned as something more than a mere popular system of rewards and punishments : and this seems to have been the object also of the catechetical school.

The theological system, then, of the Alexandrian Church is not a self-originated Christian system ; but exactly the form of teaching which men educated in the prevailing philosophy, and writing to such philosophers, would be likely to adopt. That it admitted esoterical doctrines is no proof that they belonged to the essence of Christianity. It must itself be judged by the only absolute standard of truth—the Scriptures. Taking these for our rule, we cannot doubt that there was much truth in the importance which Clement attaches to an enlightened knowledge of Christianity ; as also, in his description of the richness of comprehension, which is the reward of a Christian who has had the advantage of a careful mental cultivation, and a long course of philosophical and moral training. But the notion that certain truths are reserved as the privilege of certain classes of Christians—so that one class of God's children shall be distinguished from another by the possession of certain objects of contemplation which are withheld from the others—is a doctrine utterly at variance with the simplicity of the Christian faith, and with the common brotherhood and communion of all the members of Christ's body. Christianity knows no such difference of higher and lower truths—of whole and semi-Christians ; it has no peculiar and exclusive food for the sustenance of more privileged believers. There is no Christian who need think himself excluded from any doctrine, because, to use Mr Newman's phrase, he is not of sufficiently ' long standing ;' whilst, on the other hand, the most advanced Christian, at various seasons of his course, requires the application of various truths to his soul, according as his spiritual condition is prone to one error or another. The confusion of these two distinct things,—namely, the division of Christian doctrine into two separate portions,—the one reserved for perfect and the other for imperfect Christians, and the different degrees of nourishment which any particular individual may extract from Christian truth,—pervades the whole of Mr Newman's statement. Let us take his own instance—the doctrine of the atonement. This great fact may impress many most important lessons upon our minds. At one time it may warm our hearts with the love of Christ—at another it may

humble us with a sense of our guilt. But instead of saying, with Mr Newman, that the doctrine of the atonement, as once made upon the cross, and commemorated and appropriated in the eucharist, is the exclusive possession of the serious and practised Christian; we maintain that he is no Christian at all, who does not know and feel, that he has been redeemed by the blood of Christ, and who does not live in an abiding communion with his risen Saviour, not at particular stages, but throughout the whole course of his life.

But Mr Newman goes further. He describes the eucharist not only as a ceremony, whose import the veteran Christian alone can understand, but 'as a reward of habitual piety.' A falsè view of the communion, we confess, we never heard from a Protestant clergyman. This sacrament is nothing more than a simple manifestation of that inward communion which all Christians maintain with the Head of the church, and each other. It is founded on a deep knowledge of the constitution of our nature;—aiming at the quickening of our inward feelings by the help of the senses. It is a commemoration of the Lord's death, open to all who feel that Christ died for them; and he who does not feel this is not an imperfect Christian, but no Christian at all. True to the spirit of the religion of which it is a symbol, it provides food for the spiritual wants of every Christian,—inviting all, and forbidding none who can say, 'Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief.' To withhold it from any such trembling, and, as Mr Newman, would say, imperfect believers, seems to us little short of an impious limitation of our Lord's most gracious design; and if we are to administer it to such weak beginners in the faith, what becomes of the notion that it is the exclusive privilege of the practised Christian? We should be glad to know how Mr Newman explains the breaking of bread to those still young converts who were brought over to Christianity immediately after the manifestation of the Spirit. Are we to suppose that the apostles instituted an enquiry into the previous moral character of their converts, and distributed the memorials of the Lord's death to those who proved satisfactorily their past good lives? What are we to think, too, of the advance in moral principle, or the habitual piety of many of the members of the Corinthian Church? Nay, why did not our Lord himself give us any hint of such a restriction to his gracious bounty? And who shall dare to say that any child of Adam, in whose heart but one single spark of true love to Christ burns, however faintly, shall be forbidden from remembering his dead and risen Saviour in communion with his brethren?

But not only is the eucharist, but so also is every portion of

God's revealed truth necessary, for the healthy progress in all its stages, of the great work of man's regeneration. And we believe we have Clement on our side, in spite of Mr Newman's incorrect account of his views. The perfect Christian, according to Clement, is distinguished from the ordinary one, by a deeper insight into the meaning of God's word, and a more ready and scientific power of explaining it. But this holds good in every branch of science. The more learned a man is, the more ably and accurately will he be able to unfold the truths taught by any branch of knowledge. Yet no one ever dreamt of such a piece of mystification as an esoteric doctrine in politics, in history, or in morals. Throughout his ethics, Aristotle appeals to the decision of the good man, as the basis of a right judgment;—not because he has studied different facts from those which are open to any other man, but because by a better preparation, he has arrived at a fuller understanding of their meaning. Undoubtedly a part of this preparation is a moral sense within; but this moral sense is necessary for all moral truth, and so cannot serve as a foundation for a division of it. The more diligently a man's moral feeling is cultivated, the richer will be the sustenance he will draw from the divine word; only he will not have more doctrines revealed to him, but the inward power of those already before him more deeply felt and appreciated.

Mr Newman then appeals to Scripture. We regret we have not room to follow him there; for nothing would be easier than to show that in neither the Corinthians nor Hebrews are we told that the doctrines of the Gospel are to be learned, some at an earlier, others at a later stage of man's regeneration—but that this great work is progressive—that the Christian must be ever rising to a higher spirituality—that at no period of our earthly pilgrimage are we completely good,—but that the truth is like a leaven, which gradually swells and pervades the whole mass; and that we are to be more and more transformed into Christ's image from glory to glory. If Mr Newman is right, are we to consider what Paul calls the mystery of the admission of the Gentiles into the Christian Church, an esoteric doctrine, because many Jewish Christians, and even several churches, were unable to receive it? Are we to suppose that the abolition of the Mosaic ritual was taught 'secretly and as a reward,' to those at Jerusalem who had proved themselves to be 'habitual Christians?' And, as the same truth would be esoteric to the Jewish Church, and exoteric to the Galatian, must we conclude that every member of the Galatian Church was more spiritually minded than any member of the mother church in Judea? How are we to escape from so absurd a conclusion? In a word, according to

this theory, every improvement which Christianity wrought, would at its first appearance be turned into an esoteric doctrine.

But Mr Newman brings forward his last reserve in the Catechetical School. Now, we have no precise information about its origin and character. It seems most probable that it arose from the necessity of giving a more systematic instruction to the converts in so learned and civilised a place as Alexandria. But this was not its only use. The example of the churches of Corinth and Galatia prove but too clearly how soon, in spite of the dangers which hung over the infant society, men still thoroughly imbued with the Pagan sensuality, in which they had passed their lives, found their way into it. The apostles and first teachers had no leisure to prepare their converts beforehand for the reception of Christianity. Such as confessed their sins, and owned the Lord Jesus, were forthwith received into the church. The rapid growth of the church after the day of Pentecost fully confirms this fact. But after a while the offence of the cross ceased—large numbers prayed for admission; and some preparation was indispensable to protect the church from being overwhelmed by a crowd of gross and carnally minded Pagans. The Catechumens would naturally be instructed in the first principles of religion. The one true God, the resurrection, and other Scripture doctrines, were new facts to the heathen; and until they were firmly embraced, all entrance of Christianity into the soul was impossible. Accordingly, the Catechumens were not baptized,—a fact which alone plainly shows that no distinction of doctrines amongst Christians was here thought of; but that the school was intended as a preparation for Christianity, into which the converts were admitted the first time by baptism. We do not, however, deny that the Alexandrian teachers were disposed to separate too widely faith and knowledge; only we maintain that they intended no more than the ever recurring differences between an educated and experienced Christian, and an ordinary one; and that the form under which they represent this distinction was borrowed from the prevailing philosophy of the time, for the very purpose of conciliating the more learned of the heathen.

But in our time it is intended to serve a very different purpose. It is the corner stone of 'Apostolical succession.' No better reason could be devised for believing in the existence of an order of priests than the fact, could it be proved, that certain portions of religious truth were separated off from the general use of all Christians, and reserved as a reward and privilege for a few. In that case, a peculiar order would be necessary to take charge of these select and mysterious doctrines, who should be judges also of the persons to whom they might be intrusted. For, without

such an order of guardians, they might lapse into the hands of the whole mass of Christians; and as every one then would think himself fit to enjoy them, they would at once cease to be esoterical, and would become as profane and common as the rest. Hence, in maintaining this distinction, Mr Newman is fighting the battle of a priesthood. And this is confirmed by the pains he takes to illustrate the 'disciplina arcani;' which is done so carefully, that were we unacquainted with his name and profession, we should be led to infer that the author of the work before us was a Papist. At least, the upholding a secret instruction, and the need of the teaching of the church as a key to the collection of passages which relate to the mysteries of the gospel, looks extremely Popish. We beg to refer Mr Newman to Archbishop Whateley's admirable exposition of the use of the term mystery in Scripture; for Christianity has no mysteries whatever in Mr Newman's sense of the word,—that is, doctrines which only the initiated can understand. There are, it is true, doctrines which are but partially revealed and explained; but these the highest Christian can no more fathom than the lowest.

As to the secret teaching of the church—we might ask, who represents the church? Is it the opinion of any single teacher, or of the majority of teachers? If the latter, on what ground do we set up the Protestant minority against the Catholic majority? And what are we to do when different teachers, and still worse, when different churches disagree? This was no uncommon case, and must cause an honest student no slight embarrassment. To us, it seems the doctrine of Protestantism, that the history of Christianity, and the views entertained by men placed under various circumstances of Christian doctrine, are a most valuable record and assistance for the understanding it ourselves; but they have only an historical, and not an authoritative value. We know that amongst the early Christians, amidst much error, the essence of Christianity existed; and we cannot but derive truly valuable instruction from observing the effects which its principles wrought in them, as well as in all other ages since the Christian era: but it were to deny that the Scriptures is a perfect rule,—to impugn its all-sufficiency for salvation,—were we to set up, on a level with it, any authority whether of tradition or otherwise. Nay, it is only by the help of Scripture that we are able to select part of the traditions of the early Christians as true, and to reject the remainder as false. For as there is no church or individual who does not share in human fallibility, it is only by the light of Scripture, such as it shines on every man's understanding, that either we or the early Christians can, or could discern what is to be bound, or what unloosed. Most justly did Cyprian declare

against the appeal of Stephanus to tradition, that 'we are not to be governed by custom but overcome by reasoning.' Tradition of every kind is nothing more than the historical record of fallible though Christian men; and whoever would venerate it, as any thing higher, destroys the very bulwark of Protestantism,—sets truth afloat on a troubled sea where it can find no haven, and imposes a task of discriminating it from error, far more difficult, than if the sacred volume had come down to us unaccompanied by a single historical association.

Mr Newman, however, allows that 'Apostolical succession' has been interrupted; but that the loss is of little consequence to us now, as we have been provided, by the foresight of the Fathers, with an excellent substitute for it in Creeds. He evidently thinks that it would have been much better to have gone on without Creeds. We are of the same opinion, but not exactly for the same reasons. According to his account, 'the mysteries were dispensed by the Church to the primitive Christians, not as a test, but as a favour and a privilege; and so creeds were unnecessary, because Christians enjoyed the superior advantages of tradition to explain the Bible, which otherwise was scarcely more than a sealed book. They possessed also too much pious reverence and sensitiveness to allow the solemn truths of religion to be subjected to the hard gaze of the multitude, or even to express in writing what is not only preached to the mixed crowds who frequent our churches, but circulated in print among all ranks and classes of the profane and unclean.' This representation of truth as a favour, and privilege, is built on the Platonic, and most mistaken notion, that man's perfection and happiness consist in intellectual contemplation; and that consequently the Christian doctrines are so many beautiful theories destined for the enjoyment of those whose minds have been trained to such sublime contemplations. Nothing can be falser than this. Christian revelation is entirely practical; and absolutely nothing is communicated to us, but with the view of raising our moral nature to practical holiness; and, therefore, each and every truth is but a principle, not of mental illumination, as such, but of inward sanctification.

Equally untrue is it that oral tradition, before the existence of Creeds, was necessary for the understanding of Christian doctrine. First, because no one has ever attempted to define what that oral tradition was; secondly, because it is utterly incredible that the Holy Spirit should have commissioned inspired men to reveal and illustrate Christian truth, with an immense variety of manner, and under the most diverse circumstances of situation, and yet allowed the Sacred Volume to be 'scarcely more than a sealed book,'

without the assistance of the vague and vacillating explanations and weak memories of fallible men; thirdly, because oral tradition was extremely uncertain, and often cited in defence of the most opposite opinions. But, further, we ask Mr Newman, how do Creeds help us now, when the 'Scriptures are our only means of satisfying ourselves on points of doctrine?' Does he mean, in sober earnestness, that because the Nicæan Creed lays down that Christ is of the same substance with the Father, the Scripture has become intelligible; and that but for this magical word it would have been still a sealed book? For certainly the rest of the Creed does nothing more than put together detached passages of Scripture, and most of them such as are obvious to the most common reader? If so, we can only answer in the words of the poet,

'And myriads have reached heaven who never knew
Where lay the difference 'twixt the false and true.'

In a word, tradition cannot lay claim to a single authoritative solution of a controverted doctrine; and least of all, can the history of the Nicæan Creed do much in the way of showing that tradition was either generally recognised, or was successful in preserving orthodoxy in the Church.

But Mr Newman further tells us that the 'backwardness of the fathers to publish creeds proceeded from a profound reverence for the sacred mysteries, of which they were the dispensers; that is, they thought them fit subjects only for oral instruction, and too sacred for writing, because books are unfit, compared with private communication, for the purposes of religious instruction, levelling the distinction of mind and temper by the formality of the written character, and conveying each kind of knowledge the less perfectly in proportion as it is of a moral nature, and requires to be treated with delicacy and discrimination.' What a grievous pity then it is that the Scriptures were ever written! How much must we lament that an inspired and infallible oracle was not given us by God to convey to us orally those delicate truths! How much, too, must the tone of Christianity have been raised since the time of the Apostles, since the Fathers had too much reverence to imitate those first inspired teachers in exposing to the 'hard gaze of the world' the Christian doctrines! And though they could not repair the fault which those inspired men committed in publishing fragments, and still more in applying to a vast variety of common cases the sacred truths of religion, yet, at least they could withhold the systematic and theoretical combination of the whole doctrine, and confine exclusively to tradition that single word which was to serve as a key to its most important part. But how then came the sacred writers to

scatter so profusely the elements of Christian truth in 'Letters' to whole Churches, where every baptized person, that is, every professing Christian, could read them? Were the members of the Corinthian church, a less 'mixed crowd' than those who frequent our churches? Had the apostle any timid fear of a profane disclosure of holy mysteries,—nay, any notion of mysteries at all,—when he recommends the Corinthians to pray for the gift of interpretation; because then unbelievers who might chance to enter their churches might be convinced and converted by what they heard the Christians say? What shall we say of the Apologists who discoursed so freely of their faith to the heathen?—of Origen, of Tertullian, and many other teachers, who philosophically and critically discussed all the great doctrines of the gospel in their controversies with heretics and Pagans? What shall we say, but that this mysterious reserve is no part of genuine Christianity; but an offshoot of that esoteric scheme which was borrowed from Platonism. The boldness with which, in the first ages of Christianity, the whole counsel of God was debated by the Christians, both amongst themselves, and with the heathen, amply shows that the absence of Creeds proceeded in no wise from any fear of profaning the sacred doctrines. Creeds sprung from the systematic and controversial discussion of truth. The more ancient, however, were only general confessions,—for the most part in Scripture language,—of the most important truths of the gospel. They were professed at baptism by the convert, as a recognition of the main principles of the society into which he was entering. They were expressed too in language so general that men of the most opposite systems in theology could still use them with sincerity. It was at Nice that they were first made the test of orthodoxy, and the ground for the excommunication of dissenters from the church; and it is, therefore, not as statements of doctrines, but as conditions of communion that they are to be judged. That they were not imposed on the laity does not affect the question; for at that time the clergy were of the same opinion with Bishop Horsley, the great champion of High Churchism, that the people have nothing else to do but to obey. Was then the systematic statement of doctrines, as contained in Creeds, and especially the Nicæan Creed, wisely selected as a test of Christian fellowship? Were the Nicæan fathers justified, as men set over Christ's flock, in driving away from the sheepfold all such as could not concur in the intellectual form in which the Nicæan creed represents the doctrine of the Trinity? To this, we unhesitatingly answer, that theirs was a most ill-devised test; and that it has been the fruitful parent of mischief, both then and afterwards. The decisive objection to it is this, that it substitutes as the necessary condi-

tion of a living union with Christ, a certain form of intellectual conception, in the place of a right state of the heart and affections. He that has been born again to living holiness by Christ's Spirit is a true member of Christ's Body, however faulty his intellectual and theological system may be. For the mass of Christians, as Mr Newman himself admits, the systematic accuracy of Creeds is neither the test nor the condition of a living communion with Christ; and the existence or non-existence of Creeds is practically to them a matter of no concern whatever. In respect of the small minority of philosophical thinkers, the only important point to be aimed at, is to exclude such intellectual notions as are utterly inconsistent with a real abiding in Christ. Such notions, as being fatal to a life in God, we would gladly see declared as unchristian, and banished from among Christ's flock. But we maintain that Creeds are not the proper means to attain this end; nor have they in fact attained it. In the first place, such a Creed would imply that it was *possible* to state the doctrine in an intellectual and philosophical form; and, secondly, that there was only *one* such form in which it could be represented. We find it hard to convince ourselves that the detached notions which the Scripture affords us of the Deity, and of the various relations which the Three Persons bear amongst themselves, and towards us, are capable of being combined into a consistent and intellectual whole; still less, that they may not be combined in several ways, philosophically very different; and yet in no degree compromising the essential moral influence which each detached portion should exercise upon every truly Christian heart. When Mr Newman himself sets forth our 'inability to conceive a sense of the term "Person," such as to be more than a mere character, yet less than an individual intelligent being,' we may well doubt whether Scripture, either directly or by implication, has recorded any thing of the real nature of God; and whether our minds are capable of such knowledge.

But, in the next place, let us grant that such a correct intellectual formula is attainable, and even that it has actually come down to us: there still remains the very grave question whether error, in the metaphysical conception of the Trinity, destroys a man's interest in the Redemption, and effectually excludes him from the true church of God. Will Mr Newman presume to maintain that the *consubstantial* representation of the Trinity is the only one compatible with a true and saving faith? It is admitted on all sides, that we can arrive at no clear and distinct understanding of the nature of the Divine Being; and that all we can do is but to fence out certain misconceptions, which

would prevent that religious communion with God, which is the life-giving principle in the regeneration of man. Can any one, then, assert, that the man whose logical system should lead him to reject the notion of the 'same substance,' and to embrace rather the representation of Christ as of 'similar substance' with the Father, cannot render that true worship and homage to the Son, which comes from a heart constrained by his love? Nay, further, if a man, who should be unable 'to conceive a person 'as less than an individual intelligent being,' should conclude that there were Three Gods, mysteriously connected by some union, either of being, or purpose,—shall such a man, however wrong metaphysically, be condemned as incapable of cherishing those feelings towards each of the Divine Persons, in which the essence of Christianity consists? A particular theory, on a difficult question in metaphysics, never can be the sign of those that love Jesus. And therefore we strenuously war against Creeds; because they chain down men's minds to one single form of speculative truth, which can never be the only one compatible with real religious devotion; and have thus done serious injury to the intellectual and moral interests of mankind. Only, let us not be misunderstood—we are very far from saying that our intellectual notions are a matter of indifference. Undoubtedly they react on the heart. But we contend that the speculative and theoretical statement may admit of *considerable variation*, without compromising, for a second, the religious influence of the facts made known to us by Scripture concerning the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. We protest against that over-estimation of speculative agreement which prevailed in the Eastern church; and most utterly do we refuse to allow those Fathers to identify Christianity with *their* opinion on a metaphysical point. And above all, we must guard against that unfair mode of judging others, which Mr Newman has borrowed from the controversial writers, whom he advocates so warmly. There is nothing so false, and so unjust, as to make men entertain all the conclusions which a rigorous use of logic can derive from their premises. We are bound to expose them—we may argue *ex absurdo*, and make use of these false conclusions to combat a system which involves what is false or mischievous; but, in passing judgment on the men themselves, it is most unfair to suppose them to be looking from the same point of view as ourselves. Many a man can maintain innocently erroneous opinions, which in another would be wicked and mischievous. For instance, the subordination of the Son to the Father, which, in Origen, is but a part of a philosophical system, and is quite consistent with the paying the highest adoration to

the second Person of the Trinity, in a Socinian, virtually leads to a denial of His Divinity, and reduces Him to a level with His own creatures. We can allow, too, the same Origen to uphold a difference, both of person and substance, between the Father and the Son; however much Athanasians may exclaim, that this involves the destruction of the main element of Christianity. This fault of supposing that the same tenet must have the same effect and value in another man's mind, and general state of opinion, which it has in his own,—and that of imputing to it the same moral influence on the character of that other man, which, seen in the light he actually views it in, it would have on his own,—runs all through Mr Newman's account of the Arian controversy; and gives it so strong a bias, that it is with extreme reluctance he will allow any one to be a Christian, unless at the same time he be an Athanasian also. He forgets that, as the same material element, when chemically combined with one body will produce compounds, differing most entirely in character and qualities from those which it produces, when united to another body; so the same intellectual element, so to speak,—the same doctrine when mixed up with one set of opinions,—will cause moral and intellectual results essentially different from those which would have followed its combination with another system of mind. According to Mr Newman's system, to say that there was a time when the Son was not, would be to deny that He was God; yet, does it follow that this same conclusion was practically arrived at by those who conceive the Son to be an *emanation* from the Father, like a ray from the sun, sent forth to create, and then to redeem the world? Was it impossible for them to look upon Him as Divine? Or again, suppose a man were to urge St Paul's declaration, that 'when all things should be subdued unto him, then also shall the Son himself be subject unto him, who put all things under him, that God may be all in all;' and should infer from it the perpetual subordination of the Son,—shall we venture to say that this man could not look upon Christ as the way, the truth, and the life, and as alone giving access to the Father? We do not mean that it is indifferent which view we hold; but we maintain that its *practical influence* on the heart, and on the devotional feelings, is the only true standard by which a system is to be judged in a religious point of view. And hence, before we judge of the religious character of any person, we must enter into his mind, and place ourselves in his own centre of vision. Then, and then only, can we form a true estimate of the effect which his intellectual notions produce on his relations to God and Christ.

Neither do we agree with the general principle laid down by Mr

Newman for the treatment of those in error. 'In this,' says he, 'lies the difference between the treatment due to an individual in error, and to one who is confident enough to publish his innovations. The former claims from us the most affectionate sympathy and the most considerate attention; the latter should meet with no mercy. He assumes the office of the tempter, and so far forth as his error goes, must be dealt with by the competent authority, as if he were embodied evil.' The most bitter persecutor can ask for no better defence. Those of whom our Lord prophesied that they would put his saints to death, 'thinking they were doing God service,' would find in Mr Newman a worthy champion. It is, however, some consolation to find that even the passage itself furnishes materials for its own refutation. The mere act of *publication* cannot establish any essential distinction between the two individuals. If the one deserves sympathy, because he honestly, though mistakenly, holds his error; the other, if an equally conscientious zeal for what he believes to be truth leads him to *communicate* it to his fellow men, is evidently not a whit less deserving, as a man, of sympathy and tenderness. We would have Mr Newman abide by the just inferences from his own remark:—'Many a man,' says he, 'would be deterred from outstepping the truth, could he see the end of his course from the beginning.' Let this teach us that no man should be judged by the possible consequences of his error; but by the actual results which it works on his temper and moral character. There are few men, from whose errors, serious and dangerous, and even heretical consequences might not be made to flow by logical deduction. Our Christian, our exalted duty is to show mercy, and charity, and kindness to every brother that offendeth; to hope all things possible of the man, whilst we fight against his error to the death. Persecution has done nought else but embitter and harrow up the Church of God. Like slavery, it is more accursed for the evil which it works in the soul of the actors, than for the miseries which it inflicts on the sufferers. The very times of which Mr Newman treats show, but too lamentably, how an overheated zeal to extirpate error, weakened and impaired that Christian love which is the very essence of the Christian life; whilst we have the wretchedness of knowing that persecution never has, and never will root out a single opinion from the world.

ART. IV.—*Dramas*, by JOANNA BAILLIE. Three Volumes, 8vo.
London : 1836.

THE greater number of the dramas contained in the following volumes,' says Miss Baillie in her preface, 'have been written many years ago; none of them very recently. It was my intention not to have them published in my lifetime; but that after my death, they should have been offered to some of the smaller theatres of our metropolis, and thereby have a chance at least of being produced to the public with the advantages of action and scenic decorations, which naturally belong to dramatic compositions. But the present circumstances connected with our English theatres are not encouraging for such an attempt; any promise of their soon becoming so is very doubtful; and I am induced to relinquish what was at one time my earnest wish. This being the case, to keep them longer unpublished would serve no good purpose, and might afterwards give trouble to friends whom I would willingly spare. They are, therefore, now offered to the public, with a diffident hope that they may be found deserving of some portion of its favour and indulgence.'

'In thus relinquishing my original intention, there is one thing particularly soothing to my feelings—that those friendly readers who encouraged my early dramatic writings (alas, how reduced in numbers!) will see the completion of the whole. This will at least gratify their curiosity; and it would be ungrateful in me not to believe that they will also take some interest in the latter part of a work, the beginning of which their partial favour so kindly fostered.'

There are few, we think, who will peruse this passage without emotion. Objects and personages the most indifferent and commonplace affect our minds with a melancholy feeling, when we know that we are parting with them for the last time. With what deep interest and sympathy, then, must we regard the publication of these volumes, as the last legacy to the public of their highly gifted authoress!

Their contents will not, on the whole, disappoint expectation. The dramas are, however, of very unequal merit; for whilst some are of the highest excellence, and every way worthy of the authoress of 'Count Basil,' 'De Montfort,' and 'Constantine Palæologus,' there are others which we confess we think might have been omitted with advantage to her reputation. Miss Baillie, it is true, never writes any thing on which the stamp of

her strong mind is not here and there impressed ; and there are none of the dramas contained in these volumes which do not, to some extent, awaken curiosity and interest. But placed beside the more sustained excellence of others, they appear as failures. The reader whose mind has been elevated to the high pitch and tragic grandeur of ' *Henriquez* ' and ' *Romero* , ' cannot willingly descend to the almost melo-dramatic level of ' *The Stripling* , ' and ' *Witchcraft* ; ' and even the ' *Homicide* ' and the ' *Phantom* , ' though of a higher cast than those we have named—and adorned, particularly the latter, by scenes and passages of great poetical beauty,—scarcely possess that finish, that dramatic compactness which entitle them to a place beside the ' *Plays on the Passions* . ' ' *Henriquez* , ' a tragedy on Remorse, and ' *Romero* , ' a tragedy on Jealousy, are the only plays in these volumes which belong to that series. These complete the plan originally designed by the authoress ; for Envy and Revenge have been excluded from her design ; on the ground that these passions have been already powerfully delineated by other dramatists. This ground, if consistently followed out, would, we fear, have equally excluded from these volumes their greatest ornaments ; since Remorse had already been illustrated by the genius of Coleridge ; and human powers could hope to add little to the delineation of Jealousy, after Shakspeare.

This great work then is completed—and in a manner worthy of its commencement : a noble monument of the powerful mind and the pure and elevated imagination of its author. Looking on it, as it now stands before us,—a finished whole, we owe it to Miss Baillie and to ourselves to say, that we regard it with pride and admiration. To the plan indeed, which she prescribed for herself, our objections remain unaltered ; and opinion appears on that point to be pretty uniform. Her warmest admirers have admitted, and she herself appears to have felt, that by limiting herself to the analysis and exposition of the progress of a single passion in each play, she imposed upon herself a needless restraint ; and gave to her plays a certain elaborate and metaphysical character, inconsistent with the free and artless movement, and infinite variety of nature. But our opinion of the success with which this plan has been executed ;—of the resources she has evinced in combating and conquering the difficulties of her design ;—and, generally, of the dramatic capabilities of her mind, we fairly confess, is altered. If her success has not been complete, we have now the means of comparing her efforts with those of others in the same department ; and must admit her superiority to most of her rivals. By witnessing the numerous

failures of men of distinguished ability, in that department, we have learnt to appreciate more highly the qualities required to command even partial success. Formerly, we compared her dramas with those of Shakespeare, and the elder worthies of the days of Elizabeth and James—a fearful test—and they naturally showed somewhat poorly by the comparison: now, we place them beside the unsuccessful attempts of a Byron and a Scott, and feel that our first estimate of their merits was inadequate.

When we compare the dramas of Miss Baillie with most of the other dramatic productions of our own times, we are struck with their superiority in one point, namely, their unity of design,—their careful subordination of the parts to the whole—and the steady and visible movement of every thing towards the proposed end. She forms her plan of a character carefully, and having done so, no temptation induces her to deviate from it for the sake of transitory effect. Neither the seductions of imagery, nor the fascinating exhibition of strong passion can tempt her from her onward road. If these lie naturally within her path, it is well; if they do not, she will not step aside in search of them. Her mind, with all its imagination, is a strong and logical one,—delighting in sequence and consistency, and accustomed in all things to wide and comprehensive views. ‘She sees as from a tower the end of all;’ and keeping in view all the parts of her subject, she places them in their due relation and proportion to her intended whole.

It was perhaps fortunate for the cultivation and developement of this quality of mind, that Miss Baillie had matured her views, and published the greater part of her works, before the general diffusion of that taste for the older dramatists of the school of Shakspeare, which has coloured so strongly the dramatic productions of the last twenty years. We should be inclined to doubt, indeed, whether she has the least acquaintance with any of our elder dramatists, except Shakspeare, whom it is obvious she has studied deeply, and in the spirit of love; and we are persuaded that she has lost nothing by confining herself to that single model. For Shakspeare stands pre-eminent in this respect, that in all his creations a definite and undeviating purpose is kept in view, to which all subsidiary matters are postponed:—that he never loses or even seems doubtful of his way while threading the mazes of human life,—but having once conceived a character, follows it forth with unerring consistency, as if impelled by a poetical necessity. The most airy, the most impassioned of his conceptions, is still subjected to the controlling laws of a comprehensive and penetrating intellect;—no bursts of passion, no excursions of the fancy are

permitted, which counteract, or which do not actually further the main object he has in view. He is not hurried along by the passions which he paints; he never loses himself in the whirlwind he has raised. Reason and reflection preside, like higher intelligences, over every other power, and blend their products in kindly and harmonious conjunction. Shakspeare's works, therefore, are not collections of brilliant but discordant parts; each is a compact, well ordered, and perfect whole.

Of none of the other dramatists, his contemporaries, can this be said with truth, except, perhaps to some extent, of Jonson, who, however inferior to Shakspeare in other respects, certainly approached him in the steadfast consistency with which he portrayed his characters, and in the skill with which he subjected the parts to the main design. Even the most distinguished of the other dramatists of the Elizabethan age err grievously in these respects. In Ford, in Beaumont and Fletcher, and still more in the gloomy and fantastic Webster, although we frequently find that the author has stumbled on some happy conception of character in the outset, the chances are always prodigiously against his conducting it to the close of the play with consistency; or indeed without some gross violation of probability and nature. These writers never seem to see their way distinctly for three scenes in advance. They have not that poetical forecast, and far reaching vision which enabled Shakspeare, even in his opening scene, to foresee and provide for his catastrophe. The temptation of displaying strong passion, or exhibiting sudden and unexpected traits of character, is one which they can seldom resist. Hence, in almost all our older dramatists, the changes of conduct and character, and fluctuations and conversions of feeling which take place, are frequently of the most startling and inexplicable kind,—indicating the utmost uncertainty in the mind of the writer, and leaving on that of the reader a painful feeling of incoherence and confusion. One character is presented to us in the first three acts, and another in the last two. The changes from one state of mind to another are often as rapid and improbable as those which take place in our modern comedies and melo-dramas; where fathers, struck, as in the German parody, ‘with a sudden thought,’ swear an eternal friendship with their old enemies; and the most hardened villains are converted, by a single speech, into models of Christian virtue. Even where this inconsistency of character does not occur, there is a general tendency on the part of all those writers to give an undue pre-eminence to the element of passion, over that of reflection. It was in passion, in fact, that they felt their strength to lie;—in sudden bursts of energy, rather than tranquil and sustained power;—in piercing but transitory glances, rather

than steady vision into the recesses of the heart; and they have naturally indulged but too liberally in the exhibition of such qualities, and in the choice of those topics which afforded most scope for passion in its wildest and most awful display. The gloomy visions and strange unhallowed thoughts,—‘most foul, most horrid, most ‘unnatural,’—which occasionally haunt the mind; the atrocities from which humanity recoils in disgust; the dark problems of moral casuistry, the solution of which all men would seek to shun—these are their favourite themes; because in this tempestuous element, they feel themselves more at home than in that pure and serene air of common humanity in which Shakspeare lived, moved, and had his being. Thus it is that our moral feelings are revolted by the closing atrocities of Massinger’s ‘Unnatural Combat,’ and by the whole plot of one of Ford’s most celebrated plays;—that the brain of the reader is almost turned, like that of the unhappy victim herself, by the fantastic accumulation of insane horrors in the last act of the ‘Duchess of Malfy;’ and that Shirley, in the catastrophe of his ‘Andromana,’ litters the stage with dead, in a manner to which there is no parallel, save in the Schoolmaster’s tragedy of the amusements of ‘Mully Bugentuf.’

These observations must, no doubt, be received with proper limitation. There are, in Beaumont and Fletcher in particular, some sweet and natural dramas, in which this taint of exaggeration of feeling and inequality of character are little, if at all to be traced;—even in those of Ford, the tragic gloom is broken by such glimpses of pathos, falling like moonlight upon his dreary scenes, that the harrowing groundwork is for a time forgotten;—but, generally speaking, the besetting sin of the elder dramatists, is the tendency to forsake the beaten highway of nature and common feelings, for paths of dizzy elevation, too insecure for mortal footing, or for recesses of untrodden gloom, into whose sullen depths we are afraid to follow them. The followers or predecessors of Shakspeare, always went, as Mr Lambie remarks, in speaking of Fletcher, ‘a little on one side of nature. Shakspeare chose her without a reserve, and had riches, power, and ‘understanding with her for a dowry.’

Entertaining this view of the great inferiority of all the older dramatists to Shakspeare in this essential particular, we must be permitted to doubt whether that enthusiastic and somewhat indiscriminating admiration with which they have been regarded and studied by our modern dramatists of the present century has not been essentially injurious to our dramatic literature; and whether, therefore, there is not reason to rejoice that Miss Baillie has so obviously confined her study to Shakspeare alone. We freely grant that in some not unimportant particulars, the influence of

these old writers on those of our own time has been a salutary one. The movement of their dialogue, so seemingly artless and unstudied,—the style, varied, racy, vigorous, sustained by a rich under-current of brief and unobtrusive imagery ;—the expression of passion, venting itself in words, few, fiery, from the heart, not in measured and stately climaxes ;—the occasionally happy exposition of character, by slight traits, by action, by silence even rather than speech,—these better features of the older drama have been accurately caught and reflected in many of our modern plays. But with their beauties, alas ! we have borrowed almost all their faults ; for these faults, the faults of a wild unregulated energy, of minds in which the contemplative had been almost absorbed in the passionate, were unfortunately but too much in harmony with the character of our own age. Changes in government, in philosophical opinions, and in the fortunes of nations ;—a spirit of doubt and enquiry, fruitful both of good and evil, and carried into all the relations of society, had stamped the character of the time with a certain restless and tumultuary movement ; and the current of literature, connected with that of society by a thousand secret channels,—like an inland lake which has a subterraneous communication with the ocean,—soon showed upon its heaving surface the strength of that impulse by which its great source was agitated. Tired of that didactic and reasoning poetry which had been the natural accompaniment of less stirring times, we had reverted to the study and imitation of those primitive strains in which the heart and feelings had spoken, however rudely, yet in accents which could not be mistaken. We endeavoured to erase from our recollections centuries of thought, that we might throw ourselves back into the days of enthusiastic action. Like all sudden revulsions of opinion, this tendency had carried us too far towards the opposite extreme ; and mere force and power, however rude and untempered, gradually assumed the same exclusive and dangerous supremacy which had been awarded to mere taste and nicety of judgment in the poetical ‘ age of reason.’ This tendency, already but too deeply implanted in the mind, was strongly increased by the general diffusion of the elder dramatists,—a circumstance which was in itself a consequence of the previous direction of the public taste towards the poetry of vehemence and passion, rather than that of reflection. For here was to be found passion in its most vigorous and impressive form ; though unfortunately chastened but too seldom by any higher or purer spirit ;—scenes in which nature spoke in every line, unhappily placed side by side with others in which consistency and probability were rudely violated ;—‘ gold, silver, and base lead,’ in so strange interfusion, that their separation seemed always difficult,

sometimes impossible. The study of Shakspeare, with his beautiful union of contemplation and passion, and of vigorous and practical common sense with highest imagination :—the example of his tolerant spirit, understanding all things, hating nothing, finding ‘good in every thing ;’—this study and this example would have calmed and tranquillized the spirit of modern poetry,—would have adjusted in more harmonious balance its conflicting elements, and would have brought back its erratic footsteps into the path of truth. That of the other dramatists, we fear, was only calculated to exaggerate instead of diminishing what was objectionable in the tendencies of the age ;—and in the fierce invectives and despairing strains of Byron ;—in the inequality, the sacrifice of plan ; and of calm developement of character, to scenes of stormy passion, or of riotous prodigality of imagery, which are so characteristic of even the best of our modern dramatists,—it seems to us that we can trace but too visibly the influence of that turbulent and earthly character, which is so darkly stamped upon the plays of Massinger, Dekker, Webster, Ford, and Shirley.

In this respect the plays of Miss Baillie, as we have said, afford a very remarkable contrast to those of most of her contemporaries. However different and inferior in degree, her mind resembles Shakspeare’s in kind. She plans her characters deliberately ; she executes them with undeviating consistency ; her pictures of passion are all leavened and penetrated by general and elevated reflection,—making her scenes something more than mere pictures of an individual situation ; she is powerful, where the scene requires it, in the expression of its strongest feeling, but more so in the delineation of the previous stages which have led to it, or the exhaustion and despondency which follow ; she is natural, even homely at times, like her great original ;—impressing us in all she writes with the idea of a well-ordered and self-centered mind, in which each quality has its appropriate but limited sphere of action, and all dwell and work together in unity. Comprehension and grasp of mind are qualities which we involuntarily associate with all her works ; and it is indeed singular that this quality, so seldom found in connexion with even the best works of the best female writers, should be thus conspicuous in the works of a woman, when its presence is so rare in those of her male competitors. Generally speaking, the works of women are characterised by a remarkable developement of some one quality at the expense of the rest ;—one excels in the delineation of strong emotion ; another in scenes of tenderness ; a third in a certain graceful coquetry ; a fourth in fanciful imagery ;—but it is rare to find these united in any considerable degree in one mind, and guided by a manly judgment and sound taste. Yet to a con-

siderable extent this is the case with Miss Baillie. Her whole design, however objectionable from the limitations it imposed, was of a breadth and grandeur which showed a mind fully conscious of great resources. And, the same strong hold over her materials; the same self-reliance in grappling with subjects from which others would have shrunk back, are visible in every part of its execution. What dramatist of the present day would have attempted to inspire a feeling of interest and respect for the votary of the most odious of all passions,—a causeless and almost insane hatred, terminating in murder? And still more, which of them but Miss Baillie, had they ventured to cope with such a theme, would have succeeded as she has done; and actually made us almost sympathize with the morbid and ruined mind of De Montfort, as we do with the noble and over-sensitive Falkland? To whom but to one who felt that she could strike with certainty the proper chord in the human heart, however subtle, unseen, and untouched before, would the idea of awakening a deep tragic interest from the delineation of cowardice—of the fear of death in a brave man, have occurred? And yet, has not this been successfully done in her prose tragedy of ‘*The Dream*?’ Has she not here illustrated, with great address and philosophical skill, the distinction between active and passive courage, and the circumstances under which these qualities are likely to be found separated or united? Osterloo, tried in a hundred battles, braving death daily in the field, but suddenly placed under circumstances which awaken the idea of the awful retributions of another world, and the memory of long buried crime, gives way at once as he sees death staring him in the face in a new and disgraceful form; but recovers his energies the moment he finds himself in a situation like those wherein his courage had formerly been tried, with arms in hand and an enemy to encounter. We believe the whole of this picture to be a most philosophically correct, as we are sure it is a most impressive one.

We have referred to these dramas not as the best specimens of Miss Baillie's powers, but as illustrating in a remarkable manner the bold and original character of her mind, which induces her, instead of evading, rather to court the perils and difficulties of an extensive and hazardous subject. But she differs not more from most of her contemporaries in this particular, than in the careful study of all the smaller traits of character,—the shades of action, or expression by which the passions reveal themselves involuntarily, and almost without consciousness, on the part of the characters in whom they reside. This it is possible may be carried too far, and, like the eternal ‘*asides*’ of a modern comedy, may degenerate into a mere trick. But judiciously used, it is by far the

most powerful agent of dramatic interest; because it invests character with an individuality and appearance of artlessness and truth, which can in no other way be obtained. No modern dramatist, on the whole, has employed these smaller touches of nature, these escapes of passion, more judiciously or effectively than Miss Baillie. Often in half a line, in a hasty movement, nay, even in mere silence, we trace more distinctly what is going on within the mind than in half a page of elaborate dialogue or soliloquy;—a light breaks in upon us, that shows us all the path through which passion has already travelled,—the dreary way which stretches beyond, and perhaps the dark and now inevitable goal. Thus in 'Count Basil,' how the bewildering effect of an instantaneous and irresistible passion appears, in the scene when he joins his officers after the procession of the Princess through the streets of Mantua!

ROSENBERG.

'That olive branch

The Princess bore herself, of fretted gold
Was exquisitely wrought. I marked it once
Because she held it in so white a hand.

BASIL (*in a quick voice*).

Marked you her hand? I did not see her hand—
And yet she waved it twice.

And again, in the scene with the Duke, when, after his determination to depart and join Pescara, all his resolutions are scattered to the wind by the sudden entrance of Victoria.

DUKE.

'Your third day's march will to his presence bring
Your valiant troops. Said you not so, my lord?

Enter VICTORIA, the COUNTESS, and Ladies.

BASIL (*who changes countenance on seeing them*).

Yes! I believe—I think—I know not well;

Yes! please your Grace—we march by break of day.

DUKE.

Nay, that I know. I asked you, noble Count,
When you expect th' imperial force to join?

BASIL.

When it shall please your Grace. I crave your pardon;
I somewhat have mistaken of your words.

DUKE.

You are not well! Your colour changes, Count;
What is the matter?

BASIL.

A dizzy mist that swims before my sight—

A ringing in mine ears—'tis strange enough—

'Tis slight—'tis nothing worth—'tis gone already.'

Of the same kind is the behaviour of Osterloo in the 'Dream,' when, listening with gradually increasing horror and confusion to the narrative which recalls the memory of his own guilt, he praises the excellence of the wine, unconscious that he had been swallowing water instead; or when, in the closing scene, as he is led to the scaffold, he stumbles, and exclaims,

'It is dark, I cannot see.

JEROME.

Alas, my son. There is a blaze of torches round you.'

Who can have forgotten that striking incident in *De Montfort*, where his ear, sharpened to agonizing acuteness by his dominant passion, catches the sound of the step of his enemy upon the stair, long before it has been heard by Freberg and the others present! He is addressing the Countess Freberg.

'He cannot rashly praise, who praises you,
For he were dull indeed—

(Stopping short as if he heard something).

LADY.

How dull indeed?

DE MONTFORT.

I should have said—It has escaped me now.

(Listening again as if he heard something).

JANE to DE MONTFORT.

What, hear you aught?

DE MONTFORT *(hastily)*.

'Tis nothing.

JANE.

Some one approaches.

FREBERG.

No, no. It is a servant who ascends.

He will not come so soon.

DE MONTFORT *(off his guard)*.

'Tis Rezenvelt; I heard his well-known foot,
From the first staircase mounting step by step.

FREBERG.

How quick an ear thou hast for distant sounds!
I heard them not.'

These and similar traits, which might easily be multiplied from the works of Miss Baillie, evince the truth and minute accuracy with which all the smaller details of her dramas, not less than their general plan, have been studied and arranged. They evince a deep acquaintance with the anatomy of passion; and a not less just discrimination as to the process by which the disorders of a mind diseased can be most clearly and strikingly presented to the spectator.

Judiciously viewing every other element in the drama as subsi-

diary to characteristic delineation,—which, as she observes in her preface, is to the novelist or the poet only a powerful auxiliary, but to the dramatist is the very centre and strength of the battle,—she has avoided an error into which not only the modern dramatists, but too many of their predecessors were apt to fall; namely, the introduction of that strongly figurative language which is appropriate to the tempest and whirlwind of passion, into scenes and situations of a calmer kind; and on the other hand,—and this is more peculiarly the sin of the moderns,—the embellishment of scenes of passion with imagery and similes, and with all the misapplied treasures of a teeming fancy. Passion delights in figurative language, but in figures, brief, broken, imperfect, unpremeditated; the adornment of more elaborate imagery, and the play of fancy must be reserved for the quieter scenes which prepare the full maturity of passion; or those which, like the calm of evening, follow on the troubles and tempests of the day. The plays of Miss Baillie are studded with such passages of imagery and reflection, but almost always briefly touched. It is seldom that she abandons herself to her fancy, save in the delineation of characters where this very abandonment is in itself characteristic. Such is the case with the dreaming Basil, borne into the realms of imagination upon the wings of love, for whom this common world ‘is all too narrow,’ and to whom a summer cloud is transfigured,

‘As though an angel in his upward flight
Had left his mantle floating in mid air.’

He lives in an ideal atmosphere; he is under the influence of a feeling which arrays all nature in fantastic colours, and of which imagery is a fit exponent. The same may be said of the superstitious Orra, whose tendency to the visionary, whether it presents itself in the form of cheerful pictures of country life, or ghastly and funereal forms, naturally breaks out in comparisons now gay, now gloomy, as the one emotion or the other occupies her excited imagination; or of the enthusiastic Aurora, hoping against hope, and finding a resource against the gloom of the present in the cheerful light with which her glowing fancy invests the past and the future. In such beings, the play of imagination is as characteristic as any other feature of the mind; and to have excluded its free scope would have been to sacrifice the truth. How strictly characteristic, for instance, is the profusion of imagery in the speech of Orra when she alludes to one of her sudden changes from melancholy to mirth!

‘Tis nothing strange, my gentle Eleanora.
Did'st thou ne'er see the swallow's veering breast
Winging the air beneath some murky cloud,

In the sunned glimpses of a stormy day,
 Shiver in silvery brightness?
 Or boatman's oar, as vivid lightning, flash
 In the faint gleam, that, like a spirit's path,
 Tracks the still waters of some sullen lake?
 Or lonely tower, from its brown mass of woods,
 Give to the parting of a wintry sun
 One hasty glance, in mockery of the night
 Closing in darkness round it? Gentle friend,
 Chide not *her* mirth who was sad yesterday,
 And may be so to-morrow.'

But even in these characters of fancy, this imaginative vein is instantly forsaken, when the personages are placed under circumstances which exclude its natural indulgence. When Basil is raised from his dream of love by the revolt of his soldiers, his language becomes homely, animated, and direct; he indulges in no metaphors or comparisons—he passes naturally from the dreamer to the man of business and action. When Orra feels in the same way the near approach, as she supposes, of those supernatural terrors, which, by a sort of fascination, she at once courts and dreads, the current of fancy is arrested by the feeling of icy horror; she speaks as one under the influence of such sensations might be expected to do,—only in short, simple, and half-whispered expressions, as if recoiling ‘even at the sounds herself ‘hath made.’

We formerly objected, and we think with justice, to certain minor defects of style, which were rather annoyingly conspicuous in Miss Baillie's dramas;—her fondness for the use of antiquated words, many of them of the least euphonious and agreeable character;—and the occasional awkwardness and carelessness of her versification. In the former of these particulars, we are inclined to think a very obvious improvement is visible in the present work. These intrusive archaisms occur but rarely; and some of the most objectionable of them have, to our great relief, disappeared entirely. The style has assumed, we think, a more modern, natural, and easy air, without any injury to its dignity, or poetical beauty; just, as we are inclined also to think, that in the better plays in these volumes, the dramatic interest and movement of the piece proceed with more rapidity and liveliness. That the tragedies of ‘*Henriquez*,’ ‘*Romero*,’ and the ‘*Separation*’ are even equal to their predecessors, as poems, we may perhaps doubt: that ‘*Henriquez*’ at least is far superior to all of them as a drama—as an *acting* play, we have no hesitation in asserting. If Miss Baillie does not at last succeed in obtaining, what she herself candidly owns to have been one of the

chief objects of her ambition, namely, 'the approbation of an audience of her countrymen'—'a few tears from the simple and 'the young'—'and the spontaneous and untutored plaudits of 'the rude and uncultivated,'—it assuredly must be ascribed to some other cause than the want of dramatic force and power on the part of the authoress. It must be ascribed, we fear, to a cause far less flattering to the taste of the age—a decline in the relish for all theatrical exhibitions; or at least a preference for mere pomp and stage effect, over the weightier matters of the dramatic law,—characteristic delineation of the passions, and pure and elevated expression of these passions in the language of poetry.

But we are dwelling too long on general observations; and it is time to turn to the particular volumes before us. The first, as we have said, contains the conclusion of the Series on the Passions; the contents of the rest are miscellaneous, and of the most varied and unequal degrees of merit. Miss Baillie congratulated herself, in the close of the preface to her third volume, that she had reserved the two most dramatically effective of the passions—Jealousy and Remorse—for the close of her work. So far as regards the latter, her success, we think, has justified the anticipation that the conclusion would be found to be worthy of, and even more interesting than the commencement; but with regard to the former, we very much doubt whether, to most readers, 'Romero' will not appear to fall short of some of her dramas on less promising subjects. It unquestionably possesses single scenes of remarkable power. Such, for instance, is that where Romero, impelled by the internal agony of the passion which devours him, enters the chamber of his friend Guzman, whom he rouses from his sleep to communicate to him the suspicions of his wife, by which he is haunted, and which the narrative of Guzman unhappily serves to confirm. But the passion of Jealousy, as Miss Baillie has depicted it, in Romero, is one with which we can even less sympathize, than with that hatred which is the evil demon of De Montfort. As here represented, it appears as causeless—as utterly inconsistent with reason—as degrading to the character. Romero himself can excite little or no interest, because, we feel that such a being—'following still the changes of the moon with fresh 'suspicions,'—which are only dislodged from one object to settle down upon another,—must be one of a naturally mean and weak character of mind. It is difficult to conceive that one who cherishes this vice in the blood—this constitutional tendency towards causeless suspicion, should retain even those other nobler and redeeming qualities with which his jealousy is here associated.

But even if this union of seemingly inconsistent qualities could be supposed to exist in the same character, we are far from thinking it a fit subject to excite a high and tragic interest. De Montfort is invested with a sombre grandeur, from the stern and unvarying consistency of the master passion of his mind—Romero, constantly vacillating between opposing feelings—one moment vowing to abandon every doubt—the next, plunging again into the darkest and most groundless suspicions, impresses us with an idea of moral and even intellectual weakness which is fatal to that dignity of character which we demand in the chief personages of tragedy.

We will not then pursue the plot of this piece; for whatever may be the skill with which it develops all the mean and revolting features of the passion of jealousy,—not arising, as in Othello, in a noble, open, trustful nature, and borne in upon the mind, against its will, by villany and the force of strong circumstance,—but springing innate and ineradicable in a constitutionally suspicious mind, and, like a rank weed, overrunning the whole heart,—the result of the picture, as a whole, is rather a painful and unsatisfactory one. Not so that of the drama which follows—‘Henriquez,’—in which Jealousy also plays a principal part, but Jealousy of a different kind;—the feeling as it appears in a nature to which it is foreign—which struggles against its entrance and its growth, and only yields when a fatal combination of circumstances appear to furnish irresistible proof of guilt. Then we witness the deep agony of Remorse by which such a nature is agitated, when, after plunging into crime, it has discovered its error, and the expiation by which alone it can regain composure of mind,—that of a voluntary confession and self-imposed sentence.

The play opens with the return of the victorious Henriquez the general of Alonzo, King of Castile, to his castle, near Zamora. He has wedded Leonora, a lady of beauty and talents, but of rank superior to his own. The friend of his heart is Don Juen de Torva, and against him his steward, Diego, endeavours to excite his suspicions by an anonymous epistle, in which he accuses him of having destroyed the virtue of Leonora, and the honour of Henriquez, in his absence. Henriquez at first treats the accusation with contempt; the scroll ‘will only serve to light ‘his evening lamp;’ but circumstances, following in rapid succession, work upon his mind, and, in spite of his resolutions, rouse him to suspicion. He questions the page; then becomes ashamed that he should have descended to do so; and resolves to hear her explanation of all from her own lips. But, while he is endeavouring to combat the growing doubt within, his mind is

again unhinged, and his feelings roused into an ecstasy of jealousy, by the discovery of the picture of Don Juen, and a letter in his handwriting, in a casket which had been his earliest gift to his wife.

HENRIQUEZ.

' Question a youth—a menial—any one,
Of what regards the honour of my wife !
I married her in the full confidence
That she possessed all good and noble virtues
Which should become a brave Castilian's wife :
And from herself alone will I be certified
Of what this hateful mystery imports.

(After a pause, and then muttering indistinct words).

Peace, bad suggestions, from mean baseness sprung.
No ! till I hear from her own faltering tongue
The glossing poor pretences of the guilty,
And see upon her once ingenuous face
The varied hues of shame, I'll not believe it.
I am a fool to take it so intently.

This casket here, which was my earliest gift ;
And does it still contain that golden heart,
The token of my love ? I fain would know.

(Looking at it near, and taking it in his hands).

It is not lock'd ; the lid is slightly latch'd ;
In mine own house, methinks, without reproach,
I may undo the bauble.—*(Opens it).*—What is here ?
Don Juen's picture, and a letter, too.
I know the writing well.

(Reads.) " Dear mistress of my soul ! how shall I thank thee for that favour which has raised me from despair ? Though thy heart has not always been mine, and I have sighed long to subdue it, yet I cherish my present felicity as if thou hadst loved me always, and no other had ever touched thy heart. I will come to the feast as a masquer, and, for the reasons suggested to me, unknown to Henriquez. The bearer of this will return with the key of the private door to the grove. And I shall come through the narrow path about nightfall."

(After a pause).

Things have been done, that, to the honest mind,
Did seem as adverse and impossible
As if the very centre cope of Heaven
Should kiss the nether deep !

And this man was my friend,
To whom my soul, shut from all men besides,
Was free and artless as an infant's love
Telling its guileless faults in simple trust.
Oh ! the coiled snake ! It presses on me here

(His hand on his heart).

As it would stop the centre throb of life.

(Returning to the casket, and taking out other papers).

And sonnets, too, made on her matchless beauty,

Named Celia as his cruel shepherdess.

Ay ! she was matchless, and it seems was cruel,

Till his infernal arts subdued her virtue.

I'll read no more. What said he in the letter ?

(*Reads again*). "The bearer will return with the key, and I'll come by the path at nightfall."

Night falls on some who never see the morn.'

With this ominous remark he goes out ; and the act concludes with a scene between Leonora, her sister Mencía, and the steward Diego ; in which the character of Leonora, young, beautiful, conscious of her own beauty and accomplishments, and feeling herself the fit bride of even the noble Henriquez, is pleasingly contrasted with the simpler tastes and more retiring feelings of her sister. When Henriquez next appears, in the commencement of the second act, in his private apartment, it is 'with a sword in his hand, which he lays on the table in the light, 'shrinking back as he looks at it.' He has done the deed—it is crimsoned with the blood of Juen.

'The blood—this blood—his blood—O dismal change !

When rose the sun of this sad day, how gladly

Would I have shed mine own to have saved one drop

Of what was then so dear.

(*Pushing it into the shade*).

Be from my sight.

It wrings my heart ; and yet so black a stream,

So base, so treacherous, did never stain

The sword of holy justice. (*After sitting down, and gazing some time on the ground*).

This is a pause of rest from the first act,

The needful act of righteous retribution.

Oh ! is it rest ? The souls that fell from light

Into the dark profound, cut off from bliss,

Had rest like this. (*Pressing his temples tightly with both hands*).

How furiously these burning temples throb !

Be still ! be still ! there's more behind to do,

But no more blood : I will not shed her blood,

(*Knocking at the door*). Who's there ?

VOICE.

Are you awake, my lord ?

HENRIQUEZ.

What dost thou want !

VOICE (*without*).

The banquet is prepared, the guests assembled,

Your grooms are waiting, and your vestments ready.

Will you not please, my lord, to let them enter ?

HENRIQUEZ (*to himself*).

The guests assembled ! Vile bewildering dream !

I had forgot all this. I must appear.

Be still, be still. I'll open to them presently.'

* As if to increase the fearful perplexity of Henriquez' situation, he finds, on entering the festal hall, that the king himself, accidentally brought into the neighbourhood, and attracted by the gay lamps 'gleaming through the lattices,' and 'starring the 'dusty corridors,' is to be his guest for the night. He masters himself, however, sufficiently to do the honours of the banquet to the royal visitor; who acknowledges his great services to the state in a warm eulogium, and presenting him with a costly ring, exclaims—

'Whatsoever thou shalt request of me,
Returning to my hand this pledge again,
It shall be granted were it half the realm.'

While the king, retiring to the bottom of the stage, is conversing with Henriquez, and the guests are preparing for the dance, the assembly is thrown into confusion by the sudden entrance of a servant, who announces that the body of Juen has been found in the neighbouring wood. Leonora sinks to the ground, Henriquez eying her intently; and the guests, finding 'their banquet 'to a funeral wake had turned,' retire with the king. Though Leonora as yet suspects not Henriquez of Juen's death, she feels that there is something in his conduct to herself, mysterious and alarming. She confides her grief and her fears to his friend Carlos, who endeavours in vain to comfort her with the assurance that this violent excess of grief would soon abate, and that he would resume his wonted tenderness and confidence in her.

The arrival of the secretary of Don Juen is suddenly announced. And now the full consciousness of the hideousness of his crime is made to break upon the mind of Henriquez. The secretary is the bearer of a will executed by Don Juen in his favour, and of a marriage contract between him and Mencia, the sister of Leonora. It was to her the picture had been sent—to her the letter had been addressed—for her the visit which had terminated so fatally had been intended. The truth flashes on Henriquez; and, uttering a deep groan, he falls back horrorstruck in his chair.

LEONORA.

'That groan again. My dear—my dear Henriquez.
Alas! that look: thine agony is great.
That motion too. (*He rises*). Why dost thou stare around?
We are alone; surely thou wilt not leave me.
Where wouldst thou be?

HENRIQUEZ.

I' the blackest gulf of hell;
The deepest den of misery and pain;
Wo bound to wo—the cursed with the cursed!

LEONORA.

What horrible words, if they have any meaning ;
 If they have none, most piteous.
 Henriquez ! O my lord—my noble husband !
 I thought not thou wouldst e'er have looked on me
 As thou hast done, with such an eye of sternness.
 Alas ! and hadst thou nothing dear on earth
 But him whom thou hast lost.

HENRIQUEZ.

I had—I had. Thy love was true and virtuous,
 And so it is. Thy hand upon my breast.

(Pressing her hand, which she has laid upon his breast).

I feel it. O how dear !

(Is about to kiss it, but casts it from him).

It must not be !

Would thou wert false ! Would grinding contumely
 Had bowed me to the earth—worn from my mind
 The very sense and nature of a man !
 Faithful to me ! Go loose thee from my side,
 Thy faithfulness is agony ineffable—
 It makes me more accursed. Cling not to me.
 To taste the slightest feeling of thy love
 Were base, were monstrous now. Follow me not,
 The ecstasy of misery spurns all pity.'

We behold him next in the burying vault of the castle, gazing on the new covered grave (dimly lighted by a lamp, placed on a neighbouring tomb) which contains the body of his murdered friend. A solemn requiem for the dead is heard at a distance ; and as it ceases, Henriquez, casting the light from his hand, and rushing towards the grave, exclaims—

' And here thou liest with all thy noble parts,
 Thy lofty liberal soul, and goodly form,
 And heart of love so thorough and so true !
 This is thy rest, the meed and recompense
 Thy generous worth hath from thy friend received !
 Thy friend ! O savage heart and cruel hand !
 Fell, hateful, faithless, cowardly, and base !
 Of every baleful thing, by heaven cast off,
 Most cursed and miserable !
 O that ere this the dust had covered me
 Like a crush'd snake, whose sting is yet unsheath'd !
 Would in the bloody trench some sabred Moor
 Had lanced this hold of life—this latent seat
 Of cruelty ! or rather that some dart,
 Shot erring in our days of boyish sport,
 Had pierced its core ! Then by my early grave
 He had shed over me a brother's tears ;
 He had sat there and wept and mourn'd for me,

When from all human thoughts but his alone
 All thoughts of me had been extinguish'd. Juen !
 My Juen, dear, dear friend ! Juen de Torva !
 Thy name is on my lips, as it was wont ;
 Thine image in mine heart like stirring life ;
 Thy form upon my fancy like that form
 Which blessed my happy days. How he would look,
 When with his outspread arms, as he return'd
 After some absence !—Oh, it tortures me !
 Let any image cross my mind but this !
 No, no ! not this !—Sable, sepulchral gloom !
 Embody to my sight some terrible thing,
 And I will brave it (*pausing and looking round*).
 It doth ! it doth ! there's form and motion in it.
 Advance thou awful shade, whate'er thou art.
 Those threat'ning gestures say thou art not Juen.

(*Rubbing his eyes*).

It was but fancy.—No ; the soul to Him
 Who is the Soul of souls ascended hath,
 Dust to its dust return'd. There is nought here
 But silent rest that can be roused no more.
 Beneath this mould, some few spans deep he lies.
 So near me, though conceal'd !—Cursed as I am,
 The cords of love ev'n through this earth have power,
 Like a strong charm, to draw me to him still.

(*Casting himself upon the grave*).

Burst, guilty heart ! rend every nerve of life,
 And be resolved to senseless clay like this,
 So to enlap his dearer clay for ever.

Enter CARLOS.

CARLOS (*looking round him*).

He is not here : nought see I through the gloom
 Save the cold marble of those tombs which, touch'd
 With the wan light of yon sepulchral lamp,
 Show their scroll'd ends to the uncertain sight,
 Like shrouded bodies rising from the earth.

(*Going towards the grave*).

Ha ! something stirring on the new-raised earth !
 It is Henriquez, wrapped in frantic sorrow.

(*Advancing to him*).

Henriquez ! hear'st thou not, noble Henriquez ?
 Nay, nay ! rise from the earth : such frantic grief
 Doth not become a man, and least of all,
 A man whose firm endurance of misfortune
 Has hitherto so graced his noble worth.
 Giv'st thou no answer but these heavy groans ?
 Thou canst not from the tomb recall the dead,
 But rouse thy spirit to revenge his death.

HENRIQUEZ (*raising his head*).

What saidst thou?

CARLOS.

Quit this dismal bed of death,
And rouse thee to revenge thy murder'd friend.

HENRIQUEZ.

He is revenged; Heaven deals with guilt so monstrous;
The hand of man is nothing.

CARLOS.

Ay, but the hand of man shall add its mite.

(*Taking hold of his hand to raise him*).

Up from the earth! I've found the murderer.

HENRIQUEZ (*springing up fiercely, and seizing him by the throat*).

Lay'st thou thy hand on me! What is or is not,
The God of heaven doth know, and he alone.
Darest thou with mortal breath bestow that name,
To the dishonour of a noble house,
On one of ancient princely lineage born?

Carlos recalls him to his senses by informing him that the murderer, who has been seized, is a youth who had been found lurking in the neighbouring wood—Antonio—a former suitor of Mencia's, and to whom she had, in fact, been truly attached, till the persuasions of her ambitious sister, Leonora, had prevailed on her to sacrifice her first attachment, and to accept the hand of Juen. Carlos has come to ask Henriquez to see the prisoner and hear him questioned. Henriquez knows but too well that the accused is innocent; but bewildered and confused, 'his spirits as 'in a dream are all bound up,' and he follows Carlos as if mechanically and unconsciously.

Meantime, a scene of much interest and pathos takes place in the prison. Mencia, believing him guilty, yet moved by all the recollections of her early love, has visited him in his dungeon, for the purpose of endeavouring to effect his escape. She brings with her a disguise—she urges him to lose no time—she conjures him to fly, for her peace or misery hangs upon his life.

ANTONIO (*raising her*).

'Ah dear, dear Mencia! And car'st thou thus,
For a foul criminal,—a man of blood?
What, then, had been thy care—may I not say—
What, then, had been thy love,—had he been innocent?

MENCIA.

Alas, alas! hadst thou been innocent,
I had defied the world, with all its lures,
Again to sever us. Yet, as thou art —

ANTONIO.

Misfortune, thanks ! Thou hast done more for me
Than the devoted care of many years.
Come, then, defy the world to sever us,
My generous Mencia ; I am innocent.

MENCIA.

Ha ! dost thou say it ? Said'st thou innocent ?
And say'st thou truly so ? Hast thou not done it ?
Is it no mockery of joy ? O no !
That look, that smile ! Yes, thou art innocent ;
And, Heaven be praised, thou art.

ANTONIO.

I am, indeed, of Juen's death most innocent.
And though some circumstances do at present
Accuse me strongly, yet, I trust in Heaven,
That on my trial so it will appear.

MENCIA.

Nay ; do not trust. Oh no ! for Don Henriquez,
Made savage by despair, will have a victim,
And catch with eagerness at every proof,
How slight soe'er it be. Fly ; quickly fly,
And I will follow thee and share thy fortune,
Or be it good or ill.

ANTONIO.

O blessed words ! my dear, my gen'rous love !
My heart throbs at the thought, but cannot thank thee.
And thou wilt follow me and share my fortune,
Or good or ill !
Ah ! what of good can with a skulking outlaw
In his far wand'rings, or his secret haunts,
E'er be ? O no ! thou shalt not follow me.

MENCIA.

Good may be found for faithful, virtuous love,
In every spot ; and for the wand'ring outlaw,
The very sweetest nooks o' the earth are his.
And be his passing home the goatherd's shed,
The woodman's branchy hut, or fisher's cove,
Whose pebbly threshold by the rippling tide
Is softly washed, he may contented live,
Ay, thankfully ; fed like the fowls of heaven
With daily food sent by a Father's hand.

ANTONIO (*pressing both her hands to his heart, and then kissing them*).

Thanks, gentle, virtuous Mencia ; but, alas !
Far different is the hapless outlaw's home
From what thy gentle fancy fashioneth.
With lawless men he must protection find.
Some murky cavern where the light of day
Hath never peer'd—where the pitch'd brand, instead,
Sheds its red glare on the wild revelry

Of fierce banditti ; or the pirate's bark,
Where stalks the sabred ruffian o'er the deck,
Watching his distant prey—some home-bound ship,
With all its stores and freight of precious souls,
Who ne'er shall greet their native shores again,
Must be his guilty home.

MENCIA.

Alas, alas !

ANTONIO.

Thou shalt not follow me, nor will I fly.
Sever'd from thee I will not live, sweet love,
Nor shalt thou be the mate of one disgraced,
And by the good disown'd. Here I'll remain,
And Heaven will work for me a fair deliv'rance.

MENCIA.

No, no ! the present means for thy escape
Are sent to thee by Heaven. Be not so stubborn !
With or without me fly, even as thou wilt,
But do not linger here.

(*Looking to the door on hearing it move*).

The door—O misery ! we are surprised.

It is Henriquez ; Heaven have pity on us !

It is indeed Henriquez who enters. He has not yet made up his mind to that expiation by which he afterwards attempts to atone for his crime. He comes to tempt Antonio with the offer of escape, in the hope that on the head of the youth would then rest for ever the odium and disgrace of his own unhappy deed. He dismisses Mencía, and waiting in gloomy silence till she retires, he turns to the prisoner :

HENRIQUEZ.

'Unhappy youth ; thou hast to thine accusers
Thine innocence asserted with the earnest
And simple manliness of truth ; yet truth,
Supported only by the word of him
Who is accused, will nought avail. How is it ?
If there be any circumstance that may
Support or prove thy words, I do entreat thee
To tell me freely, and I will, with speed,
Use every means that may unfold it fully
To aid thy exculpation. (*Pauses*). Is there none ?
Bethink thee well : how slight soever it be,
It may to others lead of more import.

ANTONIO.

Thanks, generous man !

HENRIQUEZ.

Nay, nay ! What is thine answer.

ANTONIO.

Alas ! four days within that fatal wood
 I have been hid ; unseen of every one
 But Mencia, and those hinds who did pursue me.
 What circumstance can then avail me ? No ;
 Heaven, in its justice, will unfold the truth ;
 In this I put my trust ; proofs I have none.

HENRIQUEZ.

Take the deliv'rance, then, which Heaven has sent thee.
 Fly, save thy life. (*Offering a purse*). This will procure the
 means,

When thou hast cleared the precincts of the forest.
 All now is still, and favours thy escape.

ANTONIO.

My Lord, like one stunn'd with astonishment,
 I thank your generous care. But, Don Henriquez,
 Though born of blood less noble than your own,
 An outlaw's fate, from friends and country banish'd,
 My honest fame blurr'd with imputed guilt,
 Is not deliv'rance such as I accept,
 Such as a true Castilian can accept.
 You offer it in pity of my youth,
 Therefore I thank you ; but I'll here abide
 Such vindication as becomes mine honour.

HENRIQUEZ.

But should it fail thee, canst thou better brook
 A malefactor's death, the public gaze,
 The scaffold's open shame, the executioner,
 All the degrading ministry of death ;
 Even that which so attainteth noble blood
 That ages wear not out th' abhorr'd blot,
 Disgracing all thy line ? Ay, think of this :
 It makes me shudder as I utter it,
 Who have in battle faced all dreadful things.

ANTONIO.

In truth, it makes your strengthen'd features wear
 A ghastly hue of horror. How is this ?
 That such strong sympathy should move you so ?
 You think me guiltless in the very front
 Of proof that should condemn me : then, belike,
 Some shrewd suspicion of the actual hand
 That did th' accursed deeds lurks in your mind.

HENRIQUEZ.

Ha ! cast an accusation on mine honour !

ANTONIO.

No, Don Henriquez ; with a friendly wish
 To do me service cam'st thou here, and sacred
 Is all that thou in privacy hast done
 Or utter'd. Yea ; though thou shouldst now confess

That thou thyself were Juen's murderer
 (Start not, these are but words of argument);
 Yea; ev'n supposing this, and that my rescue
 From the uplifted axe depended on it,
 Yet would I not betray thee.

HENRIQUEZ (*turning away haughtily*).

Thou art incorrigible: take thy will.

(*Returning and laying down a key*).

I leave thee this; thou wilt consider of it.

Say, is there aught that thou wouldst have me do?

ANTONIO.

Send me a priest. Though only such transgressions
 As youthful folly prompts rest on thy mind,
 Yet would my soul, shrived by some holy man,
 His ghostly counsel take, and be at peace.

HENRIQUEZ.

And be at peace! Ay, ghostly counsel may
 To such as thou give peace. O could it also —.

I know an aged friar, wise and prudent:

Thou shalt be satisfied.

[*Exit.*]

ANTONIO (*after following him with his eye as he ascends the stair at the bottom of the stage*).

But that it were so horrid and unnatural,
 A thing at strife with all consistent thoughts,
 I could believe — No; 'tis impossible.

(*Retires to the bottom of the stage, and the scene closes.*)

The noble conduct of Antonio produces the effect which might be expected on a mind such as that of Henriquez. He now steels himself for his task of penance; and his first step is to unbosom his guilt to a confessor. This scene is a very noble one; and the close, in particular, of remarkable beauty. The friar entreats him to betake himself to prayer and penance,—urging that the sufferings of the body would relieve the sufferings of the mind. Henriquez answers—

'The sufferings of the body! They are powerless.

(*Showing his hand*).

See here, short while, in agony of thought,
 Pacing the armory where hangs the mail
 Which Juen wore, when in Tolosa's field
 We fought the turban'd Moslems side by side;
 It was his gift, which I did beg of him,
 In the proud joy I felt at his high deeds.
 How swell'd my heart! A braver knight in arms
 Fought not that day. Bold heart and potent hand,
 And lofty mien and eyes that flash'd with valour.
 Where run my words? I have forgot their drift.

FRIAR.

Something which happened in the armory.

HENRIQUEZ.

Ay, in the armory, as I have said,
 I struck my hand, in vehemence of action,
 On a spik'd shield, nor knew till afterwards,
 When the wild fit was past, and oozing blood
 Loaded my clammy touch, that in my flesh
 The broken iron was sheath'd.
 No ; what can corporal pain or penance do ?
 That which inflicts the mental wound, which rends
 The hold of pride, wrenching the bent of nature ;
 'Tis that alone hath power. Yet from the effort
 Nature starts back ; my mind, stunn'd at the thought,
 Loses the use of thought.

FRIAR.

I do not understand you ; good, my Lord.

HENRIQUEZ.

It matters not ; you will, perhaps, hereafter.

FRIAR.

You are at present feeble and exhausted,
 And lack repose ; retire a while, my son.
 Hark ! on the walls without, do you not hear
 The warder's call to note the rising morn ?

HENRIQUEZ.

The morn ! And what have I to do with morn ?
 The redd'ning sky, the smoking camp, the stir
 Of tented sleepers rousing to the call,
 The snorting steed, in harness newly dight,
 Did please my fancy once. Ay ; and the sweetness
 Of my still native woods, when, through the mist,
 They showed at early dawn their stately oaks,
 Whose dark'ning forms did gradually appear
 Like slow approaching friends, known doubtfully.
 These pleased me once in better days ; but now
 My very soul within me is abhorrent
 Of every pleasant thing ; and that which cheers
 The stirring soldier or the waking hind,
 That which the traveller blesses, and the child
 Greets with a shout of joy, as from the door
 Of his pent cot he issues to the air,
 Does but increase my misery. —
 I loathe the light of heaven : let the night,
 The hideous unblessed night, close o'er me now,
 And close for ever !

The last act opens in the presence chamber of the king, who is suddenly informed that Henriquez, attended by his train, and accompanying a prisoner, requested audience. The king, after expressing surprise at this 'unwonted form' of bringing his prisoner to the royal court, gives orders for the admittance of Hen-

riquez. He enters, and reminding the king of his late pledge, when he presented him with the ring, to grant him whatever suit he should ask, requests him to swear upon his sword that he would now grant the boon he was about to demand. The king answers—

‘ I swear, by the firm honour of a soldier,
To grant thy boon, whatever it may be.
Declare it then, Henriquez. (*A pause*).
Thou art pale,
And silent too : I wait upon thy words.

HENRIQUEZ.

My breath forsook me. ’Tis a passing weakness :
I have power now.—There is a criminal,
Whose guilt before your Highness in due form
Shall shortly be attested ; and my boon
Is, that your Highness will not pardon him,
However strongly you may be inclined
To royal clemency,—however strongly
Entreated so to do.

KING.

This much amazes me. Ever till now,
Thou’st been inclined to mercy, not to blood.

HENRIQUEZ.

Yea ; but this criminal, with selfish cruelty,
With black ingratitude, with base disloyalty
To all that sacred is in virtuous ties,
Knitting man’s heart to man —— What shall I say ?
I have no room to breathe. (*Tearing open his doublet with violence*).

He had a friend,

Ingenuous, faithful, generous, and noble :
Ev’n but to look on him had been full warrant
Against th’ accusing tongue of man or angel
To all the world beside,—and yet he slew him.
A friend whose fost’ring love had been the stay,
The guide, the solace of his wayward youth,—
Love steady, tried, unwearied,—yet he slew him.
A friend, who in his best devoted thoughts,
His happiness on earth, his bliss in heaven,
Intwined his image, and could nought devise
Of sep’rate good,—and yet he basely slew him ;
Rush’d on him like a ruffian in the dark,
And thrust him forth from life, from light, from nature,
Unwitting, unprepared for th’ awful change
Death brings to all. This act so foul, so damned,
This he hath done : therefore upon his head
Let fall the law’s unmitigated justice.

KING.

And wherefore doubt'st thou that from such a man
I will withhold all grace? Were he my brother
I would not pardon him. Produce your criminal.
(*Those who have ANTONIO in custody lead him forward*).

HENRIQUEZ (*motioning with his hand to forbid them*).
Undo his shackles; he is innocent.

KING.

What meaneth this? Produce your criminal.

HENRIQUEZ (*kneeling*).

My royal Master, he is at your feet.

(*A cry of astonishment is heard through the hall; the KING, staggering back from the spot, is supported by an Attendant, while CARLOS and ANTONIO, now free from his fetters, run to HENRIQUEZ, who continues kneeling, and bend over him in deep concern*).

The conclusion may be easily imagined. Henriquez, deaf to all entreaties from the king, and inaccessible even to those of Leonora, adheres firmly to his purpose. He is condemned on his own confession, and at his own request; and the play closes with the sound of the bell which announces the preparation for his execution.

We have quoted liberally from this play, because it is unquestionably the finest in these volumes. 'The 'Separation,' which approaches nearest to it in dramatic effect, is still far inferior as a whole. It turns, like 'Henriquez,' on a murder and its expiation, but the circumstances under which the deed of Garcio has been committed, render it impossible to regard him with that sympathy which is awakened for Henriquez, by the fatal error under which his crime has taken place. While we grant that Miss Baillie has done all in her power to overcome the inherent difficulty of such a conception, and to render Garcio as little revolting as the perpetrator of a midnight murder upon a sleeping man can be supposed to be; we cannot but feel that her success is still imperfect, and the general effect of the drama unsatisfactory. Henriquez no doubt murders his friend—but under the influence of a passion which 'takes the reason prisoner,' and deceived by a train of circumstances which seemed to lead to 'conclusions most forbidden.' Garcio murders only his enemy—but he murders him in his sleep—and with no other excuse, but that he had opposed his suit to his sister, and had dismissed him with words of passion and contempt. The general idea of the piece consists in the discovery, after long years, of Garcio's crime by the Countess—the sister of that Ulrico whom he had murdered; and her determination, when the avowal is made, to separate herself for ever from the murderer;—a determination to

which Garcio himself, moved by religion, submits. He disappears, leaving the Countess in possession of the castle: his very name is almost forgotten. But he reappears once more, to save the Countess from the attack of enemies by whom the castle is besieged—and in saving her to receive that death which he had so long courted.

We feel little inclination to dwell on what may be considered the minor performances in these volumes. There are some stirring and forcible scenes in the prose tragedy of 'Witchcraft;' and much delightful poetry is wasted upon a most intractable groundwork in the 'Phantom.' We cannot resist quoting from this play, one specimen of those beautiful lyrics with which Miss Baillie occasionally adorns her dramas.

'I've seen the moon gleam through the cave,
And minute drops like diamonds glancing;
I've seen, upon a heaving wave,
The tressy-headed mermaid dancing:
But ne'er was seen, in summer night,
Beneath the moon, in brightness riding,
A moving thing, to charm the sight,
Like Flora to her Malcolm gliding.

'I've heard a pibroch, through the wind,
As absent chief his home was nearing;
A half-stripp'd infant, sweetly kind,
With mimic words its mother cheering:
But ne'er were evening sounds so sweet,
As, near the spot of promise stealing,
The quick, soft tread of Flora's feet,
Then whisper'd words, herself revealing.

'My boat I've fastened to the stake,
And on the shelly beach am pacing,
While she is passing moor and brake,
On heather braes her shadow tracing;
And here we'll pass a happy hour,
For hours and years of bliss preparing,
When we shall grace our girdled tower,
Lands, life, and love together sharing.'

The 'Homicide,' though containing some striking scenes, is more interesting from situation than from the developement of character; and the 'Stripling,' we fairly confess, seems to us unworthy of Miss Baillie. The 'Martyr,' however, is in a higher style;—and though not perhaps very dramatic, has a tone of nobleness and devotion about it which are highly attractive. Of the comedies we say nothing, because we can say little that would be agreeable to Miss Baillie or to ourselves.

Since this article was written, we perceive that Miss Baillie has obtained one object of her wishes, and that the 'Separation' and 'Henriquez' have been represented on the stage; but neither with any brilliant success. That the 'Separation' should not have succeeded we feel little surprise; for its faults are great as well as its beauties; and the interest, which is at its height in the third act, almost vanishes with the disclosure of the murder, and the announcement of the Countess's determination. But nothing has led us so completely to despair of the revival of true dramatic taste among us, as the announcement we have just noticed in a newspaper that 'Henriquez,' when represented before a London audience, had been treated, like its predecessors, with comparative coldness; and that its announcement for repetition had been received with some tokens of disapprobation!

ART. V.—*Memoirs of the Life of Sir Humphry Davy, Bart., L.L.D., F.R.S., Foreign Associate of the Institute of France.* By his Brother, JOHN DAVY, M.D. F.R.S. 2 vol. 8vo. London: 1836.

SINCE the age of Sir Isaac Newton the History of British Science has recorded no discoveries of equal importance with those of Sir Humphry Davy. The researches of Black, Priestley, and Cavendish, however important in their results, were less brilliant in their generalizations, less striking in their individual phenomena, less indicative of inventive talent, and less fruitful in their practical applications. In placing Sir Humphry Davy, therefore, at the head of British Chemists, we cannot anticipate an appeal from our decision;—and if any dissenting voice shall be raised, it will proceed only from the sacred recesses of personal esteem or family affection.*

But it is not doing justice to Sir Humphry Davy to compare him with the sages of his own country, or the academicians of his

* 'Mr Davy, not yet thirty-two years of age, occupied, in the opinion of all that could judge of such labours, the first rank among the chemists of this or of any other age; it remained for him, by direct service rendered to society, to acquire a similar degree of reputation in the minds of the general public.'—*CUVIER's Eloge of Sir H. Davy.* M. Dumas also has declared, that Davy was the greatest chemical genius that ever appeared.—*Dr PARIS's Life of Davy*, vol. ii. p. 31.

own school. A philosopher may be the *Facile Princeps*—the acknowledged sovereign of a small domain, and yet occupy a subordinate place among the prouder dynasties of European science. This, however, was not the sceptre which our author wielded. The age which he adorned was the brightest era of chemical discovery. In its galaxy of immortal names, there shone those of Berzelius, Volta, Wollaston, Dalton, Gay Lussac, and Thenard; and in the race of glory which they pursued, even national partiality will scarcely refuse the palm to Sir Humphry Davy.'

Though thus placed at the head of European chemists, and that too in the Augustan age of chemistry, we must still claim for our author a higher distinction. In contemplating science in its individual objects, it is of little consequence by whom it is pursued, and by what means, and under what circumstances, these objects are accomplished. If an alchymist stumbles upon a new metal at the bottom of his crucible, the discovery is of the same value as if it had formed the last link of a long train of inductive research. But, with reference to the intellectual character and merits of the discoverer, and to the general principles and methods by which nature is to be interrogated, it is of essential importance to know the state of the subject to be investigated,—the difficulties with which it is beset,—the qualifications of the enquirer—the means within his reach,—and the processes by which he is led to discovery.

When Newton established the law of gravity, and applied it to the planetary motions, he but completed the labours of a previous age. Had not misfortune and the apathy of Princes chilled the ardour of Kepler, he might have anticipated him in the discovery; and Hooke, and Halley, and Wren, were within a neck of the goal at which Newton carried off the prize. Trained at the foot of Barrow, and in the geometry of Cambridge, and in the full enjoyment of academical leisure, Newton was well equipped for the contest, while his less prepared antagonists run in the harness of professional occupations. In the achievement, indeed, of this grand discovery, we witness the triumph of fortune as well as of talent; and it is not detracting from his high merits when we say, that had he lived in another age, Newton would have had many equals.

Sir Humphry Davy's successful analysis of the earths is inferior to the discovery of Universal Gravitation only in its influence over the imagination. To separate, without the aid of the crucible, new metals of rare and surprising properties from the earths and alkalies which we tread under our feet—from lime, magnesia, soda, barytes, &c.—was a discovery greatly in advance of the age when it was made. No prophetic sagacity had placed

it among the probabilities of science. No previous skill had made the slightest approximation to it. It lay among the most recondite mysteries of chemistry, and but for the genius and patience of our young and ardent philosopher, it might have remained another century in the labyrinth through which he traced it. Nor had Davy the preparation either of academical knowledge, or of experimental instruction. No adept in chemical analysis had imparted to him the wisdom of his experience; nor had the treasures of a foreign pilgrimage placed him above his rivals in discovery. His methods and his skill were his own, and whatever were their defects, they were supplied by a ready genius and an intellectual energy which triumphed over every obstacle. The circumstances, too, of his early career, must add greatly to a just and impartial estimate of his merits. Raised from a humble position in society, he was the creator of his own fortune. No titled patron cheered him on, in his career; but, urged by the native impulses of a lofty ambition, he became the instructor of his fellow-citizens in the metropolis, and from their munificence and public spirit he received that assistance in his researches, which in other countries is proffered by the sovereign or by the government.

In placing the discoveries of the chemist on the same level with those of the natural philosopher, we are aware that we expose ourselves to the animadversions of local prejudice; and to the censure of those heretics in knowledge who weigh intellectual, as they do natural food, by the pound, and who regard bulk as the sublime in science as it is in nature; but those who feel no interest in the decision will at once admit the correctness of our principle, that the merit of discovery must always consist in the nature and extent of the mental efforts by which it has been achieved; and can never bear the smallest relation to the magnitude and distance of the objects to which these efforts are applied. In behalf of the natural philosopher, we must, on the other hand, plead the unpopular character of his subjects, the slow growth of his reputation, and the limited sphere within which he shines. The radiance which fancy throws round the labours of the astronomer is visible only to a small number of worshippers; and even the few who kneel at his shrine, are led more by the testimony of his disciples than by a real appreciation of his miraculous deeds. The chemist, on the contrary, appeals directly to our own senses. He exhibits new elements, new compounds, and new phenomena, which dazzle and astonish his audience; and though he may not make them master of the various steps of his processes, or popularize the theoretical views which they involve, he yet conveys enough to justify their admiration, and to unite their efforts in

swelling the general applause which is offered to his name. Brilliant as is the commencement of such a reputation, it is not on that account the less enduring. While there are many meteors that leave only a phosphoric gleam, there are others, perhaps, of less splendour, that throw down a shower of new bodies into the treasury of science.

If our readers are impressed with the correctness of the view which we have taken of the scientific merits of Sir Humphry Davy, they will feel a deep interest in the general account which we propose to give of his life and labours; but before we proceed to this agreeable task, we must take some notice of a painful controversy which has unhappily arisen between his two able biographers.

After the death of Sir Humphry Davy, Dr Ayrton Paris was solicited from various quarters to write a life of his friend. Although he had received from Lady Davy not only her 'unqualified permission to become the biographer of her husband, but also several 'important documents, he still felt that Dr Davy might desire to 'accomplish the task of recording the scientific services of his 'distinguished brother; and, had that been the case, he should 'most undoubtedly have retired without the least hesitation or 'reluctance; but he was assured by those who were best calculated to form an opinion upon this point,—for he was himself 'absent from England,—that motives of delicacy, which it was 'easy to appreciate, would at once lead him to decline an undertaking embarrassed with so many personal considerations.' Dr Paris, however, was not correctly informed of the views of Dr Davy. Possessed of the MSS., Note Books, and Journals of Sir Humphry, this excellent individual and able chemist, as soon as he perceived their value, felt it an imperative duty to undertake the biography of his brother. The manner in which he has performed this task is highly creditable to his talents and learning. He has surmounted, with much delicacy and good taste, the personal considerations which Dr Paris refers to as embarrassing the undertaking; and he has recorded his brother's labours with all that modesty and genuine feeling which was expected by those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance. The important documents, too, which he has published for the first time, are extremely valuable; and enable us to form a more correct judgment than we could otherwise have done of the scientific character and general attainments of his brother. With this high and sincere praise, we regret that we are obliged to mingle even the slightest disapprobation; but we are sure that the least sensitive admirers of Sir Humphry Davy's reputation have felt, in the perusal of these memoirs, that they contain letters and discus-

sions which may provoke a bitter hostility against his name; and which, even without this risk, should never have found a place in so distinguished a biography. In making this criticism, we must, at the same time, state, in justice to Dr Davy, that these documents and discussions were inserted with the amiable object of removing unfavourable impressions of his brother's character, which he conceives to have been made by the memoir of Dr Paris. 'The nature,' says he, 'of Dr Paris's work confirmed me in my design. There appeared to be much in it that was objectionable, many things which were incorrect, and that the general tone and tendency of it were to lower the character of my brother in public estimation; *not, indeed, as a man of science and original enquirer*, but as a man and a philosopher; and to deliver his name to posterity with a sullied reputation, charged with faults which he would have indignantly repelled if living, and which it has become my duty, believing the charges to be unfounded, not to allow to pass unrefuted, now he is no more. In writing the Life of my brother, which I now offer to the public, from the commencement to the termination of my labour I have kept in view one great object, the developement of his character as fully as possible, trusting that his best vindication from calumny will thus be insured; and believing, with his excellent and attached friend, Mr Poole, that "the more his *whole* being is known, the more the *man* will be esteemed and loved, the more the philosopher thanked and venerated.'"* Under the influence of these feelings, Dr Davy has composed a defensive eulogy of his brother; and has allowed a controversial vein to carry its iron stain through the Parian marble on which he has recorded the noblest deeds.

But even if Dr Paris's memoir was liable to so severe a rebuke, Dr Davy should have treated it with the dignity of silence. He should have delineated the form, and embodied the pressure of the 'whole being' of his brother, without emblazoning on a separate tablet the caricatures and anamorphisms in which it had been drawn. We cannot, however, admit the guilt of Dr Paris; and a sense of duty obliges us to acknowledge, that he has ably discharged the duties of a biographer, and with a powerful eloquence and a lofty enthusiasm, has reared an imperishable monument to the memory of his friend. Possessed of a vigorous imagination, and alive to the *facetiae* of human character, he may have, in some cases, needlessly enlivened the austerity of scientific detail with some of the harmless peculiarities of his author; and in others he

* From a letter to the author, quoted in the Preface, page viii.

may have trusted too much to unfriendly communications. But these peculiarities, instead of derogating from moral and philoso-

* The principal charges here referred to, are his love of the great, and his consequent neglect of old friends,—a double imputation which, we venture to say, has been more or less made against every great man that possessed the power of pleasing or adorning the social circle. When Mr Davy arrived in London, he of course enjoyed the society of medical, scientific, and literary men, which is there so peculiarly excellent. When his discoveries made him the object of universal notice, his society was courted by the great, and an increased demand made upon his own hospitality and leisure by numerous introductions, both foreign and domestic. Under such new circumstances, and engrossed with his scientific researches, as well as his professional duties, he could not possibly either receive or return, to the same extent as before, the hospitalities of the circle in which he had previously moved. When his Cornish acquaintances came to the metropolis, in the expectation of enjoying the society of their early friend, they perhaps found that every hour of his time during their stay had been pre-engaged by indispensable occupations; and though we are sure that in such cases Mr Davy was as much disappointed as his friends, yet it was not unnatural that an unfavourable impression should have been carried away and propagated. We speak from personal knowledge when we say, that Mr Davy was not guilty of the charge of forgetting kindness, or neglecting the feelings of those to whom he owed it; and we trust we shall be excused for giving an example which we consider more to the point than many of the letters and statements given by Dr Davy.

In 1822, during the visit of George IV. to Scotland, Dr Marcet and his amiable family paid a visit to the North, with the view of enjoying themselves amongst the Highland moors. Sir Humphry Davy had promised to Dr Marcet his assistance to procure him the privilege of grouse shooting; and when Dr Marcet was one day expressing his fears of success, the writer of this note removed his anxiety, by giving him a letter of introduction for this purpose. A few days after, Sir Humphry Davy received a similar letter from the same writer, and to the same family; and both these distinguished individuals spent some time in the enjoyment of their favourite sport. Sir Humphry made himself extremely agreeable in a party where scientific conversation was necessarily excluded; and his companions on the moors were delighted with the kindness and frankness of his nature, as well as with the scientific peculiarities of his equipments. During this visit, he met at the table of his host with a young sailor, a relative of the family, who, on joining his ship, paid a visit to London. Sir Humphry one day recognised him in the streets, and invited him to his house, where he met at dinner with some of the most distinguished society in the metropolis. Those who know from experience the returns generally made to Highland Lairds, by English sportsmen, who have quaffed their wine and slain their deer, will not only acquit Sir H. Davy from such a charge, but place the above little incident to the credit of a kind and grateful disposition.

phical character, often impart to the picture the breadth and force of reality. They are like the atoms of dust in the sunbeam, which serve only to attest its presence and to enhance its blaze. When the peculiarities of illustrious men neither spring from their studies, nor are allied to their genius, it is perhaps unkind to exhibit them to vulgar observation. The bust of a great man should not be elaborated by the minute chiseling of the Dutch school—but who would not have forgiven Phidias for leaving a wrinkle on the front of Jove whilst he preserved the features of the god?

Sir Humphry Davy was born at Penzance, in Cornwall, on the 17th December, 1778, of humble but respectable parents. His father was a carver in wood, and his mother the daughter of a mercer in Penzance. Both of them seem to have been much elevated above their apparent station in society; and they fostered with the most anxious care the early talents of their eldest child. A highly retentive memory—an early passion for poetry—a love of romantic incident—a taste for angling, even in the gutters of the streets—and an irresistible fondness for the chemistry of squibs and crackers, were the first blossoms of that genial fruit which ripened so early in the morning of his life. Though he took the lead among his schoolfellows, yet he did not relish the classical repast which was daily served up to him; and he states it as having been a particular source of rejoicing when he left the school of Truro for ever. In his leisure hours, he was the poet-laureate and the romancer of the circle which he enlivened. He shone pre-eminently as the general author of valentines and love-letters. He was the foremost in every harmless frolic; and he did not scruple to frighten his grandmother, who inhabited a haunted house in Tregony, by emerging from her cupboard, and in the character of a sheeted ghost walking across her apartment.

After quitting school, at the age of fifteen, he began that course of study by which he raised himself to such an elevated station. His first efforts were desultory and unsuccessful. The allurements with which youth is commonly beset, and the idle occupations which are too often encouraged as salutary and manly exercises, relaxed his purposes, and threatened to draw him into the vortex of idleness and dissipation. The death of his father in December 1794, which marked this crisis, gave a new tone to his character; and in the affliction by which Providence cast a bereaved family upon his care, he found the beacon which warned him from vice, and the star in the east which conducted him to glory.

Having thus gained a firm footing on the green sward of man-

hood, his purposes became more settled, and his course less devious. He selected medicine as his profession; and in February 1795 he was apprenticed to Mr Borlase, an able surgeon and apothecary in Penzance. His plan of study was universal in its extent. It embraced *seven* languages, from English to Hebrew, and all the physical and moral sciences, from theology and astronomy down to rhetoric and mechanics. He committed to writing his views on these subjects;—and speculations on religion and politics,—on metaphysics and morals—are placed in his note books in juxtaposition with stanzas of poetry and fragments of romance. A system of mathematical study seems to have replaced for a while these desultory pursuits; but relapsing anew into the subtleties of metaphysics, we find him drawing from the deepest wells of the sceptical philosophy;—refreshing himself at the more salubrious fountains of Scotch metaphysics—and finally submerged in the black sea of German transcendentalism. In 1796, he entered upon studies more congenial with his profession; but still of too presumptuous a character to be useful. In imitation of Hartley and Brown, he attempted to explain the phenomena of life by a few abstract principles; but he was not pleased with his theories, and in the following year, 1797, we find him more profitably occupied in the study of natural philosophy.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that till he reached his nineteenth year, Mr Davy had never seriously entered upon the study of chemistry. Lavoisier's 'Elements' and Nicholson's 'Chemical Dictionary' were the first books which engaged his attention. Not satisfied with their perusal, he tried the speculative views of Lavoisier by the test of experiment; and he flattered himself that he was able to overturn the leading doctrines of the French school. The apparatus which served him in these early experiments, were phials, wine glasses, tea cups, tobacco pipes, and earthen crucibles; and Dr Paris has ventured to add, that his pneumatic apparatus was fabricated from a syringe* with which a shipwrecked French surgeon had rewarded his kindness.

During the winter of 1797, Mr Davy was fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr Gregory Watt and Mr Davies Gilbert, his successor in the chair of the Royal Society; and from the

* Why does Dr Davy deny this statement about the syringe? Dr Paris, on Mr Davies Gilbert's authority, had surely better grounds for making it than Dr Davy for contradicting it, merely because none of his family had heard of it! We consider a syringe a very respectable article, and have seen it perform very creditably the part of cylinder and piston in a steam-engine.

congenial studies of the one, and the extensive knowledge and native kindness of the other, he reaped advantages of no common kind. In these, and in almost all the events of his early life, fortune lavished her favours upon our young philosopher. He had now become a correspondent of Dr Beddoes on the nature of light and heat; and his views on these difficult subjects had appeared so correct and valuable, that he offered him the management of the Pneumatic Institution at Clifton, which he had succeeded in establishing. The object which he contemplated was to try the medicinal effects of the different gases, with the view of discovering remedies for those diseases which had bid defiance to medical aid; and in order to study the physical effects of these powerful agents, an hospital was provided for patients,—a laboratory for experimental enquiry, and a theatre for lecturing. In the delightful family of Dr Beddoes, under whose roof Mr Davy at first lived, he met with the choicest society,—among others with Mr Southey, Mr Coleridge, and Mr Tobin, who were then like himself commencing their intellectual career;—and though the conversation of these poets, and the beautiful vicinity of Clifton, kept alive his poetical feeling, he yet devoted an ample portion of his time to the more sober studies which his new duties required.

The ambition of becoming an author is perhaps the earliest sin against prudence which is meditated by a man of genius; and it is almost invariably the first of which he repents. Mr Davy was unlucky in having it fostered rather than checked by his amiable patron. The speculative character of Dr Beddoes had led him, as we have before stated, to adopt the theoretical views of his young friend on light and heat; and therefore he did not scruple to recommend their publication. He even became their editor; and Mr Davy was thus induced to give to the world, in 1799, a volume of *Scientific Essays*,* which, to use the expressions of Dr Davy, abound in ‘wild and visionary speculations,’ ‘partial reasonings,’ and ‘erroneous experiments.’ Although the author was among the first to recognise the fallacy of his own theories, yet the volume exhibits a powerful mind, full of energy and genius, and fitted, after more mature training, for the highest efforts of discovery.

* ‘Contributions to Physical and Medical Knowledge, principally from the West of England.’ They were designated ‘Essays on Heat and Light, and the Combinations of Light; with a new Theory of Respiration; on the Generation of Oxygen Gas and the causes of the Colours of Organic Beings.’ Pp. 205.

The next subject which occupied Mr Davy's attention was the existence of silex in the epidermis of certain plants. * The son of Mr Coates of Clifton had perceived a luminous appearance upon accidentally rubbing together two pieces of bonnet cane in the dark. Mr Davy instantly embarked in the enquiry. He found that all canes produced sparks during their friction; that they were much more vivid on collision, and were even as bright as those of a gun flint lock when the pieces were violently struck together. He soon found that this was owing to silex in the epidermis of the canes. † Out of 22 grains of epidermis, he obtained 9 of silex; and out of 240 grains of the wood, only 2 grains of silex. The same remarkable ingredient he detected in the sugar cane and bamboó, in the arundo phragmites, in the stalks of wheat, oats, and barley, and in several of the grasses, such as the anthoxanthum, and *Poa pratensis*. Dr Wollaston afterwards discovered silex in the wood of the teak-tree; and on examining the equisetaceous and farinaceous plants, by entirely different methods, Sir David Brewster found the silex arranged in beautiful symmetrical patterns, each crystal having a regular axis of double refraction, and placed in elegant groups round the glands of the plant.

Having removed, in 1799, from the house of Dr Beddoes to that of the Institution, Mr Davy devoted himself with zeal and diligence to the investigation of the effects of gases on respiration. He was fortunate enough to make his first experiments with the nitrous oxide, the results of which have excited so general an interest. These experiments laid the foundation of his work, entitled 'Researches, Chemical and Philosophical, chiefly concerning Nitrous Oxide and its respiration;' ‡ which, had he never written any thing else, would have placed him in a respectable rank among original enquirers. The physiological part of the volume is of course the most interesting; but particularly that portion of it in which he gives an account of the hazardous experiments which he made upon himself, and the mental and physical excitement which they produced. As the details of these experiments are pretty generally known, we might have been justified in merely stating their result; but the leading experiment which Mr Davy made upon himself, is so thoroughly a portion of his personal history that we cannot properly withhold it from our readers.

* Published in Nicholson's Journal. 4to. Vol. iii. p. 56.

† This fact had been long known in India, where jungles had been set on fire by the mutual friction of the bamboos in high winds.

‡ Published in 1800, in 8vo.

“ In April I obtained nitrous oxide in a state of purity, and ascertained many of its chemical properties. Reflections upon these properties, and upon the former trials, made me resolve to endeavour to inspire it in its pure form ; for I saw no other way in which its respirability or powers could be determined.

“ I was aware of the danger of this experiment : it certainly never would have been made if the hypothesis of Dr Mitchell had in the least influenced my mind. I thought that the effects might be possibly depressing or painful ; but there were many reasons which induced me to believe that a single inspiration of gas, apparently possessing no immediate action on the irritable fibre, could neither destroy, nor materially injure, the powers of life.” This resolution he carried into effect on the 11th of April, and again on the 16th and 17th ; when he experienced for the first time the remarkable intoxicating operation of the gas. The following is his account of the experiment, and of the sensations which he perceived :—

“ Having previously closed my nostrils, and exhausted my lungs, I breathed,” he says, “ four quarts of the nitrous oxide from and into a silk bag. The first feelings were similar to those produced in the last experiment (*viz.*, a sense of fulness of the head ; loss of voluntary power, &c.) ; but in less than half a minute, the respiration being continued, they diminished gradually, and were succeeded by a sensation analagous to gentle pressure on all the muscles, attended by a highly pleasurable thrilling, particularly in the chest and extremities. The objects around me became dazzling, and my hearing more acute. Towards the last inspirations, the thrilling increased ; the sense of muscular power became greater ; and at last an irresistible propensity to action was indulged in. I recollect but indistinctly what followed. I know that my motions were various and violent. These effects very soon ceased after respiration : in ten minutes I had recovered my natural state of mind. The thrilling in the extremities continued longer than the other sensations. “ This experiment was made in the morning : no languor nor exhaustion was consequent ; my feelings throughout the day were as usual ; and I passed the night in undisturbed repose. The next morning the recollections of the effects of the gas were very indistinct ; and had not remarks, written immediately after the experiments, recalled them to my mind, I should have even doubted of their reality. I was willing, indeed, to attribute some of the strong emotion to the enthusiasm which I had supposed must have been necessarily connected with the perception of agreeable feelings, when I was prepared to experience painful sensations. Two experiments, however, made in the course of this day with scepticism, convinced me that the effects were solely owing to the specific operation of the gas.”

In continuing these experiments, Mr Davy ventured to breathe carbonated hydrogen, carbonic acid gas, azote, hydrogen and nitrous gas, and in these rash and uncalled for trials he had more than once nearly sacrificed his life.

The reputation which these researches could not fail to bring, opened up new and valuable prospects. The Royal Institution,

which Count Rumford had recently established in London, being about to lose the services of Dr Garnet, Mr Davy was recommended as his successor; and was appointed assistant lecturer on chemistry, and director of the laboratory, with the view of being raised to the professorship in the following year. In the spring of 1801 he delivered his first lecture, which fully justified the expectations of his friends. He became, in short, a highly popular lecturer, by his natural eloquence, his chemical knowledge, his felicitous illustrations, and his well-conducted experiments.

At the commencement of his scientific career, the mind of Mr Davy seems to have been inclined to subjects of practical utility. In 1803 he was much occupied with chemical researches connected with agriculture, having been previously engaged by the Board of Agriculture to deliver a course of lectures to its members on the connexion of chemistry with vegetable physiology. These lectures he continued to deliver for ten years; and in 1813, when they were discontinued, he published them at the request of the Board, with the title of ‘*Elements of Agricultural Chemistry.*’ During the same period, he was engaged in experiments on astringent vegetables and tanning, and he made journeys to Scotland and Ireland, of a geological nature, with the view of improving his lectures on that science, of which he delivered the first course in 1805.

During his first excursion to Ireland in 1805, in company with Sir Thomas Bernard, he paid a visit to the well-known patron of the fiorin grass, Dr Richardson, at Portrush, where he met the late Bishop of Raphoe and his sister Lady Brownrigg, who has given the following interesting description of Mr Davy, and of a theological argument which he had with one of the party.

“I was very young,” Lady Brownrigg writes, “when I had first the pleasure of seeing your highly gifted brother. We had been invited (I say *we*, for I was then with the Bishop of Raphoe) by Dr Richardson to go to his cottage at Portrush, ‘to meet the famous Mr Davy.’ We arrived a short time before dinner. In passing through a room we saw a youth, as he appeared, who had come in from fishing, and who, with a little note-book, was seated in a window-seat, having left a bag, rod, &c. on the ground. He was very intent upon this little book, and we passed through unnoticed. We shook hands with our host and hostess, and prepared for dinner. When I went into the drawing-room, under some little awe of this great philosopher, annexing to such a character at least the idea of an elderly grave gentleman, not, perhaps, with so large a wig as Dr Parr, or so sententious a manner as Dr Johnson,—but certainly I never calculated on being introduced to the identical youth, with a little brown head, like a boy, that we had seen with his book, and who, when I came into the drawing-room, was in the most animated manner recounting an adventure on the Causeway which

had entertained him, and, from his manner of telling it, was causing loud laughing in the whole room. The evening passed very agreeably; my brother played chess with Sir Humphry; but after supper a very interesting occurrence took place. A poor unfortunate gentleman, who exemplified that 'a little learning is a dangerous thing,' had thought to show his wit and wisdom in being a professed sceptic, and had volunteered a visit to Dr Richardson, in order to be made known to Mr Davy, anticipating a triumph over the two divines, when he had the powerful aid of the great philosopher to overthrow the Christian religion. Therefore, as soon as we ladies had retired, this disciple of Voltaire and the rest of the Encyclopedists openly began, and was elated by the silent and deep attention with which the philosopher listened to him; while my irritable friend, Dr Richardson, exhibited great symptoms of annoyance: however, all the forms of attack from this *esprit fort* were poured into the ears of your brother. At last he paused, full of triumphant expectation, when, to the inexpressible delight of my brother, in the finest tone of eloquence, and with a fervour of piety, your delightful brother defended Christianity in such a manner that, as the Bishop said, the effect upon him was such that he *stood up*, feeling, for the first time, that impulse which made the congregation all rise at some splendid burst of religious fervour in a sermon of Bourdaloue or Massillon. Your brother, when he had completely put down his opponent, turned in the prettiest manner to the two clergymen, and apologised for having 'taken up the weapons which would have been so much more ably wielded in their hands.' They finished their wine and water, and parted for the night. At breakfast our deistical friend did not appear. He had actually skulked off to his home, some forty Irish miles from this memorable scene."

Either before, or perhaps in consequence of this event, the Bishop of Durham and Sir Thomas Bernard had urged Mr Davy to enter into the church, and held out to him the brightest prospects of preferment; but his mind was too intent on scientific fame to quit the studies which he had so successfully begun.

In 1806, Mr Davy made a second visit to Ireland, and his brother has published a considerable portion of the journal which he kept during his tour. His views of the political state of Ireland are occasionally mingled with his geological descriptions; and had our limits permitted us we should have transferred some of these to our pages. In the present crisis of the political regeneration of that unhappy country, it is interesting to observe, that the grand principle upon which it is now governed is recognised in the letters of Davy and his correspondent. 'I have very much,' says Mr Davy, 'to say about Ireland. *It is an island which might be made a new and a great country*;' and Mr Poole adds, in confirmation of the views of his friend, 'The true political maxim is, that *the good of the whole community is the good*

‘of every individual; but how few statesmen have ever been guided by this principle? In almost all governments the plan has been to sacrifice one part of the community to other parts.’ ***

The power of electricity, as a chemical agent, seems to have fixed the attention of Mr Davy soon after he arrived in London. The first great step in electro-chemical science had been made by Messrs Nicholson and Carlisle, who, in 1800, discovered the decomposition of water by the voltaic pile. These chemists also found that certain metallic solutions were decomposable by the same agent, and that the alkali was always separated on the negative plates of the apparatus. Mr Cruikshank discovered that the muriates of magnesia, soda, and ammonia yielded their elements to the same power; and that *ALKALINE matter always appeared at the NEGATIVE, and ACID at the positive pole*. In the same year Mr Davy published a series of six papers in Nicholson’s Journal, in which he showed that oxygen and hydrogen were evolved from separate portions of water, even though vegetable and animal substances intervened; and in electrifying different compounds at the different extremities, he found that sulphur and metallic substances appeared at the negative pole, and oxygen and azote at the positive pole, though the bodies furnishing them were separate from each other. In the same papers, Mr Davy proved that the electrical effects, and the chemical changes going on in the pile were dependent on each other; and in 1802, he found that when two separate portions of water, connected by moist bladder or muscular fibre, were electrified, nitro-muriatic acid appeared at the positive, and fixed alkali at the negative pole. In a series of experiments made in 1803, MM. Berzelius and Hisinger explained the phenomena, which had been observed in the pretended formation of muriatic acid and alkali in water, when acted upon by the pile; and showed that all these phenomena depend on general laws, in virtue of which combustible bodies and salifiable bases collect round the negative pole, while oxygen and acids collect round the positive pole, when the pile discharges itself through liquids.

Early in 1806, Mr Davy, who had not seen the previous experiments of the Swedish chemists, directed his attention to the subject. From a great variety of experiments he drew the conclusion that *the combinations and decompositions by electricity were referable to the law of electrical attractions and repulsions*; and he advanced the hypothesis that *chemical and electrical attraction were produced by the same cause, acting in one case on particles, in the other on masses; and that the same property under different cir-*

cumstances, was the cause of all the phenomena exhibited by different voltaic combinations. The Bakerian lecture which contains these views, was read to the Royal Society in 1806, entitled 'On some Chemical Agencies of Electricity.' It was universally regarded as one of the most valuable contributions which had ever been made to chemical science; and the Institute of France awarded to its author the prize founded by Napoleon for the most important discoveries in galvanism.

Guided by the sagacious views which this lecture promulgated, Mr Davy struck at once into the paths of discovery. How splendid was the conception of overpowering the forces of chemical attraction, by which the elements of apparently simple bodies were bound together in a mysterious and seemingly indissoluble union, by the still more powerful attractions of electric energy, and thus liberating and displaying to mortal sight those divine atoms—that consecrated dust out of which 'all things are and were created.' If Franklin received the palm of immortality for bringing down and domesticating the lightnings of heaven, who can refuse the triple crown to him who took the thunderbolt in his grasp, and commissioned it among the refractory powers of the material world to demand their watchword, and dissolve their confederacy?

In September, 1807, our illustrious chemist applied his great principle to the analyses of potash, the vegetable alkali. Some had supposed it to consist of lime and hydrogen; others conjectured that it might contain nitrogen; and Mr Davy himself conceived that it might consist of phosphorus, or sulphur united to nitrogen. After failing with strong aqueous solutions, and also with dry potash, from its being a non-conductor, he employed fused potash, and in this case inflammable matter was separated by the voltaic influence. He then tried 'a piece of potash moistened, and in this instance inflammable matter was developed.' On the 6th of October he found that the '*matter instantly burned when it touched water, and swam on its surface, reproducing potash.*' In dry oxygen gas likewise it burnt into 'perfectly dry potash.' In like manner, Mr Davy succeeded in decomposing soda; and when he had thus proved that the two fixed alkalis were *metallic oxides*, he immediately supposed that the earths, which were so much more like to metallic oxides than the fixed alkalis, would be easily decomposed. The delight which Mr Davy experienced when he first saw the minute globules of *potassium* (the new metal) burst through the crust of potash, and take fire as they entered the atmosphere, was witnessed by his relative and assistant Mr Edmund Davy. 'He

‘ could not contain his joy—he actually danced about the room in ecstatic delight, and some little time was required for him to compose himself sufficiently to continue the experiment.’

These grand discoveries, which some ascribed to the ‘enormous batteries which were placed in his hands,’ were the result of his intellectual powers, not of fortuitous circumstances. His voltaic battery was within the reach of many of the chemists of Europe; and consisted, in fact, of three different batteries united, one of 24 plates of copper and zinc, 12 inches square, another of 100 plates of 6 inches, and another of 150 plates of 4 inches.

While he was recording these splendid discoveries in his second Bakerian lecture, Mr Davy was thrown into a state of fever, and laboured under the deepest apprehension that he would die before he had finished his paper. This state of his mind was the prelude to a severe and long-protracted disease, which his friend and physician Dr Babington considered as the result of over-fatigue and excitement from his experimental labours and discoveries. During five weeks ‘he struggled between life and death,’ and it was not till the end of nine weeks that his convalescence commenced. The anxious enquiries of all ranks exhibited the personal regard which he commanded, and the public importance which was attached to his recovery.

It was fortunate for science that Mr Davy survived this severe malady without any injury to his constitution, or any diminution of his mental powers. He resumed his enquiries with his wonted ardour, and by the liberality of the managers and principal members of the Royal Institution, he was furnished with the means of pursuing them with success. During his convalescence, a voltaic battery of 600 double plates, each four inches square, was constructed and placed at his disposal; and not long afterwards, when a more powerful apparatus was thought desirable, the munificence of a few individuals supplied him with another battery of no less than 2000 plates.

This powerful artillery was now directed against the earths; but the task of these analyses was more difficult than he expected. By electrifying these bodies negatively, when they were slightly incandescent, and mixed with red oxide of mercury, he obtained amalgams of their metallic bases, and by a peculiar process of distillation, he expelled the greater part of the mercury. The quantities, however, of the metallic bases which he thus obtained were very small, and very inadequate for the examination of their properties; but he succeeded in determining that they were heavier than water, were solid at ordinary temperatures, were fixed at a red heat, and had a silvery lustre.

They abstracted oxygen from the glass at a red heat, and from air and water at ordinary temperatures, decomposing the latter with great rapidity. To these new metals he gave the name of *Barium*, *Strontium*, *Calcium*, and *Magnesium*, from the earths in which they were found.

In attempting to decompose the proper earths, Mr Davy was less successful. By the agency of potassium, however, he was able to prove that they consist of bases united to oxygen; but he could not determine whether these bases were merely inflammable substances, or actual inflammable metals. Wohler, Bussy, and Berzelius, solved this important problem. They found that all the bases of these earths, except Silica, were metallic, and capable of uniting with iron.

In considering the application of these discoveries, Mr Davy was led to believe that they would throw some light on the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes,—on the cause of meteorolites and falling stars,—and on the formation of the solid crust of our globe.

‘It appears,’ says he, ‘from the experiments of Mr Cavendish, and the observations of Dr Maskelyne, that the specific gravity of the whole earth is at least twice as great as that of the known surface. This alone might lead one to suspect that it contains metallic matter. The specific gravity is above that of the earths, and below that of the common metals, about the mean which would be produced by alloys of the metals of the earths. The eruptions of volcanoes are proved, by numerous facts, to be connected with the flowing in of water through some subterraneous cavities. And the results of volcanic fires,—the oxides of the new metals of the earths are in a state of fusion,—and all the effects are such as may be easily conceived, if we suppose them to be the consequence of the action of moisture and air upon metallic bodies, capable of being converted into earths by oxidation. Upon no other principle is it easy to account for the cessation and renovation of volcanic fires, for the enormous quantity of stony matter that they pour forth, or for the intense inflammation where there is no indication of the presence of common combustible materials, or for the usual results of combustion.

‘There is in this mass of dry clay a little potassium and strontium. As long as it is dry it undergoes no change; but let it be acted on by moisture, the clay is rent in pieces, and active combustion occurs.

‘This minute effect can give only a feeble idea of what might be produced by operations on a great scale in nature, in which the waters of the sea or of lakes acted upon immense masses of the metals of the earths. In such cases the effects of the explosion might be well conceived to be felt throughout a whole continent, and the lava poured forth might cover miles of country; islands might be raised, and hills and mountains elevated.

‘The influence of air and water upon our existing land is continually tending to degrade and decompose it; and our rivers are constantly carry-

ing the divided matter of soils into the sea. For this principle of decay there must be in nature some corresponding principle of renovation ; and, if we suppose the interior of the globe to be chiefly constituted by the metals of the earths, this principle will be obvious. As the surface above is destroyed, the interior must become exposed ; and, from the action of water and air, new soils and new earthy substances must result, in the place of those which have been degraded and carried off ; and, in the general economy of nature, electrical currents, probably the same as those exhibited in the Aurora Borealis and Australis, may be the means of disuniting inflammable matters from oxygen, and separating metals from their combinations, so as to preserve a constant and uniform relation between the solid, the fluid, and the aeriform parts of the globe.*

When Mr Davy visited Italy in 1814 and 1819, he endeavoured to establish this theory by an examination of the volcanic phenomena which he had the good fortune to witness in these years. He expected to be able to detect inflammable air issuing from the volcano, or rising in flames ; or to discover among the lava some of the uncombined inflammable bases of the alkalis or the earths. Notwithstanding the numerous and even dangerous experiments which he made for these purposes, they were entirely unsuccessful ; and though he still viewed his speculation with a partial eye,* he afterwards gave the preference to the simple hypothesis which ascribes volcanic fire to the ignited condition of the nucleus of our globe, which occasionally breaks through the solid crust within which it is imprisoned.

Although the social and domestic relations of a great man are objects of high interest among his contemporaries, and form essential elements of his living character, yet time soon strips him of the drapery of birth and of fortune, and we view him only on the pedestal of his discoveries, in the pale marble of his intellectual grandeur. The public curiosity, however, will not permit us to leave Mr Davy 'alone in his glory ;' and we must interrupt our detail of his discoveries to notice the events which marked this period of his life. Occupied with his duties as a lecturer, and with the pursuit of scientific discovery, and enjoying the best society of the metropolis, Mr Davy had not the ordinary motives for changing his domestic habits. He had met, however, in 1811, with Mrs Appreece, a lady of considerable wealth and of great talents, and mutual esteem gradually ripened into affection. In a letter to his mother in 1812, he states to her, ' that ' he never would have married, but for this charming woman,

* This hypothesis has been revived by Dr Daubeny. See Dr Davy's Memoir, vol. ii. p. 125 ; and Dr Daubeny's Reply in the *Lond. and Edin. Phil. Mag.* March 1836, p. 249.

‘ whose views and whose tastes coincide with my own, and who
‘ is eminently qualified to promote my best efforts and objects in
‘ life.’ At the levee of the 8th of April, the Prince Regent conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and in communicating this event to his brother, Mr Davy adds, ‘ This distinction
‘ has not often been bestowed on scientific men; but I am proud
‘ of it, as the greatest of human geniuses bore it; and it is at
‘ least a proof that the Court has not overlooked my humble efforts in the cause of science.’ On the following day, Sir H. Davy delivered his farewell lecture to the Royal Institution, and on the 10th he was married to Mrs Appreece; * a lady whose congenial mind and high accomplishments promised him all the blessings of domestic happiness.

Having taken his leave of the British Institution, and abandoned science as a professional occupation, Sir Humphry looked forward to his newly-acquired leisure, as enabling him ‘ to devote his *whole* time to the pursuit of discovery.’ In this hope, however, he was disappointed. Had the anxieties of a parent fixed him in some happy residence, blending with the search for truth the hallowed duties of family affection, and chastening the aspirations of ambition with the griefs and sympathies which new interests and new joys never fail to engender, the last of his days might have been as happy as the first, and the end of his career even more illustrious than its commencement. But his destiny was otherwise arranged. From the time of his marriage, his life was principally that of a traveller and a man of the world; and it is a remarkable proof of the great power of his mind, that under such circumstances he was able to do so much for science.

After publishing the first volume of his ‘ Elements of Chemical Philosophy,’ which he dedicated to Lady Davy, he spent the summer of 1812 in the Highlands of Scotland. On his return, he had nearly lost his sight, by the explosion of a detonating compound of azote and chlorine, which had been discovered in France. On the 5th April, 1813, he formally resigned the chemical chair of the Royal Institution; and having received permission† from the French Government to visit the Continent, he left England, accompanied by Lady Davy and Mr Faraday; delighted

* Mrs Appreece was the widow of Shuckburgh Ashby Appreece, Esq., eldest son of Sir Thomas Appreece, and heiress of Charles Kerr of Kelso Esq.

† This permission was granted at the request of the Institute of France, to enable Sir Humphry to study the extinct volcanoes in Auvergne, and afterwards the active ones in Italy, in reference to his new theory of volcanic action.

with the opportunity of gratifying a passion for foreign travel, which he had long but hopelessly cherished.

This favoured party arrived in Paris on the 27th October, 1813—a time when the two greatest and most intellectual communities on the globe were in a state of mutual exasperation. Such feelings, however, had no existence in the breasts of the French philosophers. The reception which they gave to our eminent countryman was as generous and affectionate as if he had appeared amongst them at the present moment, when the interests of the two nations are closely conjoined, and the hearts of their statesmen and philosophers blended in one common sympathy for domestic ameliorations, and European liberty. Philosophers of all castes—the youthful aspirant and the hoary sage,—even his rivals in discovery,—offered their sincere and respectful homage to the English chemist. Nor was it homage only that they offered;—the warmest hospitality, the most unaffected kindness, the most delicate attention to his personal and even his national feelings, gave a character to the reception of Sir Humphry, which it should be the pride of England to remember and to imitate.

At the anniversary dinner of the Philomathic Society, to which Sir Humphry was invited, he found himself surrounded by the chivalry of the Imperial Institute—by Cuvier, Humboldt, Arago, Dumeril, Ampere, Brongniart, Gay Lussac, Thenard, Chevreuil, and other twenty-three members, with whose names we are not acquainted. Various toasts, complimentary to the Institutions of France and England, were interchanged; but it was a memorable feature of the meeting, that though seven-eighths of the company held office under Napoleon, they omitted the health of the Emperor, and exposed themselves to personal inconvenience, rather than wound the feelings of their English guest.

During this visit, Sir Humphry was elected a corresponding member of the Institute; and in consequence of having received from M. Ampere a portion of the new substance called Iodine, which had been discovered by M. Curtois, he was enabled to make some important experiments in the laboratory of M. Chevreuil, which raised that substance to the rank of a new supporter of combustion.

Quitting Paris on the 29th December, Sir Humphry pursued his continental tour, receiving from all classes the respect and admiration which were due to him; and prosecuting, whenever he had an opportunity, those physical enquiries in which he was interested. His experiments on the torpedo at Genoa—on the diamond at Florence,—and on the colours used by the ancients at Rome, though ingenious and valuable, are not of sufficient im-

portance to occupy the space which we require for more interesting details.

After having visited the most illustrious philosophers in France, Italy, and Switzerland, Sir Humphry returned to England on the 23d April, 1815; and scarcely had he rested himself from his journey, when a new field of discovery was placed within his view. 'A society for preventing accidents in coal mines' had for more than two years been making unavailing attempts, and trying impracticable schemes, for preventing those dreadful explosions of fire damp, by which hundreds of lives had frequently been lost. Dr Gray, the late Bishop of Bristol, then rector of Bishop Wearmouth, happening to be chairman of this benevolent society, thought of applying to Sir H. Davy for his assistance in so good a work. Sir Humphry received this application in Scotland, when he was at the Pavilion, near Melrose, the residence of Lord Somerville. In his answer of the 3d August, 1815, he refers to several modes of destroying fire damp without danger, and to *two* species of lights which have no power to inflame the gas;—he offers to visit the coal mines on his return from Scotland, and to co-operate in any experiments or investigations on a subject so interesting to humanity. Upon his arrival in London, in September, he examined various specimens of fire damp, which he had received from Mr Buddle, as he passed through Newcastle, and in less than a fortnight he informed Dr Gray that he had discovered in this gas new and unexpected properties, which had suggested *four* different methods of lighting coal mines with safety.

From an analysis of the gas, he found it to be carburetted hydrogen, or pure inflammable air combined with charcoal. He found that it would not explode, if mixed with less than six, or with more than fourteen times its volume of atmospheric air;—that neither red-hot charcoal nor red-hot iron were capable of exploding it;—that the explosive mixture could not be fired in tubes of $\frac{1}{7}$ th of an inch in diameter, when they were opened in the atmosphere, and that metal tubes prevented explosion better than glass ones. On these principles, he proposed *four* lamps, viz., the *safety lamp*, the *blowing lamp*, the *piston lamp*, and the *charcoal lamp*; the first three of which are all extinguished when the air within them becomes explosive. The efficacy of all these contrivances was proved by actual experiments in real fire damp; but as the extinction of the light in the three most important, compelled the workmen to quit their work, Sir Humphry felt that his invention was not yet complete. He, therefore, continued his enquiries, and in the last week of December, 1815, he completed the great invention of the Safety Lamp. 'During the pe-

‘riod,’ says he, in a letter to Dr Gray, ‘since I last wrote to you, I have made a discovery much more important than those which I have already had the honour of communicating to you. I have made very simple and economical lanterns and candle guards, which are not only *absolutely safe, but which give light by means of the fire damp, and which, while they disarm this destructive agent, make it useful to the miner.*’

The flame which the *safety lamp* extinguished at the moment of danger, was in the new lamp or cage of wire gauze, raised into a brighter flame, to enable the miner to pursue his labours. Such is a brief history of the completion of the *safety lamp*,—the finest example of inductive and experimental research;—the most valuable present which science has ever made to the arts;—the choicest legacy which genius has bequeathed to humanity.

The value of this great invention was every where recognised. The Royal Society honoured it with their Rumford medals:—the Earl of Durham, and the other proprietors of the collieries on the Tyne and the Weare, voted to Sir Humphry a splendid service of silver plate, of the value of £1200; and the Emperor Alexander of Russia presented him with a beautiful silver-gilt vase, accompanied by a letter from himself, expressing his admiration of the important discovery.

These trophies of public gratitude did not fail to excite the envy, and even the animosity of little minds. An invention with which no interested motive could be associated; which even added to the resources of public and individual wealth, and the want of which so many widows and orphans had deplored,—was denounced as a plagiarism,—decried as inefficacious,—and claimed by men who had neither science to investigate its principles, nor ingenuity to embody them in practice. The coal proprietors who called a meeting to vote a piece of plate to Mr Stephenson for *his* invention of the Safety Lamp may be excused for their scientific ignorance, or perhaps justified for their kindness to a respectable auxiliary; but what shall we say to a late committee of the House of Commons, which has insulted the memory of Davy, by asserting, in the face of a declaration of the Royal Society, ‘that the principles of the construction (of the Safety Lamp) appear to have been practically known to the witnesses, Clanny and Stephenson, previously to the period when Davy brought his powerful mind to bear upon the subject.’

Nearly *three* years after the invention of the Safety Lamp, in October 1818, Sir H. Davy was made a Baronet; but though his brother mentions this fact as if it were a reward for his great invention, yet the tardiness of the acknowledgment, and the new position among the aristocracy which his marriage and his wealth,

and his powers of conversation had secured for him, confirm the idea that he never would have been raised to this dignity had he ministered at the shrine of science in the Royal Institution.

The view which Dr Paris has taken of the treatment of his friend is written with such eloquence, such enthusiasm, and such truth, that we cannot withhold it from our readers.

‘The enlightened friends of science very reasonably expected that a service of such importance to society, as the invention of the Safety Lamp, would have commanded the gratitude of the state, and obtained for its author a high parliamentary reward; nor were there wanting zealous and disinterested persons to urge the claims of the philosopher: but a government which had bestowed a splendid pension upon the contriver of an engine* for the destruction of human life, refused to listen to any propositions for the reward of one who had invented a machine for its preservation. It is true, that in consideration of various scientific services, they tardily and inadequately acknowledged the claims of Davy by bestowing upon him the dignity of baronetcy—a reward, it must be confessed, that neither displayed any regard to his condition, nor implied the just estimate of his merits. The measure of value, however, enables us to judge of the standard by which the state rates the various services to society; and deeply is it to be lamented that the disproportioned exaltation of military achievement, crowned with the highest honours, depresses respect for science, and raises a false and fruitless object of ambition.

‘The passion for arms is a relic of barbarity, derived from the feudal ages; the progress of civilisation, and the cultivation of the mind, should have led us to prefer intellectual to physical superiority, and to recognise in the successes of science the chief titles to honour. This reversal of the objects of importance can never be redressed until the aristocracy shall be possessed of a competent share of scientific knowledge, and instructed to appreciate its value.

‘To effect such a change, the system of education so blindly and obstinately continued in our great public schools must be altered; for minds exclusively applied to classical pursuits, and trained to recognise no other objects of liberal study, are indisposed, and indeed disqualified for enquiries ministering to the arts of life, and arrogantly despised for their very connection with utility. It is in the early ignorance of the rudiments of science that the after negligence of science has its source.

‘The instances in proof of the extent of the ignorance and indifference I have noted, and of their pernicious effects upon the most important interests of society, especially legislation, and the administration of justice, are abundant. In Parliament, how is a question of science treated? In our courts of law, and criminal investigations, it is lamentable to observe

* Sir William Congreve, in addition to other marks of favour, received a pension of twelve hundred a-year for the invention of his rocket; or, in the exact terms of the grant, ‘for inventions calculated to destroy or annoy the enemy.’

the frequent defeat of justice, arising from erroneous conceptions, or from the utter absence of the requisite knowledge.

‘ In the ordinary affairs of life, we see conspicuous, amongst the dupes of quackery and imposture, those whose stations should imply the best instruction, and whose conduct unfortunately has the effect of example.

‘ A contempt, far-spreading and proceeding from the well-springs of truth, is rapidly rising against this exalted ignorance; the industrious classes of society are daily more imbued with knowledge upon scientific subjects, and the nobility, if they would preserve their superiority in social consideration, must descend to the popular improvement.’

To these glowing observations we have nothing to add; but there is one view of the subject, which, though not generally taken, will, perhaps, be more easily comprehended. If the sensitive appreciation of military adventure, and the passion for giving it the monopoly of honours and rewards, is founded on its acts of self-devotion and personal danger, a similar claim may be urged in behalf of the philosopher militant. We ask not the dispensers of the national gifts to assay the fine gold of intellectual commerce, or to compare it with the weights against which it is balanced; but we demand it of those who practise at midnight the doctrine of chances, or whose science is limited to the turf and the prize ring, if there are no personal hazards or wasted frames, in the prosecution of that species of knowledge which *they* cultivate? Has science then no strongholds to storm?—no mines to spring—no nightly bivouac to endure,—no casualties in her bills of mortality—no forlorn hope to array for the combat? Do her ranks exhibit no emaciated frames,—no shattered limbs;—no mutilated senses;—no overwrought and disturbed minds;—no scanty commissariat;—no widows and orphans?—The history of science, were it necessary, would enable us to answer these questions with very painful details; but we shall appeal only to the life of Sir Humphry Davy to establish the fact, that there are many individuals decorated with the highest orders, who have never been exposed to the personal calamities which befell our illustrious chemist.

The next subject to which Sir H. Davy’s genius applied itself, was the unrolling of the ancient MSS. which had been recovered from the excavations of Herculaneum. All previous attempts having failed, it was expected that some chemical process might be found, for separating the ‘adhering leaves,’ and decyphering the characters which they bore. Fragments which had been operated upon by Mr Hayter and Dr Sickler having been put into Sir Humphry’s hands, he exposed a piece of brown MSS. in which the layers were strongly adherent, to an atmosphere of chlorine, and after the papyrus smoked and grew yellow, the writing

became much more distinct. Encouraged by these experiments, Mr Hamilton and others entered warmly into the plan; and having received from the Prince Regent his approbation and patronage, and from Lord Liverpool, the funds necessary for paying the assistants, Sir Humphry Davy set off for Italy, on the 26th May, 1818, for the purpose of putting his method in practice. Upon his arrival at Naples, he found that a letter from the Prince Regent to the King had paved the way for his researches; and he began with ardour to a task in which both chemistry and literature were deeply interested.

Hitherto it had been supposed that the peculiar colours and textures of the MSS. had been produced by the action of fire, more or less intense, according to the distance of the lava, which was supposed to have covered the part of the city where they were found; but Sir Humphry proved that they had never been exposed to heat. They had suffered merely from the slow action of their elements,—the vegetable matter of the paper having been converted into charcoal,—in the same manner that wood is converted into Bovey coal, the decomposition having been effected sometimes with, and sometimes without, the presence of water. By employing a regulated heat, and decomposing or dissolving the bituminous matter by chlorine or ether, Sir Humphry succeeded in partially unrolling 23 MSS; but notwithstanding this partial success, the general plan was a failure, both from the injured state of the MSS, and the jealousy of the Curators of the Museum. No sooner had the Rev. Mr Elmsly begun to examine the unrolled fragments, than new obstacles were thrown in the way; and Sir Humphry conceived that it would be both a waste of the public money, and a compromise of their own character, to proceed in their labours.

The disappointment which Sir Humphry experienced in the failure of an enquiry which had almost a national character, was speedily effaced by the new honours which awaited him. Scarcely had he been a month in England, when the death of Sir Joseph Banks (19th June, 1820), the venerable President of the Royal Society, opened the chair of Newton to his ambition.* Various attempts were made, by persons unfriendly to genius, to raise some nobleman to the chair; but a great majority of the Society entertained more just and exalted views; and Lord Colchester, the nominee of a small junto, commanded only thirteen votes, whilst Sir Humphry Davy was elected by a majority of

* As a compliment to Dr Wollaston, he was chosen president till the general election, in November.]

nearly one hundred and fifty. Gratifying as this appointment was to his feelings, it was far from being the source of unmixed satisfaction. Though he discharged the duties of his office with dignity and impartiality, yet he was greatly disappointed in the expectations which he had formed of being able to promote the interests of the Society, and advance the boundaries of knowledge. He found 'the Government lukewarm or indifferent in matters of science;' and when they required and obtained through him the assistance of scientific men for public purposes, 'they forgot even to remunerate them for their services.' Thus baffled in the leading object which he had in view, he conceived a plan of obtaining money independent of the Government, and he might probably have succeeded, had not his health begun to give way, and the almost daily cares and vexations of the office disturbed his tranquillity and interrupted his pursuits. The following is a very accurate picture of the petty miseries of office.

'As regarded satisfaction and pleasure to himself in his official situation,' says Dr Davy, 'I fear he was much disappointed, and particularly latterly, when he was least able to bear annoyances. He had no idea of manœuvring or managing, and never shrink from responsibility. On him fell the odium of all measures which hurt the feelings of individuals, whether in consequence of the rejection of a paper, which the author supposed was worthy of a place in the Philosophical Transactions, or the black-balling of a candidate, ambitious of becoming a Fellow, and, of course, considering himself deserving of that distinction. As no wound, perhaps, rankles more, and is more vexatious than that of personal vanity, so no class of people are more harassing and annoying than those thus offended; and it is from these that a President of the Royal Society is most exposed to attacks,—persons commonly without any dignity of character, and generally without real ability, and, consequently, feeble and irritable. The man of real ability or of true dignity would be above the Royal Society, and would not condescend to resent any act of injustice towards him, supposing the decision of the President and Council to be unjust. He has the world for his tribunal; and it is only necessary for him to publish the results of his enquiries, and he is sure to have justice done to him. Another source of annoyance, belonging to the office of President, is that of the perpetual interruption of his leisure from applications by letter and personally, without end, respecting trifling inventions, supposed by their authors to be important discoveries, respecting patents and certificates for patents, and about imaginary discoveries and schemes worthy of Bedlam, and generally proposed by men of unsound, and often insane mind. To be thus deprived of time, and to have attention and patience wearied, must have been disagreeable to any man, excepting of a trifling character, and to my brother it was particularly wearying, and it even interfered with his own pursuits, and deprived him very much of the leisure which he might have devoted to original research. As an honorary situation, without profit or emolument of any kind, but occasioning considerable expense to the individual, a stranger to the nature of its duties would sup-

pose the office of President of the Royal Society, for a man of science, not only the most elevated but the most agreeable possible. It undoubtedly should be so; but it never can be so, as long as pretension to knowledge, vanity, and presumption, are more common (and they will always be more intrusive) than real knowledge, modesty, and diffidence. The pleasures of office, and especially of honorary office, are generally in anticipation and imaginary—the trials and troubles, real and incessant. These are the rocks and glaciers, the storms and torrents of the Alpine heights; the other, the rosy hues of reflected light, lost on near approach,—to be seen only in the distance, at which all asperities are invisible.’

The hospitalities as well as the duties of his office prevented Sir Humphry from carrying on any laborious or continued train of research. When the discovery of electro-magnetism by Ørsted opened a new field of enquiry, Sir H. Davy was among the first to repeat and extend the experiments of the Danish philosopher. In two papers which he communicated to the Society, he proved that the wire which united the two poles of a galvanic battery became itself magnetic; that it attracted iron filings, and that needles placed across it, were permanently magnetised.* M. Arago, who had embarked in the same enquiry, had anticipated† Sir Humphry in these results, and made the subject his own, by the brilliancy and extent of the discoveries to which he was led.

In 1821, Sir Humphry read a memoir on the electrical phenomena exhibited in vacuo; and in 1822 he communicated to the Royal Society an interesting paper ‘on the state of water ‘and aeriform matter in the cavities found in certain crystals;’ a subject on which very remarkable results have been obtained by his successors in the enquiry. In the same year, he communicated another paper, ‘on a new phenomenon of electro-magnetism, which contained the first indications of electro-magnetic ‘rotation;’ and he concluded this series of miscellaneous papers, by one ‘on the application of liquids formed by the condensation ‘of gases as mechanical agents,’ which had been suggested to him by Mr Faraday’s beautiful discovery of the liquefaction of chlorine gas.

Sir H. Davy had now reached that period of life when the love of fame ceases to be the ruling principle of action, and when the experience of the past, and the hopes of the future, give maturity and calmness to the judgment. Already had he received

* Letter to Mr Pepys, October 20th, 1820, where the general fact only is mentioned.

† M. Arago’s paper was read to the Institute on the 25th September, 1820, a fact which sets aside Dr Paris’s reasoning in his note, vol. ii. p. 192.

among civilized nations a glorious and undying name—already had he brought his native country under a debt of gratitude which she was neither willing nor able to pay. The usual impulses, therefore, to intellectual activity were withdrawn; and the desire of conferring practical benefits on his species replaced the more youthful incentives of wealth and of glory. It was in one sense fortunate for Sir Humphry that a subject was now presented to him peculiarly adapted to his genius, and one too in which every civilized community possessed a common interest; but in relation to the tranquillity of a mind unaccustomed to failure, and of a temper that could not brook ingratitude, his friends would have willingly renounced the new leaf which was about to be added to his chaplet.

The Commissioners of the Navy having requested the Royal Society to enquire into the causes of the decay of the copper sheathing of ships, and a committee having been appointed for this purpose, Sir H. Davy charged himself with the arduous task. In order to protect the bottoms of ships from sea worms, such as the *Teredo*, the *Lepisma*, and the *Pholas*, with which they are infected, a sheathing of the hides of animals, covered with pitch, seems to have been the earliest in the British navy. Lead had been used by the Romans; and also in our own navy about the end of the seventeenth century. Copper was first used on the Alarm frigate in 1761; and previous to 1780 the whole British navy was sheathed with that metal. The rapid corrosion of copper, however, by the action of sea-water, was a source of great expense as well as inconvenience. When the metal was pure, as in the case of the *Tartar*, it was nearly destroyed in five years; and in the case of the *Batavier* and *Plymouth Yacht*, where the copper remained perfect for twenty-seven years, it was found to have been alloyed, in the former, with one three-hundredth part of zinc, and in the latter, with the same quantity of tin.

Having made several experiments on the action of sea-water upon copper, he found that the corrosion of the metal was occasioned by the joint action of the air, as well as the saline ingredients in the water; oxide of copper being first formed, and this oxide becoming an insoluble submuriate, magnesia being precipitated at the same time. Reasoning upon these phenomena, and considering that in his electro-chemical theory chemical attraction may be increased, modified, or destroyed by changes in the electric state of the bodies, he was led to the happy idea of destroying the action of the water upon copper by altering the electric condition of the metal. As copper is weakly positive in the electro-chemical scale, and as it can only act upon sea-water when in a positive state, it occurred to him that if he

could render it slightly negative, the corrosive action of the sea would be prevented. His first idea was the impracticable one of using a voltaic battery; but this was soon superseded by the simpler plan of placing a piece of zinc, tin, or iron in contact with the copper. At first he supposed that a large mass of these metals would be required; but, considering that the action of sea-water upon copper was weak and slow, he was encouraged to expect that a feeble electric force would be sufficient to destroy it. A single experiment demonstrated this great truth, which he thus communicates in a letter to his brother, dated Fирle, Jan. 30, 1824.

* 'I have lately made a discovery, of which you will, for many reasons, be glad. I have found a complete method of preserving the copper sheeting of ships, which now readily corrodes. It is by rendering it negatively electrical. My results are of the most beautiful and unequivocal kind; a mass of tin renders a surface of copper, 200 or 300 times its own size, sufficiently electrical to have no action on sea-water.

'I was led to this discovery by principle, as you will easily imagine; and the saving to Government and the country by it will be immense. I am going to apply it immediately to the navy. I might have made an immense fortune by a patent for this discovery, but I have given it to my country; for in every thing connected with interest, I am resolved to live and die at least *sans tache*.'

About the same time, Sir Humphry communicated his discovery to the Government; and an order was immediately issued to try the method, under his superintendence, upon the bottom of a sailing cutter. In the mean time, he requested that *three* models of ships should be exhibited in the navy office,—the coppers of one being protected by bands of zinc; of another, by plates of wrought iron, soldered to the sheeting; while the copper of the third was left unprotected. For several months, these models were floated in sea-water, and examined from time to time by naval and scientific men. The results were so conclusive, that instead of waiting for the issue of the experiment with the cutter, the plan of protection was carried into effect, to a great extent, both by the Admiralty and by private individuals.

In order to determine the most suitable metal for the protectors, and the proportion which their surface should bear to that of the sheeting, Sir Humphry received every facility for making the necessary experiments in Portsmouth harbour. He found that cast iron was the best metal for the protectors, and that when their surface was from $\frac{1}{25}$ to $\frac{1}{15}$ part of the copper surface, the latter suffered no corrosion; with small protectors from $\frac{1}{25}$ to

$\frac{1}{100}$ of the copper surface, the loss of copper increased as the protectors diminished; and when the protectors were only $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of the copper surface, a certain proportion of the copper was still saved. These and other important results were communicated to the Royal Society in 1823 and 1824; and in 1825 he completed the account of his enquiries on this and analogous subjects, by the Bakerian lecture, 'on the relation of electrical and 'chemical changes;' a paper to which the Royal Society adjudged the first of the royal medals founded by George IV.

But though Sir Humphry was thus successful in theory; though all Europe appreciated the ingenuity of his invention; and though Laplace regarded the principle as the greatest of all his discoveries, it was yet destined to become the source of extreme disappointment and mortification. At an early stage of the enquiry, Mr Knowles and others had started the idea that by rendering the copper innoxious, the weeds might adhere to the sheathing, and thus obstruct the motion of the vessel; and though several ships returned to port clear in their coppers, yet the general fact was soon established, that the preservation of the sheathing was accompanied with the adhesion of weeds, marine insects, shell-fish, and polypi, which retarded the motion of the vessel, and with chemical changes* in the protectors, and depositions on the copper which were most injurious to the ship. To obviate these evils, Sir H. of course suggested that the protection should not be complete; and that the copper should be allowed to experience such a small corrosion as would prevent the adhesion of marine bodies; but this golden mean was not of easy attainment. In order to try the influence of rapid motion on the action of the protectors, and some other experiments which he had in view, Sir H. Davy accompanied the Comet steam-ship, which was sent at the request of the King of Denmark, in 1824, to fix the longitude of Heligoland. The Admiralty gave him the entire disposal of the vessel after the astronomical observations were completed; and he availed himself of the opportunity of making a tour through parts of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from which he returned on the 17th of August. The scientific results of this voyage were less valuable and agreeable to him, than the recollection of the kindness which he received from the

* The iron protectors in the *Glasgow* were converted into a substance like plumbago, which could be cut by a knife. A portion of this wrapped in paper was placed by a ship-wright in his pocket for examination; the new substance at first became warm, but it soon grew hot, and in a short time passed into a state of absolute ignition by the action of the air.

Princes of Sweden and Denmark, and of his intercourse with Berzelius, CErsted, Gauss, Olbers, and Schumacher.

The return of British vessels whose coppers had been protected, exhibited at the same time the theoretical success, and the practical inefficacy of the invention. The foulness on the coppers of those from foreign stations, where there were no dry docks to receive them, was so great, that in July, 1825, Government ordered the protectors to be discontinued on all sea-going ships; but directed them to be still used on all ships that remained in our ports. When our home-ships, however, came to be examined, they were found to be even more foul than those which had been in motion at sea. The shell-fish adhered so firmly to them, that the percussion which was necessary to detach them indented and even fractured the copper. Under these circumstances, the agents of Government came to the painful conclusion, that the new plan of protection was incapable of successful application, and it was in consequence entirely abandoned in September, 1828.

He who, from discoveries pregnant with advantages to his country, expects the honours and rewards due to a public benefactor, was not likely to acquiesce in the decision of the Government; and Dr Davy has distinctly and perhaps justly insinuated, not only that the public experiments were 'carelessly made and very soon 'relinquished,' but that they were carried on 'by persons not sincerely interested in their success.' But even, though the failure of the protectors had been an absolute one, and admitted even by the inventor, the tribute of applause which was every where offered to the scientific discovery, might and would have solaced him for his disappointment. Secret enemies, however, and the hewers of the wood, and the drawers of the water of science attacked the author and his invention, under the ambush of the periodical press. Uniting malignity with sarcasm, they denied even its novelty; and what was less easily borne by a generous mind, men whose stations implied a regard for character and a love of knowledge, seemed to rejoice in the humiliation of a public benefactor. At such a crisis any other Government than ours would have stepped forward to soothe and to honour an illustrious servant; but no generous deed could originate amid the canker of faction and the taint of political corruption.

The health of Sir H. Davy was doubtless affected by this ingratitude of his country. 'A mind,' says he in a letter to Mr Children, 'of much sensibility might be disgusted, and one might be induced to say, Why should I labour for public objects merely to meet abuse? I am irritated by them more than I ought to be; but I am getting wiser every day—recollecting

‘Galileo, and the times when philosophers and public benefactors were burnt for their services.’

Early in 1825, Sir Humphry had begun to complain of loss of strength; and in the winter and spring of 1826, he was unable to walk without fatigue. On his return to London from the country, his indisposition increased, and his duties at the anniversary of the Royal Society exhausted him so much that his friends were apprehensive of an apoplectic attack, and he was unable to attend the usual public dinner. A numbness in his hand and arm—an inordinate action of his heart, and weakness in the right leg, had previously indicated the approach of that terrible disease; but his own inclinations, and the rash advice of some of his numerous advisers, had led him to attribute his illness to other causes, and to adopt a strengthening, rather than an abstemious regimen. In the month of December, 1826, Dr Davy, who was called suddenly to London, found his brother under a paralytic attack affecting his right side. The faculties of his mind, fortunately, were not impaired. He was able to correct the proof sheets of his ‘Discourses to the Royal Society,’ and he had so far recovered, that he was able, on the 22d January, 1827, to set off with Dr Davy on a journey to Italy; in the hopes that change of air and of scene, gentle exercise, and an escape from the discussions which had already begun to disturb the peace of the Royal Society, might restore him to his wonted health.

These expectations were only to a certain extent fulfilled. In the month of March he had gradually recovered the use of his limbs, and was so well that Dr Davy was able to leave him at Ravenna, in order to return to his professional duties at Corfu. Quitting Ravenna about the middle of April, Sir Humphry travelled into the eastern Alps to avoid the increasing heat of Italy. The tardiness, however, of his recovery, and the conviction that absolute repose was necessary to his health, induced him to write to Mr Davies Gilbert from Salzburg, resigning the Presidency of the Royal Society, and requesting his name to be retained in the next council. But though his mind was now relieved of all his public duties, his health rather declined than improved; and he therefore resolved to return to England, which he reached on the 6th October, 1827.

Although his health had suffered no great change after his return, yet he was able to finish an interesting volume, entitled ‘Salmonia, or Days of Elyfishing;’ and also a paper in the Philosophical Transactions on the phenomena of Volcanoes. Experiencing, however, no improvement in his health, he resolved, with the consent of his physicians, to make another trial of a continental summer; and he accordingly left England,

never to return, on the 29th March, accompanied by Dr Tobin, the eldest son of his early friend, Mr Tobin. After trying the warm salt baths of Ischl, he went from Laybach to Trieste to perform some experiments on the Torpedo, which he had long meditated; and the paper in which he published an account of them in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' was his *forty-sixth* and last communication to the Royal Society. On the 18th November he arrived at Rome. In January 1827, he received accounts of the death of Dr Wollaston; and on the 1st of February he completed the MSS. of his posthumous work, entitled 'Consolations in Travel.'

On the 20th February, without any previous warning, he experienced a severe attack of paralysis, which finally proved fatal. On the 23d he dictated a letter to Dr Davy at Malta, requesting his immediate presence, and another on the 25th, which was the only one that reached its destination. Dr Davy arrived in Rome on the 16th March. The moment Lady Davy heard of this first attack she quitted London, and reached Rome in little more than twelve days; and Sir Humphry had thus the satisfaction of spending his last days under the affectionate cares of those who were most dear to him. Lady Davy had brought with her the second edition of the 'Salmonia,' which he began to read with great pleasure, and in a few days he was able to go out in a carriage. He even had strength to witness the splendid illumination of St Peter's on the night of Easter Monday. On the 30th April he quitted Rome for the cooler climate of Geneva. Lady Davy, with that kindness and self-devotion which will ever do honour to her affections, went before him in order to make arrangements at each stage for his comfortable reception; and on the 28th May, Sir Humphry found apartments prepared for him at the *Hotel de la Couronne* at Geneva. After reclining on the sofa, he occasionally walked to the window, and expressed a longing desire to throw a fly into his favourite Rhone. Lady Davy soon after communicated to him the death of Dr Thomas Young, which affected him to tears, but in a short time he recovered his wonted composure. This was the last day of Sir Humphry Davy; and we must leave the interesting though sad description of it to his affectionate brother.

'At five o'clock he dined at table, and made a tolerable dinner. After dinner he was read to, according to his custom. At nine o'clock he prepared to go to bed. In undressing, he struck his elbow against the projecting arm of the sofa on which he sat. The effect was very extraordinary: he was suddenly seized with a universal tremor; he experienced an intense pain in the part struck, and a sensation, he said, as if he were dying. He was got into bed as soon as possible. The painful sensations

quickly subsided, and in a few minutes were entirely gone. There was no mark of hurt on the elbow, no pain or remaining tenderness; and the effect of the blow perplexed him no less than it did me. A slight feverish feeling followed, which he thought little of; he took an anodyne draught of the acetate of morphine, and then desired to be read to, that his mind might be composed to sleep by agreeable images.

'About half-past nine he wished to be left alone, and I took my leave of him for the night, and for ever on earth. His servant, who always slept in his room, called me about half-past two, saying he was taken very ill. I went to him immediately. He was then in a state of insensibility, his respiration extremely slow and convulsive, and the pulse imperceptible. He was dying; and in a few minutes he expired. I thank God, I was present to close his eyes! In death his countenance was composed and of its mildest expression, indicative of no pain or suffering in the separation of the immortal from the mortal part. This fatal moment was about three A. M., on the 29th of May.'

The Genevese Government evinced, by a public funeral, the high respect which they felt for so great a man. The Council of State, the Clergy, the Society of Arts, the Physical Society, the Students of the Academy, the English residents, and the citizens of Geneva attended the funeral on the 1st of June; and the body was deposited in the City burying ground of Plain Palais, close to the grave of Professor Pictet. Lady Davy erected a simple obelisk over the grave, and at her desire a small tablet was placed in Westminster Abbey, to give a local habitation to his name.

So widely extended was the reputation of Sir Humphry Davy, that he was an honorary or corresponding member of almost all the scientific institutions in the world. He was one of the eight foreign associates of the Institute of France; and he received all the honorary medals given by the Royal Society of London, beside the Galvanic prize founded by Napoleon.

It is a remarkable event in the history of science, that in 1829, in one year, England should have lost Wollaston, Young, and Davy; three of the most distinguished characters that ever adorned the contemporaneous annals of our country. All of them had been foreign associates of the Institute of France;—all of them secretaries to the Royal Society;—all of them were national benefactors;—all of them were carried off by a premature death;—all of them died without issue;—and all of them have been allowed to moulder in their tombs without any monumental tribute from a grateful country.*

It is not for the honour of the dead, or to gratify the vanity of

* Dr Paris has made the same complaint, with that forcible eloquence which is displayed in every part of his work.

their friends, that we crave a becoming memorial from the sympathies of an intellectual community. It is that the living may lay it to heart—that the pure flame of virtue may be kindled in the breasts of our youth,—and that our children may learn from the time-crushed obelisk and the crumbling statue, that the genius of their fathers will survive even the massive granite and the perennial brass.

Concurring in the fine sentiment expressed by Mr Babbage, that in the recent biography of illustrious men we can read only their *eloges*, we shall abstain from any attempt to draw the character of Sir Humphry Davy. While the failings of great men are still remembered within the sphere of their influence, truth demands from the impartiality of history some fidelity in her delineations. The biographer who paints the endeared image on which his imagination dwells, loses the individuality of truth amid cherished and exaggerated virtues. The impartial judge, and even the sincere admirer, are thus summoned to a controversy of false positions, in which genius finds its best vindication in the acknowledgement of its mortality. The premature apotheosis of a glorious name may indeed soothe affliction and dazzle ignorance; but it is only in the deep lines, and on the dark foreground of truth, that the bright spirit can rise with unextinguishable lustre.

ART. VI.—*An affectionate Expostulation with Christians in the United States of America, because of the continuance of Negro Slavery throughout many districts of their Country. Addressed by the Minister, Deacons, and Members of the Congregational Church, formed by the Congregation assembling in Mill Street Chapel, Perth.* Pp. 8. 12mo. Glasgow: 1836.

WE have prefixed the title of this tract to the present article for two reasons—First, it is an eloquent and well-timed address, and leaves nothing to be regretted except the inaccuracy with which some facts are stated (as the number of slaves in America assumed to be three millions when they are little more than two); and the haste with which other facts are generalized so as to make the misdeeds of one or two States seem the general abuse of legislative power all over the Union. But, secondly, its title is peculiarly consonant to our ideas of the temper in

which this important subject should be approached. Bitter attacks upon a whole people are not the best way of weaning them from their prejudices; expostulation, kindly thought, warm and urgent, gives us a much better chance of success, beside being more becoming in itself.

* The subject is momentous; it naturally excites great interest in this country as well as in America; and we wish to join in these expostulations for this, among other reasons, that as our opinion has upon all occasions been strongly pronounced in favour of the rights, the institutions, and the character of our Transatlantic brethren, so they can never ascribe the course which we are now pursuing to any of those hostile feelings, long prevalent,—we fear still prevalent, among the illiberal party in this country. On the contrary, if we have a wish more anxious than another, next to the desire of seeing negro slavery abolished, it is that we should be furnished by the Americans themselves with a triumphant answer to the invectives now pouring forth against them, by the party which hates freedom, and even dreads improvement, and which we may term their adversary as well as our own. There is nothing from which those enemies of popular rights derive more satisfaction than the prospect of the American Government and nation, losing their favour in the sight of the English people through the unfortunate continuance of the slave system in the United States.

• We shall begin by stating the facts of the case—such of them at least as are necessary, in order to comprehend its precise merits. Let us see then what the Americans say: By the constitution of the Union, framed in 1787, the question of emancipating the slaves is not subject to the legislative authority of the Congress—each State may continue or abolish slavery at its pleasure. Four States, comprising about a fourth of the population, have already abolished it. The same constitution excluded the Congress from all interference with the slave trade, as well as with slavery, but not perpetually; the restriction was to expire in twenty years; and a law was accordingly made abolishing that execrable traffic in 1808, as early as the constitution permitted such a proceeding. Moreover, the curse and the crime of slavery was entailed with the Slave Trade upon the American colonists by the mother-country; her commercial interests were deemed to require it; and the Americans remonstrated in many instances, but vainly, against it. Even the last founded of the colonies, Georgia, as late as the reign of George II. was compelled, in the face of repeated petitions, backed by the strenuous exertions of its governor and council, to admit the importation of slaves; and his dismissal is understood to have originated in the part he took with the planters.

From hence two inferences are drawn :—*First*, That it ill becomes us, the people of England, to complain of the Americans for refusing to terminate a state of things which we forced upon them. —*Secondly*, That there exists no power in the American people at large to do what we consider to be their duty ; inasmuch as they have not the power by law, unless the individual states concur, and these, from local interests, real or supposed, are sure not to consent.

Before dealing with these propositions, it is necessary that we should add the residue of the facts ; because, although what has been just now stated is true, it is by no means the whole truth ; and because there are some other particulars admitted on all hands, which should be adverted to, beside those which apply to the foregoing statement.

That the colonies did, in the earlier periods of their history, protest against the Slave Trade, and show the desire which they really felt not to have negro slaves, may in some degree be true. But it is plain that this aversion did not long continue among them, at least among those of the South. Their unwillingness to relinquish that traffic is the only reason that can be assigned for the restriction which the constitution of 1787 imposed upon Congress ; they were apprehensive that the States which had no slaves, and those which had but a few, would combine and carry the Abolition ; to preserve unanimity, accordingly, the proviso was inserted in the fifth article, which lays down the course to be taken for changing the fundamental laws of the Union. Two-thirds of both the Houses of Congress concurring—or the legislatures of two-thirds of the States concurring,—may propound any change, and it shall be valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States ; but the proviso excepts the abolition of the Slave Trade from the operation of this article during twenty years. For, no amendment made before 1808, 'is in any manner to affect' that part of the ninth section of Article I., which declares that Congress shall not, prior to 1808, 'prohibit the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States shall think proper to admit, nor impose any tax on such importation exceeding ten dollars for each person.' And here we may remark, in passing, that the very language used to describe the Slave Trade without naming it (as indeed throughout this celebrated instrument care is taken to avoid mentioning slavery or slaves by name) shows how much there was of compromise between the States holding such property, and those who held it not. The same circumstance evinces the feeling of repugnance, perhaps of shame, with which the illustrious founders of the Republic viewed the position they found themselves placed in,—of establishing a system to secure political

liberty while they had no power to extirpate personal bondage. It must next be observed, that although the Americans deserve great praise for having been the first to abolish the African Slave Trade, which they did as soon as the restriction just now commented upon ceased, making it afterwards piracy,—yet they have never applied any remedy to an evil almost as great, and of nearly the same kind, which still exists in its full force among them, we mean the Internal Slave Trade. There is no law, either local or general, to prevent the traffic in slaves between one State and another; and accordingly those unhappy beings are constantly torn from the places of their birth, severed from their families and friends, and doomed to clear the forests of the new settlements, under all the sufferings from disease and from toil which are inseparably connected with such operations. That the local legislatures should have made no provisions for prohibiting this grievous enormity may not surprise us. But it is difficult to perceive why Congress should not have interposed. We have heard it denied that the power exists; but there seems no understanding the third clause of section eighth, of the first Article, if it does not. Congress shall have power, says that clause, ‘to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes.’ Moreover, the first clause of the ninth section already referred to, seems to prove the same thing; for that only restricts Congress from prohibiting migration or importation of persons into any of the States, until the year 1808. Indeed the different States appear to be themselves prohibited by the next or tenth section; the second clause of which prevents them from laying ‘on duties or imposts on exports or imports without the consent of Congress.’ At all events, we may assuredly take this to be a question by no means clear, against the authority of Congress; and there seems no intelligible reason for Congress not so far raising it, as to show the Southern States that the great majority of both Houses regard the Internal Slave Trade with abhorrence.

As to the credit claimed for the abolition of slavery by four out of the fifteen slaveholding states—without at all desiring to detract from it, we must observe, that little or no comfort is derived from this source by those who are desired to expect general emancipation at the hands of the local legislatures. For only see how small a sacrifice the four states made! By the last enumeration, taken six years ago, their slave population was 6000, and their free population 3,658,000; of which all but 117,000 were whites. One of them, New York, had only 75 slaves, and Pennsylvania but 403. If the labours of the Anti-Slavery Societies, after many years of enlightened and benevolent exertion, were with

difficulty able to accomplish this salutary change, even in States where there existed but one slave to three thousand, and one slave to more than twenty thousand of the whole people—how much more hard will it be, and how much longer time will it take to prevail with the legislature in Louisiana, where there are considerably more slaves than free people; and in South Carolina, where there are considerably more than four slaves to three that are free! We own that our hearts sink within us when we regard this dismal prospect; and we can only hope that the continued discussion of the question, both in the country and in Congress, will produce the effect always to be expected from free enquiry; more especially when conducted so as not to give just offence.

The statistical matter connected with this question is as follows;—Making allowance for the probable increase since 1830, the date of the last enumeration, there are, in the whole Union, about 14,000,000 of people, of whom about a seventh (2,090,000) are slaves, and near a fortieth (345,000) free people of colour. The greatest proportion of slaves to whites is that of South Carolina, where it is about 16 to 13; and the greatest proportion of free people of colour to whites is in Louisiana, where there are nearly five of the former to one of the latter.

Let us now, the facts being stated, recur to the two propositions deduced by the Americans from their representation of the case.

1. As to the right which the people of this country have to inveigh against them, we own this appears to us a matter of very subordinate importance. We will admit that England has no such right; and we will go further, and grant that our right is barred, not so much by the alleged fact of the slave system having been forced upon our Transatlantic brethren, as by our own conduct in reference to other parts of the same great question. We ourselves never abolished even the detestable Slave Trade for almost a quarter of a century after it had been denounced by the pious and enlightened labours of Clarkson, and twenty years after it had been dragged before the legislature, and thoroughly exposed to the view of mankind by the fervent eloquence, and the indomitable zeal of Wilberforce. Nay, another quarter of a century elapsed, after the abolition of the traffic, before we passed the law for extinguishing, and but slowly extinguishing, slavery itself. This law, too, was passed, like the Abolition acts, not by those who lived in the midst of slaves, like the Americans, but by lawgivers whom the Atlantic separated from their nearest servile colony. The Americans have, we may admit, some right to deride the pharisaical strains of those among us who look down upon them, thankful that we are not as the men of the Caro-

linas are. They may well taunt us, and ask how near we should be to the Emancipation, perhaps even to the Abolition acts, if half the population of Middlesex were negro slaves, and the Parliament had been giving laws to Ireland and not to Jamaica? All this we may safely grant, and it all proves exactly nothing in the question; except, which is really very immaterial, that a different tone might have been more becoming than the one sometimes taken in discussing it. Nay, these topics, if more closely examined, prove even less; for they are in the nature of the *argumentum ad hominem*; and they assume that the same parties who now complain of American slaveholders and slavery, defended the traffic and the servitude of the British colonies. But the very reverse is the fact. Whoever now condemns the conduct of the American Congress, or of the Southern States, would have condemned as strongly the legislature of our own country for maintaining, throughout so many years of crime and of suffering, what the special favourite of that legislature, Mr Pitt, justly termed the 'greatest practical evil that ever afflicted humanity.' Whoever is now impatient to see the fetters of the Virginian slave loosened, that they may finally be struck off, was agitated with tenfold disquiet every hour that the stain rested upon the British name. To him it is no answer, that in this country the sordid interests of some, the groundless fears of others, the shameful apathy of the rest, maintained a system for so many years, which the wise and the good had always condemned; and although he may not have had the fortune to be placed in circumstances which enabled him to show the sincerity and the purity of his principles, by assenting to the sacrifice of his interests, and encountering peril in his person, he has the same right to express his opinion of those who cling to the crimes of the slave system, that all of us assume, in judging of other men's conduct, under temptations to which we have not been ourselves exposed. While, then, we grant that the example of the English legislature ought not to be cited in disparagement of the American; and while we freely allow that the great diversity of their circumstances, and our own, ought to restrain all violent and contemptuous expressions on our part, we cannot for an instant admit that the body of the argument is affected by a reference to the conduct of this country; or the different position in which the lawgivers of the Old and the New World are placed, with respect to the subject matter of the controversy. It must always be recollected, that there was to the full as much indignation felt and expressed in England, against the legislatures of the West Indian colonies, as that of which the Americans now complain; and yet the situation of those bodies was far more critical, in regard to this question,

than that even of the Assemblies of Louisiana and South Carolina. The disproportion of blacks to whites, in some of our islands, exceeded twenty-five and even thirty to one ; in hardly any was it less than six or seven to one. Yet the people of this country were all but unanimous in requiring those colonies to provide for the gradual liberation of their slaves ; and the voice of the whole civilized world has sanctioned the call.

2. The want of power in the Congress is the other topic so much relied on. This assumes that the individual States cannot be expected to pursue, of themselves, the course which every consideration of duty, and every view of sound policy, plainly point out. But as long as the Congress makes no attempt to put down the Slave Trade, that is, the traffic in slaves from State to State, no one can entirely believe that it is want of power alone which prevents some progress being made towards Emancipation. If that dreadful scourge of the negro race were at an end, beside the incalculable improvement directly gained to their condition, the best prospect would be afforded of bringing about a change in the public mind upon the question of emancipation in the slave States. Those who defend the conduct of the Americans the most strenuously, look forward to the complete cultivation of their territories, and their being fully supplied with slaves from the old States, as the period when the slave system may be expected, even in the Carolinas, to be abandoned to its fate. Surely the friends of humanity and justice in the general Legislature will not suffer the Slave Trade, in one of its most horrid forms, to continue unchecked, until by mere efflux of time it has worn itself out, and, as it were, dies a natural death, after inflicting ages of torment upon its wretched victims.

The plausible topic has been resorted to, of the strict republican principles upon which the Government of the United States is formed ; for, it is said, if once the negroes are set free, they must enjoy all the rights of citizens ; and the prejudices are so inveterate against any amalgamation of the races, that no law could overcome them. If by amalgamation be meant, as in this question it frequently is, mixture by marriage, we can easily believe in the strength of the prejudice ; but then, that has nothing whatever to do with even the most perfect equality of civil rights. Any other prejudice is in all probability the creature rather of the civil institution (as it has with more courtesy than correctness been called) of slavery ; and would cease with its existence. But there is no occasion of going so far as this. Surely the Legislature, the supreme power in the State, when it undertook to deal with the subject of slavery, could choose its own course ; and either give an absolute or a qualified eman-

cipation, as easily as all admit it could bestow freedom, either at once, or by a slow process of liberation. What disheartens men upon this subject, and above all, what discourages those who have ever been and who still are, the zealous friends of the Americans, is to see so little disposition evinced on their part to beginning the good work. If the question were ever entertained; if any inclination to bring it forward in the Legislatures were perceived;—the hopes of philanthropists in this country would be raised, and their impatience assuaged—while they who hate America because she is free, would be disheartened in their turn. The project of deliberating on the subject in secret, of which somewhat has of late been heard, must be admitted to have very little tendency to allay the apprehensions of those who are the most solicitous for the credit of our Transatlantic brethren. It is manifestly impossible that there should arise any danger whatever from the fullest discussion of the question, in a country where the slaves only in one or two provinces form the majority; when experience has proved the futility of such apprehensions in the colonies where they universally are in an overwhelming superiority to the whites. But assuredly if the promulgation of the debates would be attended with risk, closing the doors is likely to be a far more perilous experiment; since it assumes that the slaves are both knowing enough to interest themselves in the discussion, and strong enough to take their own part.

The popular feeling is represented as unfavourable to the question in most parts of the Union. But this, at least in the Northern and Middle States, has certainly been in a great degree owing to the injudicious tone of some among its zealous friends; and not a little to the dislike of foreign interference. The best of possible intentions has dictated the conduct of the individuals to whom we allude. But it is more than doubtful if this is a subject on which the Americans can be expected to take from us, what we should, in the like circumstances, certainly not be very ready to endure from them. The desire of equal rights was very prevalent among the Dissenters of this country, both Protestant and Catholic, before the great triumph of religious liberty in 1828 and 1829. Yet we rather think that the arrival of a Popish missionary from France, or a Baptist teacher from New-England, ‘instant, in season and out of season,’ to enforce the repeal of the Test Act, and the Penal Laws, would have been regarded at any moment as a godsend to the declining fortunes of the Orange and the High-Church party.

So in Scotland, at this moment, we have a large body of men holding the Voluntary doctrine. Would they reckon their labours

much holpen by the arrival of missionaries from Connecticut, where, as in all America, the Church is severed from the State? 'No one is called to a crusade against any institution of man, how abominable soever in itself. Our Saviour and his Apostles left slavery untouched by any direct operation of theirs, satisfied with forming a religion which, by its influence, must put it down.' This is the answer which the Americans give to all foreigners who affirm that they have a duty to perform in preaching against slavery. We need not stop to enquire whether or not their argument is perfectly well founded. It is quite plausible enough to find universal acceptance, when enforced by popular prejudice, and especially by feelings of national jealousy. Nor will they who truly, and wisely as well as truly, desire the progress of sounder views than are unhappily prevalent in many parts of the Union, seek to exasperate, where they should endeavour to soothe, or expect reason to be heard better in the tempest than in the calm. The friends of humanity are strenuous, and they are numerous, in some of the States. They have been constantly at work since the Revolution. They have made some progress, and they are daily making more. Let it be our part, in this country, to do whatever may tend most to strengthen their hands; above every thing, let us avoid all such intemperate language, and ill-advised proceedings as may conduce to the strength of their adversaries; and in pronouncing our censures where it is our duty to blame, let us carefully confine them to the wrong doers, nor commit the injustice of condemning five and twenty States for the misdeeds of eleven.

ART. VII.—*Ion ; a Tragedy. To which are added a few Sonnets.*
Second Edition. Printed for private circulation.* 8vo. London: 1836.

WE have read this work with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret; of pleasure, as a beautiful accession to our poetical

* We should have been in some doubt as to the propriety of noticing a piece bearing to be printed for 'private circulation,' had we not seen that our contemporaries have not been withheld, by that consideration, from making the Tragedy before us the subject of critical remark; and, besides, when a work is suffered to run into a second edition, it virtually becomes a *publication*, in the ordinary sense of the word.

literature; of regret, because the author's preface offers only a doubtful and a distant prospect that it will be ever followed by similar productions from the same pen.

'I should be sorry,' says Mr Sergeant Talfourd in his preface to the second edition, 'to be thought indifferent to literature, because I feel compelled to relinquish the ambition of adding to its stores. I am rather amenable to the charge of having loved it "not wisely, but too well." It is because I feel its pleasures too intensely,—because the serene beauty of its untroubled light shines upon me through the interstices of my ordinary labours with too fascinating a power, that I think it my duty to those who have committed to me a public trust, and those who depend on my professional exertions, to refrain from seeking to involve myself in another dramatic spell. I rejoice, indeed, to trace in that form of poetry, which I have chiefly loved, an analogy to the greater occasions, and the nobler excitements of my own profession. Like a tragedy, a momentous trial embraces within a few hours an important action,—condenses human interests, and hopes, and passions within its anxious circle,—is restrained, bounded, and dignified by solemnities and forms, which define it, as a thing apart from the common succession of human affairs,—developes, sometimes, affecting traits of generosity, or is graced by the beauty of suffering,—and is terminated by a catastrophe anticipated with quivering expectation, which may decide character, fortune, or life itself,—with sometimes a background of public interest, where the struggle of principles, and the fate of parties, may be seen in the intellectual perspective. But this is accident, rather than art; the absolute and painful reality precludes the air of repose which the poet can breathe over his loftiest creations; and although there is analogy sufficient to excuse a lawyer, if he should occasionally indulge in glimpses at the master-pieces of tragic power, "which may make him less forlorn;" he cannot justify an attempt to copy them. In printing *Ion*, I have fully accomplished my wish to tear myself from its subject. Like Hamlet, I feel that "these words are not mine now:" I have confessed, and am absolved. Yet I would fain hope that I do not bid such studies a final adieu. If I shall be able, in the evening of life, to feel that its labours are closed, I shall delight to recur to them, unblamed.'

In this hope we heartily concur; and, in the mean time, we will endeavour to show why we feel that we have reason to desire another work from Mr Talfourd.

The story on which the play is constructed is of little complexity, and may be briefly told. Argos is desolated by a pestilence. The King Adrastus, hating and hated, refusing even the expression of sympathy, immures himself in his palace, forbids access on pain of death, and insults the sufferings of his subjects by riotous festivities. Ion, a youth of unknown parentage, undertakes the dangerous errand of petition and remonstrance. Adrastus is touched by his expostulations, and convenes a public meeting. At this meeting an answer from Delphi is announced,

setting forth that Adrastus is the author of the calamities of the city—

‘ Argos ne’er shall find release
Till her monarch’s race shall cease.’

The destruction of Adrastus becomes thenceforward a patriotic duty. Many are willing to devote themselves to it, and, among others, Ion. The candidates for the assassin’s office meet in secret to draw lots, and the office falls to the lot of Ion. He enters the palace armed for this purpose, and when about to strike the blow, is interrupted by an opportune announcement of the discovery that Adrastus is his father. He consequently desists; but his ambushed confederates rush in, and, in spite of his attempts to save Adrastus, perpetrate the intended murder. Ion is acknowledged his heir and successor. The oracle had declared the existence of the ‘monarch’s ‘race’ to be incompatible with the welfare of Argos; Ion had vowed the destruction of that race; and is thus bound by his word to the commission of suicide. He is proclaimed the following day, tastes the possession of power, and exercises the regal functions; and the play closes with his self-immolation, and the abatement of the pestilence. There is a slight underplot—the discovery and avowal of the attachment of Ion and Clemanthe—but it has little influence upon the story; and the love is of too brotherly and sisterly a complexion to excite much interest. To one who reads the foregoing sketch, it will appear probable that a play constructed on such a story must owe whatever interest it excites, in a great measure, to its style and sentiments. Such is the case. Ion is an eminently chaste and poetical creation, graceful and polished in its style, pure and elevated in its sentiments, full of thoughts which, without being forced, appear original, and adorned with images of great beauty. Grace is its characteristic. It subdues and saddens, rather than excites and agitates the reader’s mind. There is not much energy of expression, and few strong passions are called powerfully into play; but a high tone of moral refinement breathes through the piece, which, whilst it elevates it as a composition, renders it eminently impressive. We must give some examples to justify our praise; and the first shall be the following delineation of the character of Ion:—

‘ Ion our sometime darling, whom we prized
As a stray gift, by bounteous Heaven dismiss’d
From some bright sphere which sorrow may not cloud
To make the happy happier! Is he sent
To grapple with the miseries of this time,
Whose nature such ethereal aspect wears
As it would perish at the touch of wrong!
By no internal contest is he train’d

For such hard duty ; no emotions rude
 Hath his clear spirit vanquish'd ;—Love, the germ
 Of his mild nature, hath spread graces forth,
 Expanding with its progress, as the store
 Of rainbow colour which the seed conceals
 Sheds out its tints from its dim treasury,
 To flush and circle in the flower. No tear
 Hath fill'd his eye save that of thoughtful joy
 When, in the evening stillness, lovely things
 Press'd on his soul too busily ; his voice,
 If, in the earnestness of childish sports,
 Raised to the tone of anger, check'd its force,
 As if it fear'd to break its being's law,
 And falter'd into music ; when the forms
 Of guilty passion have been made to live
 In pictured speech, and others have wax'd loud
 In righteous indignation, he hath heard
 With sceptic smile, or from some slender vein
 Of goodness, which surrounding gloom conceal'd,
 Struck sunlight o'er it : so his life hath flow'd
 From its mysterious urn a sacred stream,
 In whose calm depth the beautiful and pure
 Alone are mirror'd ; which, though shapes of ill
 May hover round its surface, glides in light,
 And takes no shadow from them.'

The following thoughts spring beautifully out of a contemplation of the scenes of death in the devoted city ; and the descriptive portion which follows is finely wrought :

Ion. How fares my pensive sister ?

Clemanthe.—How should I fare but ill when the pale hand
 Draws the black foldings of the eternal curtain
 Closer and closer round us—Phocion absent—
 And thou, forsaking all within thy home,
 Wilt risk thy life with strangers, in whose aid
 Even thou canst do but little ?

Ion. It is little :

But in these sharp extremities of fortune,
 The blessings which the weak and poor can scatter
 Have their own season. 'Tis a little thing
 To give a cup of water ; yet its draught
 Of cool refreshment drain'd by fever'd lips,
 May give a shock of pleasure to the frame
 More exquisite than when nectarean juice
 Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.
 It is a little thing to speak a phrase
 Of common comfort which by daily use
 Has almost lost its sense ; yet on the ear
 Of him who thought to die unmourn'd 'twill fall

Like choicest music ; fill the glazing eye
 With gentle tears ; relax the knotted hand
 To know the bonds of fellowship again ;
 And shed on the departing soul a sense
 More precious than the benison of friends
 About the honour'd death-bed of the rich,
 To him who else were lonely, that another
 Of the great family is near and feels.

Clemanthe.—O thou canst never bear these mournful offices !
 So blithe, so merry once ! Will not the sight
 Of frenzied agonies unfix thy reason,
 Or the dumb woe congeal thee ?

Ion.—No, Clemanthe ;
 They are the patient sorrows that touch nearest !
 If thou hadst seen the warrior while he writhed
 In the last grapple of his sinewy frame
 With conquering anguish, strive to cast a smile
 (And not in vain) upon his fragile wife,
 Waning beside him,—and, his limbs composed,
 The widow of the moment fix her gaze
 Of longing, speechless love, upon the babe,
 The only living thing which yet was hers,
 Spreading its arms for its own resting-place,
 Yet with attenuated hand wave off
 The unstricken child, and so embraceless die,
 Stifling the mighty hunger of the heart ;
 Thou couldst endure the sight of selfish grief.'

There is also great force in the appeal of Agenor to Adrastus.
Adrastus says—

' Upon your summons, Sages, I am here ;
 Your king attends to know your pleasure—speak it !'

Agenor answers—

' *Agenor.* And canst thou ask ? If the heart dead within thee
 Receives no impress of this awful time,
 Art thou of sense forsaken ? Are thine ears
 So charm'd by strains of slavish minstrelsy
 That the dull groan and frenzy-pointed shriek
 Pass them unheard to Heaven ? Or are thine eyes
 So conversant with prodigies of grief,
 They cease to dazzle at them ? Art thou arm'd
 'Gainst wonder, while, in all things, nature turns
 To dreadful contraries ;—while Youth's full cheek
 Is shrivell'd into furrows of sad years,
 And 'neath its glossy curls untinged by care
 Looks out a keen anatomy ;—while Age
 Is stung by feverish torture for an hour
 Into youth's strength ; while fragile Womanhood
 Starts into frightful courage, all unlike

The gentle strength its gentle weakness feeds
 To make affliction beautiful, and stalks
 Abroad, a tearless, an unshuddering thing ;—
 While Childhood, in its orphan'd freedom blithe,
 Finds in the shapes of wretchedness which seem
 Grotesque to its unsadden'd vision, cause
 For dreadful mirth that shortly shall be hush'd
 In never-broken silence ; and while Love,
 Immortal through all change, makes ghastly Death
 Its idol, and with furious passion digs
 Amid sepulchral images for gauds
 To cheat its fancy with ?—Do sights like these
 Glare through the realm thou shouldst be parent to,
 And canst thou find the voice to ask “ our pleasure ? ”

This is powerful in description. Whether it is not too artificial for an unpremeditated reply, called forth and warmed into indignation by the king's inappropriate use of the single word ‘ pleasure,’ may reasonably be questioned. The eloquence of indignation is less picturesque ; and, under existing circumstances, would expatiate not so much on what the painter might see, as on what the citizen must feel. It would not pause, in its eager course, to enumerate the effects of the pestilence on different conditions of existence ; and it would rush into realities, instead of more coldly generalizing with such abstractions as youth, age, womanhood, and childhood. We do not propose to enter at large into the *policy* of the harangue, but we may just remark that, for a despot, Adrastus is somewhat unceremoniously treated ; and since his brief question could hardly be amenable to that minute criticism which is now expended on a ‘ king's speech,’ Agenor must seem more prompt than judicious in commenting so sharply upon the royal phraseology. But we will not attempt to apply the rules of ordinary judgment to the politics of Argos.

The following remarks upon tyranny and its supports, are not less just than they are poetically and eloquently expressed :—

‘ *Ion.* I know enough to feel for thee ; I know
 Thou hast endured the vilest wrong that tyranny
 In its worst frenzy can inflict ;—yet think,
 O think ! before the irrevocable deed
 Shuts out all thought, how much of power's excess
 Is theirs who raise the idol ;—do we groan
 Beneath the personal force of this rash man,
 Who forty summers since hung at the breast
 A playful weakling ; whom the heat unnerves ;
 The north wind pierces ; and the hand of death
 May, in a moment, change to clay as vile
 As that of the scourged slave whose chains it severs ?

No ! 'tis our weakness gasping for the shows
 Of outward strength that builds up tyranny,
 And makes it look so glorious :—If we shrink
 Faint-hearted from the reckoning of our span
 Of mortal days, we pamper the fond wish
 For long duration in a line of kings :
 If the rich pageantry of thoughts must fade
 All unsubstantial as the regal hues
 Of eve which purpled them, our cunning frailty
 Must robe a living image with their pomp,
 And wreath a diadem around its brow,
 In which our sunny fantasies may live
 Empearl'd, and gleam, in fatal splendour, far
 On after ages. We must look *within*
 For that which makes us slaves ;—on sympathies
 Which find no kindred objects in the plain
 Of common life—affections that aspire
 In air too thin—and fancy's dewy film
 Floating for rest ; for even such delicate threads,
 Gather'd by fate's engrossing hand, supply
 The eternal spindle whence she weaves the bond
 Of cable strength in which our nature struggles !

Here, too, is a parting address to the Argives, which seems to indicate that the denunciation of the oracle against the race of Adrastus was in truth levelled against monarchy ; and that the drama embodies a political precept, namely, that in small states republicanism is to be preferred.

Ion. Argives ! I have a boon
 To crave of you ;—whene'er I shall rejoin
 In death the father from whose heart in life
 Stern fate divided me, think gently of him !
 For ye who saw him in his full-blown pride,
 Knew little of affections crush'd within,
 And wrongs which frenzied him ; yet never more
 Let the great interests of the state depend
 Upon the thousand chances that may sway
 A piece of human frailty ! Swear to me
 That ye will seek hereafter in yourselves
 The means of sovereign rule :—our narrow space
 So happy in its confines, so compact,
 Needs not the magic of a single name
 Which wider regions may require to draw
 Their interests into one ; but, circled thus,
 Like a bless'd family by simple laws,
 May tenderly be govern'd ; all degrees
 Moulded together as one single form
 Of nymph-like loveliness, which finest chords
 Of sympathy pervading shall suffuse
 In times of quiet with one bloom, and fill

With one resistless impulse, if the hosts
Of foreign power should threaten. Swear to me
That ye will do this !

The following is a beautiful picture of innocent and joyous youth :—

‘ *Ion.* Think upon the time
When the clear depths of thy yet lucid soul
Were ruffled with the troublings of strange joy,
As if some unseen visitant from heaven
Touch’d the calm lake and wreath’d its images
In sparkling waves ;—recall the dallying hope
That on the margin of assurance trembled,
As loth to lose in certainty too bless’d
Its happy being ;—taste in thought again
Of the stolen sweetness of those evening walks,
When panted turf was air to winged feet,
And circling forests by ethereal touch
Enchanted, wore the livery of the sky,
As if about to melt in golden light
Shapes of one heavenly vision ; and thy heart
Enlarged by its new sympathy with one,
Grew bountiful to all !’

We must cite a few more instances of the images and reflections, poetically conceived, and felicitously expressed, which abound in this drama.

‘ *Clemanthe.* ’Tis never woman’s part
Out of her fond misgivings to perplex
The fortunes of the man to whom she cleaves ;
’Tis hers to weave all that she has of fair
And bright in the dark meshes of their web
Inseparable from their windings. My poor heart
Hath found its refuge in a hero’s love,
Whatever destiny his generous soul
Shape for him ;—’tis its duty to be still,
And trust him till it bound or break with his.’

Ion thus prays to be intrusted with a dangerous mission—

‘ *Ion.* O do not think my prayer
Bespeaks unseemly forwardness—send me !
The coarsest reed that trembles in the marsh,
If Heaven select it for its instrument,
May shed celestial music on the breeze
As clearly as the pipe whose virgin gold
Befits the lip of Phoebus ;—ye are wise,
And needed by your country ; ye are fathers :
I am a lone stray thing, whose little life
By strangers’ bounty cherish’d, like a wave
That from the summer sea a wanton breeze

Lifts for a moment's sparkle, will subside
Light as it rose, nor leave a sigh in breaking.'

The mutual discovery of attachment is thus described—

' *Ion.* We met
As playmates who might never meet again,
And then the bidden truth flashed forth, and show'd
To each the image in the other's soul
In one bright instant.'

We must also cite the following passage :—

' *Ion.* There are a thousand joyous things in life,
Which pass unheeded in a life of joy
As thine hath been, till breezy sorrow comes
To ruffle it; and daily duties paid
Hardly at first, at length will bring repose
To the sad mind that studies to perform them.'

Having thus expressed our sense of the great merits of this production, we must fulfil the less pleasing remainder of the critic's task, and mention those particulars in which we deem it less successful. In some of these we are anticipated by the author himself, who, in his pleasing and modest preface to the first edition, thus speaks of his work :—

' It has been written,—not indeed without a view to an ideal stage, which should never be absent from the mind of the humblest aspirant to dramatic composition, but without any hope of rendering it worthy to be acted. If it were regarded as a drama composed for actual representation, I am well aware that not in "matter of form" only, but in "matter of substance," it would be found wanting. The idea of the principal character,—that of a nature essentially pure and disinterested, deriving its strength entirely from goodness and thought, not overcoming evil by the force of will, but escaping it by an insensibility to its approach,—vividly conscious of existence and its pleasures, yet willing to lay them down at the call of duty,—is scarcely capable of being rendered sufficiently striking in itself, or of being subjected to such agitations, as tragedy requires in its heroes. It was farther necessary, in order to involve such a character in circumstances which might excite terror, or grief, or joy, to introduce other machinery than that of passions working naturally within, or events arising from ordinary and probable motives without; as its own elements would not supply the contests of tragic emotion, nor would its sufferings, however accumulated, present a varied or impressive picture. Recourse has therefore been had, not only to the old Grecian notion of Destiny, apart from all moral agencies, and to a prophecy indicating its purport in reference to the individuals involved in its chain, but to the idea of *fascination*, as an engine by which Fate may work its purposes on the innocent mind, and force it into terrible action, most uncongenial to itself, but necessary to the issue. Either perhaps of these aids might have been permitted, if used in accordance with the entire spirit of the piece; but the employment of *both* could not be justified in a drama intended for visual

presentation, in which a certain verisimilitude is essential to the faith of the spectator. Whether any groups, surrounded with the associations of the Greek mythology, and subjected to the capricious laws of Greek superstition, could be endowed by genius itself with such present life as to awaken the sympathies of an English audience, may well be doubted; but it cannot be questioned that except by sustaining a stern unity of purpose, and breathing an atmosphere of Grecian sentiment over the whole, so as to render the picture national and coherent in all its traits, the effect must be unsatisfactory and unreal. Conscious of my inability to produce a work thus justified to the imagination by its own completeness and power, I have not attempted it; but have sought, out of mere weakness, for "Fate and metaphysical aid" to "crown withal" the ordinary persons of a romantic play. I have, therefore, asked far too much for a spectator to grant; but the case is different with the reader, who does not seek the powerful excitements of the theatre, nor is bound to a continuous attention; and who, for the sake of scattered sentiments or expressions which may please him, may, at least by a latitude of friendly allowance, forgive the incongruities of the machinery by which the story is conducted. This drama may be described as the phantasm of a tragedy,—not a thing of substance mortised into the living rock of humanity,—and therefore incapable of exciting that interest which grows out of human feeling, or of holding that permanent place in the memory which truth only can retain.'

In this passage, which, though long, we have quoted entire, are unfolded, with a candour which must be admired by all, some of the prominent difficulties and disadvantages which hurt and enfeeble this beautiful composition. It is very true that his play will be read and admired rather 'for the sake of scattered sentiments,'—of selected passages of rare beauty,—than for its effectiveness as a whole,—its sustained interest, or its dramatic power. The chief defect consists in this, that its merits are not of the right kind,—that while it is in form a drama, its beauties are poetical and not dramatic. The forms of the drama are indeed observed, and the unities are treated with superfluous respect, but the soul is wanting. It is, as the author well expresses it, 'not a thing of substance mortised into the living rock of humanity;' and therefore is not sufficiently capable of exciting that interest which grows out of human feeling. It wants that true and vivid delineation of character which creates in us a fellowship with the beings represented; which enables us to know them as though they had been living; and not only to acknowledge the force and verisimilitude of what they are made to utter, but to follow them in imagination off the scene, and to supply their untold actions and expressions out of that knowledge which we seem to have of the innermost workings of their minds. Now, in 'Ion,' though delighted by its pure, refined, and elevated tone, we

are only interested by the *sentiments*; not by the *persons*; and the applause we mentally bestow is bestowed upon the excellence of its abstract truths, and not upon their connexion with the personages by whom they are uttered. With the exception of the character of *Ion*,—which is beautifully conceived and executed, but somewhat too pure and faultless to create that interest which requires probability for its support,—the personages of the play are all deficient in individuality and distinctness. They are all sayers of fine things; but they speak too nearly the same language; and we feel that their sentiments might be transposed, with little detriment to propriety or effect. There is a family likeness in them all. Their differences are differences of position and circumstance, rather than of character; and though we ascertain that they are distinguishable, and that they are swayed by different motives, they do not stand before us in a distinct and life-like reality; or impress themselves upon our memories as persons who, under such or such circumstances would pursue such or such a line of conduct. In enquiring if characters are effectively delineated, let us ever ask this question—can we speculate upon their probable conduct in situations which the author has not distinctly indicated? If we can do so, we may feel assured that the characters are drawn with force and vividness, and in conformity with the established principles of human nature. If we cannot speculate upon them, it is because they are vague, or deficient in reality. By this test we have tried the personages in this drama; and by this test we found them wanting in that distinctness, vividness, and truth, which might have been expected in a work otherwise of so much merit.

In delineating the tyrant *Adrastus*, it has seemed as though the amiable tone of the author's mind had recoiled from the task of employing such colours as circumstances would strictly warrant. Here is a man bound by his situation to evince regard for the condition of his subjects, but who, in a period of general distress, betrays the most brutal and insulting heartlessness.

‘*Ion*. I pass'd the palace where the frantic king
Yet holds his crimson revel, whence the roar
Of desperate mirth came, mingling with the sigh
Of death-subdued robustness, and the gleam
Of festal lamps mid spectral columns hung
Flaunting o'er shapes of anguish made them ghastlier.
How can I cease to tremble for the sad ones
He mocks.’

Thus is the tyrant described by *Ion*. But when he comes upon the scene we are not only softened towards him; we gradually lose all sense of his atrocities,—discover that he has

generous feelings,—regard him at length with that interest which should belong to the father of Ion, and are anxious for his preservation. To paint unmitigated villany is a coarse and clumsy process. In every character there are lights and shadows—and the darkest will not be all black : but we think the author in this instance has erred in the opposite extreme ; and that the Adrastus of the scene should have been represented more in keeping with the tyrant who had been previously announced to us.

Another defect must be observed. The language is occasionally somewhat stilted and artificial ; and ornate and ambitious phraseology is adopted, where simpler expressions would have fulfilled its purpose better. Sometimes periphrasis is indulged in, where the circumstances demand more terseness. Sometimes, also, subordinate personages seem a little infected with a tendency to grandiloquence unsuitable to their situation. It is the fault so humorously burlesqued by Sheridan. ‘ I fly, the herald of ‘ your will ! ’ says the parish constable in the *Critic* ;—and ‘ Sir,’ says Puff, defending his system, ‘ I am not for making slavish distinctions, and giving all the fine language to the upper sort of ‘ people.’ But these defects are neither frequent nor glaring ; and perhaps we should not notice them at all, if we were not rendered fastidious by the vicinity of so many passages which demand our highest praise.

There is little evidence of skill in the construction of the plot. The mystery of Ion’s birth is covered by too thin a veil ; and the discovery (which excites no surprise in the reader), is managed rather clumsily. In point of dramatic effect, the most successful portion is the closing scene.

The principal disadvantage under which the author laboured arose from the nature of the story, and the middle course which he has considered himself constrained to take. The plot is founded on circumstances repugnant to the sympathies of a modern audience. A superstition of which no vestiges remain among us,—of which no latent spark can be awakened in our minds,—enjoins as virtuous, deeds which we now condemn as crimes ; and a youth of the most exalted purity undertakes, as sacred duties, the commission of murder and of suicide. We know by experience that such difficulties in fiction are not insuperable. They may be overcome—but how ? Not by *modernizing* the composition,—not by endeavouring to employ as a cloak the incongruous panoply of such sentiments as are now most current and approved. An opposite course must be adopted. The reader (we do not say ‘ spectator,’ for we regard this play as a dramatic poem, and not as intended for representation) must be carried back in imagination to the period represented ; and he must be placed for a time, as far as

It is possible, 'under the influence of those feelings which may serve to reconcile incongruities, to lend a harmony to the moral picture, and to render natural, and therefore impressive, that which, viewed by the light of modern sentiments, must appear improbable and weak. This Mr Talfourd has not done. He has chosen a story essentially Grecian,—a story founded on the decrees of Destiny, that great mysterious agent of Grecian tragedy,—but without sufficiently investing it with an antique colouring, or availing himself of those resources which its solemn agency would have afforded. In order to make us feel due interest in the double sacrifice of Adrastus and of Ion, it should have been the author's first care to imbue our imaginations with awe and reverence for that inevitable Destiny by which they are doomed. Unless we are enabled to invest ourselves with at least some portion of the superstitious feeling which once bent in shuddering reverence before the irrevocable decree of that unearthly tribunal, we deprive the sacrifice of that sanction which alone can reconcile it to our poetical faith. Deprived of this sanction, the immolation of Ion seems needless and absurd; and we cannot sympathize with the pure and patriotic feeling which induced him to submit to it. We are willing to surrender our poetical faith, but it cannot be surrendered fully without a much more powerful appeal than the author has made to it. The only passage in which the decrees of destiny are unfolded, with aught approaching to the due solemnity, is one wherein Adrastus relates to Ion the circumstances of his own birth. As for the mission to Delphi, it is treated with too little previous respect, and excites too little expectation; and the awful and important message, on which the whole circumstances of the play depend, is conveyed with scarcely more solemnity than might attend the delivery of some rhyming decree of the Queen of the Fairies in an *Easter melodrame*. We ought to have been made to feel the influence of a powerful spell; and to have followed the personages of the tragedy in wonder and in terror towards that grave from which it should seem impossible to save them. Mr Talfourd need not have gone back to the ancient Grecian drama for examples of the employment of this agency. He might have found illustrious instances of a successful employment of similar agency in English literature, engrafted on superstitions subsequent to the classic era, and by two of the master-spirits of their several times—by Shakspeare, in *Macbeth*; by Sir Walter Scott, in his '*Bride of Lammermoor*.' In each of these we feel the influence of a spell from which mortal power cannot escape; and we admiringly surrender our poetical faith to the surpassing skill with which these great magicians have wielded this instrument of superstitious terror.

We offer these remarks with unfeigned respect for the abilities of the excellent author; and it is from that very respect that our comments arise. We should not have endeavoured to point out the higher excellence which might have been attained by a different treatment of the subject, if we had not believed such higher excellence to be within the author's reach; nor should we have wasted words in recommending such lofty models of imitation to one who showed no power to soar.

We cannot conclude without again expressing our regret that no fresh efforts in the poetical department of literature can be expected from one so able to adorn it; or without stating our conviction, that it would be in Mr Talfourd's power to occupy a high place among British poets, if he had not proposed to himself the attainment of eminence in that profession to which he is so worthily and successfully devoted.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Letters on Tithe.* By Henry Woodward, M.A., Rector of Fethard, in the Diocese of Cashel. London: 1835.
2. *Speech of Viscount Morpeth, delivered in the House of Commons, June 28, 1835, upon the Irish Church Question.* London: 1835.
3. *Speech of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, July 21, 1835, on the Irish Church Bill.* London: 1835.

TITHE has, in every age and country, been a most unfortunate and ill-fated species of property. There is something in its character, in the mode of its imposition, and in the manner of its payment, which has not only exposed it from time to time to the most serious shocks, but has rendered it the never-failing source of difficulties and dissensions. Nor will this appear surprising, if it be borne in mind, that, amongst modern nations, it has been merely a civil institution; and in their eyes has not only been unattended with any divine sanctions, but has in some cases been applied to the service of a religion different from that of the persons liable to the burden.

Prussia was the first country in Europe where due account was taken of the dangers to which this kind of property is naturally exposed. Her provident and able government wisely recognised the prevalence of the antipathy felt towards it, and took timely steps for the satisfactory adjustment of the various

rights and liabilities which it involved. Some of the German States followed the example. But in other countries the ancient system has hitherto maintained its ground, notwithstanding all the disadvantages with which it has had to contend. At the present time, however, even in countries supposed to be most tranquil, the security of tithe property is admitted to be in considerable danger. That it should have continued on its ancient footing so long, is one of the many proofs which we discover in every direction, of the power exercised by prejudice and custom over the human mind. This proof, we lament to observe, is stronger in the case of the British empire than perhaps in that of the Continental states. In the latter, tithe property belongs very generally to laymen, or to churches not opposed to the religion of the great mass of the people. The incitements to opposition have, therefore, been less active. But in parts of the British islands an additional element of discord has existed; and the tendency to resist became more strong and more successful. The history of Scotland affords many illustrations of this—previous to the great national struggle, which ended in the fall of Episcopacy, and the establishment of a church more congenial to the tastes, the opinions, and the feelings of the people. The following instances are curious. They are referred to by the writer, from whom we take them, as the earliest indications of the declining power of the Episcopal church; and they show that the intervention of extraordinary powers had, even at that early period, become necessary for the support of the Tithe system. ‘In 1507,’ says Mr Connell,* ‘the monks of Cambuskenneth passed an act against Lord Fleming for payment of 500 merks, as the parsonage tithes of the parish of Kirkintulloch, under the pain of excommunication. It further appears that, in 1522, the same lord, having failed to pay his tithes, was cited to attend the Archbishop of Glasgow; but he refused to appear, and was excommunicated. The letters of excommunication were sent to be executed, but the officers were deforced by the parishioners, and the letters were torn. These parishioners were also excommunicated; and it is remarkable that the vicar of the parish seems to have been concerned in the disturbance. In 1523, this monastery applied to the Lords of Council (“domini nostri concilii”) against Lord Fleming, for payment of the teinds of this parish for the last seven years, amounting to thirty-three chalders of victual, and three chalders of beer, yearly, which the monastery claimed as “personis” (parsons)

* Connell on Tithes, vol. i. p. 137.

‘ of the said kirk, and decree was given accordingly. In 1528, the same monastery obtained a decree, from the same Lords of Council, against the heritors or tenants of the parish of Kilmaronock, for payment of the teind-sheaves due by them for the preceding year.’ But in Scotland the prevalence of similar embarrassments, requiring the interposition of the Council, soon called for a remedial measure. Accordingly, in the year 1627, with a view to * ‘ the public will and peace of this our ancient kingdom, and for the better providing of kirks and ministers’ stipends, and for the establishing schools and other pious uses,’ Charles I. issued a Commission for the valuation and sale of teinds. This Commission went, in the first instance, upon the principle of merely valuing the teinds of those proprietors who consented to its proceedings. The inefficiency of this voluntary process, however, soon became manifest; and a power was then extended to the commissioners to proceed in all cases. Even then, the delays were such that, after repeated injunctions from the crown to proceed with despatch, it was deemed necessary to pass an act of Parliament confirming and enforcing the royal prerogative. Subsequently to this period the business proceeded slowly, and with much irregularity. Old acts were rescinded—former commissions revoked—new commissions issued. But it is needless to trace the history of these transactions any further. What has been said shows, that in Scotland a principle of composition was introduced more than two hundred years ago; and that this, combined with the powers given for the sale of tithes and the modification of stipends, soon restored to the Scotch system a degree of security which was unknown to it before.

Let us now turn to the case of Ireland. The state of tithe property in that country—forming a very important branch of the great question now agitated respecting the Irish Church—demands our attention more urgently perhaps than any other contemporaneous subject. Irish tithe has been the cause of more local disturbance, more individual suffering, more political changes, in proportion to its importance, than any other topic with which we are acquainted.

It therefore becomes of much importance, to consider what has been the popular feeling on this subject in times past; and what have been the principal causes of that resistance, which has, to a great extent, practically extinguished the parochial revenues of the church. From a consideration of these, and of the alternatives hitherto adopted by the legislature, we may perhaps

arrive at a sound and safe conclusion respecting the best means of settling all differences; and of staying the progress of that disobedience to the law which is every day becoming more and more hurtful to the country. The mere history of tithes in Ireland would be in itself a source of much instruction. Throughout its whole extent it illustrates in various ways the disastrous consequences of delay. In its last chapter, it exemplifies the degree in which all laws are, in practice, dependent for their effect upon the will of those who are intended to be subject to them. Our principal object, however, in the following pages will be to show, that the resistance which now prevails so widely does not arise from any transitory or casual cause, but from the innate tendency to mischief belonging to the tithe system itself—from the peculiar circumstances of the country—from the ancient habits—the traditional feelings—the particular religion of the great mass of the people.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII.* we find a statute reciting that many persons in the land of Ireland, not regarding their duties to Almighty God, have subtracted the lawful tithes of corn, &c. which shows very plainly that, even at that early period, the resistance had commenced—a commencement nearly coeval with that of the present Established Church in Ireland. A like conclusion may be drawn from an order made by the Irish House of Commons in 1641, which recites ‘that many ‘disordered persons, taking occasions upon some *proceedings* of this ‘house against certain *barbarous customs used in some parts of this ‘realm by several of the clergy there*, do take upon them a boldness ‘to refuse the payment of *tithes* and other duties heretofore received by their incumbents in their several parishes, the which were ‘not meant by this house to be forbidden to be paid; and do declare their minds to be such, that they will pay no tithes or duties ‘until the Parliament shall settle what ought to be paid.’† Ninety years after this time Swift says, ‘The payment of tithes in this ‘kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papists and Dissenters, but even from those ‘who profess themselves Protestants, that by the expense, the ‘trouble, and vexation of collecting and bargaining for them, they ‘are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill ‘paid.’‡

But the most memorable instance of resistance to tithes occurred in 1735, when, by the mere resolution of one branch of

* 38 H. VIII. c. 12.

† Com. Journ. 20th July, 1641.

‡ Some reasons against the bill for settling the tithe of hemp, flax, &c. by a modus.

the legislature, the right to agistment tithe, or tithe for dry and barren cattle, was virtually abolished. The demand of this tithe was at that time neither new nor illegal. Between the years 1722, and 1735, forty-two suits had been instituted in the Court of Exchequer for its recovery—a very obvious proof of resistance—and in each of them that went to a decree, the right was established.* The opposition to this legal right did not originate with the needy tenantry, but with the rich Protestant landlords; several of whom had petitioned Parliament and threatened to emigrate to America rather than pay agistment tithe. Primate Boulter, who at that time swayed the destinies of Ireland—anxious to court and encourage *Protestant* ascendancy—which was the term he had lately, with considerable tact, bestowed upon what had been previously called *English* ascendancy—threw no obstacles in the way of the Protestant landowners; and the House of Commons Resolved,† ‘That the allotments, glebes, and known tithes, with the ecclesiastical emoluments ascertained before this new demand of tithe of agistment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of this kingdom.’

‘That the commencing suits upon these new demands must impair the Protestant interest, by driving many useful hands out of this kingdom, must disable those that remain to support his Majesty’s establishment, and occasion Popery and infidelity to gain ground, by the contest that must necessarily arise between the laity and the clergy.’

‘That all legal ways and means ought to be made use of, to oppose all attempts that shall hereafter be framed to carry demands of tithe of agistment into execution, until a proper remedy can be provided by the legislature.’

In a letter, addressed to the Earl of Anglesea, Primate Boulter thus explains what had taken place.

‘I have sent your lordship the resolutions of the House of Commons in relation to agistment, but there were some other votes, ready to have been passed, one particularly to fall on the Barons of the Exchequer on that subject, which, though they were stopped by some of the house that were wise, yet seemed to have intimidated that Court almost as much as if they had passed. After these votes were over, associations were entered into by most of the lay Lords and Commons to join against agistment; and the like associations were sent to most counties against the Assizes, and signed in most counties, though refused in some. In some places they went so far as to talk of choosing a country treasurer, and supporting any lawsuit on that subject against the clergy by a common purse. I was told by

* 2 Plowd. Hist. 101.

† Cons. Journ. March, 1735.

some of sense, that went the Circuits, that there was a rage stirred up against the clergy, that they thought equal to any thing they had seen against the Popish priests, in the most dangerous times they remembered.*

That this feeling continued unabated, appears from a letter in the following year to Sir Robert Walpole, in which the same writer states, that

‘As a great part of the gentry entered into associations not to pay for agistment, and to make a common purse in each county, to support any one there that should be sued for agistment, and were understood by the common people every where to be ready to distress the clergy *all manner of ways in their other rights*, if they offered to sue for agistment, it was thought advisable to hinder as much as we bishops could, any of the clergy from carrying on or commencing any suits on that head for a time.’†

And he adds an observation, which we have no doubt is true, at the present time, that ‘the humour of clans and confederacies is neither so well understood nor felt in England as it is here.’‡

No further efforts were made either by the Government or the Clergy to set aside these resolutions. The Primate permitted them to pass upon the country for law; and sacrificed the legal emoluments of the church to the unjust and unwise policy of maintaining the ascendancy of a few over the rest of the nation. § So flagrant an act of injustice, as that of the Irish House of Commons, is almost without a parallel in the history of legislative bodies. The rich landholders, instead of making common cause with the poorer farmers for the alleviation of the common

* Boulton. Lett. vol. ii.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. 180.

‡ *Ibid.* 182.

§ A similar spirit of opposition to the Church seems to have prevailed about the same time in England, for in writing to the Bishop of London concerning the above resolutions, and the associations which had been entered into throughout the country, Boulton says, ‘We intended to have applied to your Lordship and our other friends in England for proper help on this occasion, but, to our great surprise, we find the clergy in England, and the Bishops in particular, in a worse state than we are yet come to.’ || It may be also noticed that these proceedings are interesting in connexion with literary history, as having been the occasion of Swift’s celebrated diatribe ‘The Legion Club.’ Such was his excitement when writing this abusive piece, that it is said to have brought on that melancholy state of mind which soon closed his life.

grievance, applied their whole strength to remove it from themselves; leaving their dependents to groan under a yoke which they had themselves refused to bear. The farmer was left in too small a minority to make his complaints either audible or effective; and hence it is that the resistance to tithes did not again become general until agriculture had spread more widely through the country. Difficulties were, however, soon thrown in the way of many of the clergy, by the farmers, from the nature of which it would not have required much foresight to predict, that when the latter should have grown in numbers and in importance, the most serious consequences might ensue; that possibly the tillage farmers might come to follow the example of the graziers, and take steps for the practical extinguishment of the burden now placed entirely upon them. In some parishes, the clergy were altogether deprived of their tithes; and, accordingly, we find Mr Andrews introducing a bill in 1763 for their more easy and expeditious recovery. He describes very fully the efforts made by the farmers to relieve themselves from the burden,—the ‘natural disinclination to pay that for which it was thought that an equivalent service was not done,’—the improper behaviour of the tithe farmers and proctors, and the animosity entertained against the incumbents. The following remarks are important with reference to modern times:—

‘It is always,’ said he, ‘of the most pernicious consequence to suffer the laws in being to be either questioned or eluded; great care should therefore be taken to have them clear and explicit, and that they should be neither oppressive in *reality* nor *appearance*; if they are in themselves imperfect and ambiguous, they may be opposed without the disgrace of factious discontent or a refractory spirit; if they are oppressive *even in appearance*, they will be opposed both from motives of interest and honour; and he that suffers, or appears to suffer, by their execution will be encouraged and supported by those who have no immediate interest in the question. Government will become odious, and in some circumstances its administration impracticable.’* — ‘At this critical time, therefore, it seems to be the indispensable duty of the House to think of some expedient to put it in the power of the clergy to fulfil the important purpose of their calling, by removing all temptations to strife and debate, and “to strike with the fist of wickedness;” and this I think would effectually be done by enacting some plain and explicit law, *by which the requisition of tithes should be made wholly the act of the legislature, not of the minister.*’†

From what was stated in the debate on the above bill, it appears that extensive associations had been organized in the diocese

* Caldwell's Debates, vol. i., 76.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., 83.

of Waterford to resist the payment of tithes. Again, in the year 1787, the Attorney-General brought before the House the subject of the outrages committed by the 'Right boys' in the south, which he at once connected with the dislike to tithes.

'Their commencement was in one or two parishes of the county of Kerry, and they proceeded thus:—The people assembled in a mass-house, and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to starve the clergy. They then proceeded to the next parishes on the following Sunday, and there swore the people in the same manner, with this addition, that they (the people last sworn) should, on the ensuing Sunday, proceed to the chapels of their next neighbouring parishes, and swear the inhabitants of those parishes in like manner. Proceeding in this manner, they very soon went through the province of Munster; the first object of their reformation was *tithes*; they swore not to give more than a certain price per acre—not to take from the minister at a great price—not to assist, or allow him to be assisted, in drawing the tithe, and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of parish cesses—then to nominate parish clerks, and in some cases curates—to say what church should or should not be repaired; and in one case to threaten that they would burn a new church if the old one was not given for a mass-house.' *

Again, in the year 1788, we find the Secretary of State introducing a bill, 'to enable all ecclesiastical persons and bodies in certain counties, and counties of cities, to recover a just compensation for the tithes withheld from them in the year 1787, in the several counties and counties of cities therein mentioned, against such persons as were liable to the same.' Strong objections were made to this bill; because in particular cases it dispensed with the trial by jury, and gave the claim of the clergyman for his tithes a preference over the right of the landlord for his rent. In some respects, it presents an analogy to the late measure for the recovery of the tithes of 1831; and, like this, indicates that extent of hostility which, on both occasions, called for an extraordinary and retrospective interference of the legislature. Upon the introduction of this bill, Mr Grattan brought forward a motion in the House of Commons, 'That a Committee be appointed to enquire whether any just cause of discontent exists among the people of the province of Munster, or of the counties of Kilkenny or Carlow on account of tithe or the collection of tithes, and if any, to report the same, together with their opinion thereupon.' Government opposed this motion, and it was lost by 121 to 49. There was no subject which called forth a greater display of Grattan's talents and eloquence

than his exposure of the tithe system. Again and again he traced its harsh lineaments, and brought to light all the injuries so unjustly and gratuitously inflicted on the farmer. Again and again, unwearied by the rejection of his advice, he repeated, he redoubled his exertions, but to no immediate purpose. He did not live to witness any practical reward of his labours. Nevertheless, he opened the way for others. He sowed the seed, of which a distant generation was to reap the fruits. It was upon the occasion of the above motion that he disclosed to the House his important plan for the improvement of the system—a plan which, although at that time rejected, was at last, after an interval of thirty-five years, reproduced by a Tory Ministry. The proposition which he submitted to the House had for its ultimate object the encouragement of the linen trade, by exempting flax from tithe—the relief of the poor, in the south, by a similar exemption of potatoes; and in the north, by the abolition of small dues, and the removal of many of the practical evils of the system throughout the whole country;—by substituting for the original mode of payment, rateages in each province, for each kind of produce, variable every seven years according to the average price of bread corn. Yet moderate as was this proposition, the Irish Parliament showed no disposition to sanction its adoption. On the contrary, the judicious—the timely arrangement which it suggested was treated with contempt, as well as with neglect. Well had it been for Ireland, if those who then ruled her fortunes had been more sensible to her distresses, and more willing to consider with impartiality the wise admonitions of those who had her real interests so much at heart, and who laboured without ceasing for her welfare! How much subsequent misery and misfortune might have been prevented!

A variety of important events, following in rapid succession, and with scarcely any interval of repose, naturally prevented the subject of tithes from again assuming the rank of a leading Parliamentary question, until after these events had passed by. The engrossing affairs of the French Revolution—the Irish Rebellion in 1798—the Union—the Insurrection in 1803—the war with France—Catholic Emancipation—all these pressing upon each other with hasty steps, left almost every other topic either in comparative neglect, or far in arrear. One remarkable exception alone presents itself. Upon the legislative union being proposed, the principal landholders naturally felt alarmed lest the claim to agistment tithe might be again revived, when the Irish Parliament should be no more. Their interested apprehensions outweighed for a moment the corrupt temptations of the time. But the English Government, quickly perceiving the obsta-

cle, easily devised means of removing it. The resistance of the gentry was recognised by those who refused to alleviate the grievances of the poor man ; and one of the last acts of the Irish Parliament was that which confirmed the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1735. Thus, the Irish Legislature closed its career, without leaving upon the statute-book a single remedial measure for which it could merit the thanks of either the tithe-payer or the tithe-proprietor.

But even during this succession of great events the subject of tithes never disappeared altogether from public view. Notices were given and promises made in Parliament, of measures for the improvement of the system. But all came to nought. It was left to work out its own ruin by slow degrees—to waste itself against impediments, which increased in vigour every day, and which, by a very natural reaction, tended to endanger the loyalty of the country. Some insight into its apparent tendencies, in this respect, is afforded by the following resolution of the Grand Jury of one of the most Protestant counties in Ireland :—

‘ We, the Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, assembled at Lent Assizes, 1808, see with much concern the exorbitant demands made by some of the clergy and their proctors, in certain parishes in this county, in collecting of tithe, to the very great oppression of their parishioners, and tending, at this time in particular, to detach the minds of his Majesty’s subjects from their loyalty and attachment to the happy constitution of this country. Resolved, that our representatives be instructed to further with their decided support any measure that may be brought forward in the Imperial Parliament, for modifying and placing in some more equitable mode the payment of the clergy in this country.’ *

But Ministry after Ministry, if they did not all—as the Chancellor of the Exchequer did in 1809—confess that the difficulty of effectually improving the tithe-system had baffled their powers, yet permitted session after session to pass without even making the attempt. For eight years after the termination of the war—during which period there was nothing to obstruct any plan to remedy the admitted evils—no political excitement on this subject at home—profound peace abroad—an obedient House of Commons—a willing House of Lords—every thing, in fact, favourable to a calm consideration of the dangers which were yet at a distance—nothing was done. Even in 1823 the magnitude of the danger was either under-rated or unheeded. A partial, imperfect, and narrow measure was then for the first time

opposed to the wide-spread and gigantic evil. We do not mean to deny that the measure to which we allude was of considerable importance. It was calculated to remove, in those parishes where it should be admitted, many of the most pressing and practical evils of the old system—the uncertainty in the amount of tithes—the expensive mode of their collection—and the inequality of their pressure, owing to the previous exemption of grass-land. It was also the first statutable recognition in modern times of the right of Parliament to interfere with church revenues. Some credit is therefore due to its framers. It is only to be regretted, that they did not take a more comprehensive and liberal view of the subject; and by a more decisive measure satisfy the complaints which *then* prevailed.

This measure—commonly called Goulburn's act—was but a very imperfect transcript of a more statesmanlike plan, recommended to Lord Liverpool by Lord Wellesley, at that time Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and it is worthy of remark, that this plan embraced every important addition which has subsequently been made to the act of 1823; together with many other changes since proved to be both beneficial and necessary. Lord Wellesley recommended that the composition should at once be made compulsory—that it should be permanent—and that it should be redeemable. But the Tory retailers of this plan were too blind to foresee the necessities that might arise, and too prejudiced to change the old system too quickly or too much. The act, therefore, merely *authorized* the substitution of a composition for the old payment in kind. This composition was to be apportioned on all land in the parish according to its value, whether tillage or grass-land; and to be variable at the end of every seven years, according to the price of corn. That this transforming principle was calculated to produce much good is undeniable. But for that very reason its adoption should have been made compulsory. Instead of this, it was left to the voluntary choice of the parishioners and the incumbent, whose widely different notions of each other's rights and liabilities at once presented a powerful obstacle in the way of agreement. The question too was in a state which called for both a speedy and final settlement. Nothing, therefore, could have been more ill-conceived or ill-applied than the *voluntary* system—implying, as it did, a doubt on the part of the Legislature respecting the justice of the proposed change, or at least a carelessness about its adoption. An apparent awe at the notion of any compulsory interference with the revenues of the church,—which was then supposed to be altogether at liberty 'to do what she pleased with her own'—prevailed over every other conside-

ration; and the establishment of the composition was left entirely to mutual agreement between individuals, whose caprices, opposite interests, indolence, incapacity for business, or personal enmities—the last often aggravated by former differences on the same subject—with a variety of similar motives and circumstances, were sure, in the majority of cases, to frustrate the intention. It appears from a return made to the Lords' Committee in 1831–2, that out of 239 applications made during two years ending November 1831, only 113 (less than one-half) were proceeded with; and, that out of 2500 parishes, the act had been carried into effect in only 1505 during the eight years ending with 1831. So much for the voluntary principle.

The same fastidious deference to the imaginary rights of the Church left an opening in the act for the continuance of one of the most injurious effects of the old system—we mean its pressure upon industry. The composition was only to last for twenty-one years, and at the expiration of that period, a new valuation was to be made, and a new amount of composition fixed. The suspended right of the incumbent was then to revive and draw into his net a share of all improvements made in the interval. The old system was not entirely to be annulled; but at the end of the period it was again to reappear in its full vigour, with the additional odium likely to attach to it, in the mind of those who had been so long exempted from its operation. What provident care, that the property of the church should be forced to grow with the growth of industry and the expenditure of capital, whilst, from the people being chiefly Roman Catholics, no increase in the population could make any proportionate addition to the pastoral duties of the incumbent! Tithe was to continue a periodical tax upon industry, and a continual bounty upon idleness. For, what stronger motive could the farmer have to relax in his improvement of the soil, as the end of the term of twenty-one years approached, than a feeling that the more successful his exertions, the more heavy the burden which he would in the end bring upon himself?

These two glaring defects were at last removed by the act of 1832, commonly designated as Stanley's Act, which enforced the composition in all those parishes which had not proceeded under the former act; and rendered all compositions permanent, and subject only to a variation every seven years, according to the average price of corn. The changes produced by the joint operation of these two acts were of considerable importance. The grazier, who had been exempt from the payment of tithes ever since the vote of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, became

liable to the general charge, as well as the labouring and agricultural members of the community, who were of course relieved of a proportionate part of the burden. The tithe payer was no longer to undergo the annual annoyance of valuations or viewings; or be driven to set out the tithes before drawing his own share of the crop; or—if obliged to remove it on account of the state of the weather, or similar circumstances—to engage in expensive and harassing litigation concerning its value. He was no longer to be exposed to the tender mercies of men whose known practice it was to cheat both parson and farmer, in order to secure a double portion of ill-gotten gains for themselves. Nor was he to be deterred from converting his pasture into tillage through fear of involving himself in all these troubles. On the contrary, under the altered system, he was enabled always to know the precise amount of his liability, and to be unbiassed in his adoption of whatever mode of culture he should think most to his advantage. The income of the clergyman, too, was to be in future only variable according to the change of *price*, and not to the increase or diminution in the quantity of *produce*:—an arrangement by which it was protected against undue depreciation, whilst it was at the same time prevented from undue enlargement, and from exercising its former injurious effects upon industry.

But the time had passed when the mere removal of some of the practical evils of the old system would perhaps have satisfied the people of Ireland. Had the composition principle been adopted when first recommended by Grattan, it would, in all probability, have been, to a great extent, successful. A collision between the people and the Church Establishment, if not delayed for a considerable time, would at all events have been less violent and less embarrassing when it did arrive. Events, however, took a different course; and the very measure, which, in the days of Grattan, would have been received by the people as an effectual remedy for the grievances which they then chiefly contemplated—as, in fact, one of the greatest boons which could be conferred upon the country—became, like every other too long delayed measure of reform, utterly powerless, and was almost lost sight of, in the stormy discussion of the other branches of the subject, now taken up to reinforce those that had been so long unheeded. It made not the slightest impression on the public mind; and its failure in this respect marks most clearly the magnitude of the difficulties opposed to the settlement of the question; whilst it also shows, that the resistance now coming into force was not merely aimed at the practical grievances of the tithe system, but at the obligation to support a Protestant church at all. The Archbishop of Dublin told the Lords' Commit-

tee, in 1831-2, that 'universally the opposition is quite as strong to composition rent as to tithe; and generally the clergy have given as their opinion, that if it had been introduced perhaps earlier, and had been compulsory and universal, it might have produced good effects; but I have met with very few, if any, who think that it can be of any benefit now the system of opposition to it is as fully organized as against tithes.*' Mr Montgomery, a Presbyterian clergyman, speaks of the tithe composition in the north of Ireland as being equally objectionable to the people as the old system—in some cases even as more objectionable. 'I am persuaded,' he said,† 'therefore, that upon the present feeling upon the subject of the Tithe Composition Act, no enactment by which it should be made universal and compulsory would quell the spirit that exists in Ireland upon the subject of tithes.' Again, Mr Graves, a clergyman of the Established Church, said,‡ 'It would appear to me, that a complete change of the system would be necessary to afford any reasonable expectation of tranquillity in Ireland; that it is in vain to expect that the present payers of tithe under any shape shall in future pay them, except at the point of the bayonet.'

These, and numerous other extracts which our limits will not allow us to introduce, show that, even in 1831, it was the opinion of many well acquainted with the state of Ireland that, however necessary the universal establishment of the composition might be as an elementary process in any more general change of system, it was not in itself calculated to satisfy the kind of complaints which then began to prevail. Some of the witnesses indeed seem to have held a different opinion. They vainly imagined, that, if the old causes of complaint were removed, the church might be reinstated in the undisturbed enjoyment of her ancient revenues. They overlooked the fact, that the resistance had taken place as frequently in compounding as in uncompounding parishes. The parish of Graig, for instance, in which modern resistance commenced, was itself under the Composition Act; and it appears, from a return made by Major Miller, inspector of Police in the province of Munster, that out of sixty-six parishes in which open acts of resistance had occurred, no less than *forty-nine* were under composition. What prospect, then, was there of the result being different in the case of future composition? or of being altered in those already existing? A mere change of name could effect little in allaying the hostility of those

* Min. Evid. 146.

† *Ibid.* 426.‡ *Ibid.* 154.

who objected to the burden altogether. They might, indeed, perceive that it was to be changed from a variable payment in kind into a certain payment in money; and that it would thus be divested of many practical inconveniences. But they also saw that it was still to be paid to the minister of a religion different from their own; that although tithe-proctors were to cease, tithe-collectors were to continue; that the demands of the Protestant incumbent were still to be added to those of their landlords, the county-cess collectors, and their own clergy—increasing their distracting, because multifarious liabilities. It required no great foresight to perceive that these circumstances would continue to disturb Ireland as long as any vestige of the ancient system remained; and it is truly singular that, with such a prospect before him—with such authority in favour of a rapid and complete change of system as the evidence afforded—Lord Stanley should have fallen into the error of proposing an alteration which had little chance of becoming universal, and which would therefore leave tithe property, in most parishes in Ireland, dependent upon the Composition Act alone, in its former exposed position.

But, before offering some farther remarks upon this branch of Lord Stanley's measure, we must complete the present branch of our subject by adverting to the manner in which the ancient antipathy to tithes broke out in recent times. Its first display occurred in the parish of Graig, in the county of Kilkenny; and it appears from a statement delivered on oath to the Lords' Committee, that—

‘ In the month of October 1830, a systematic opposition to the payment of tithes commenced in said parish, and threats and violence were made use of towards the persons employed in their collection and enforcement. That in the month of March, 1831, a large police force was stationed in Graig, for the purpose of affording protection to the persons employed by said incumbent in collecting and enforcing his just and lawful demands. That on the 4th day of March, 1831, said incumbent sent out his drivers to distrain for tithe-rent, which they continued to do almost every day for about eight weeks. That on Wednesday, 27th day of April, 1831, deponent accompanied said drivers and a party of police to the lands of the Rev. Martin Doyle, parish priest of Graig, where they distrained a horse belonging to said Rev. Martin Doyle, which horse was sold by public auction on the fourteenth day after seizure. That deponent is informed that it has been stated on oath, that the opposition to tithes in the parish of Graig arose from the circumstance of a poor priest having been distrained for tithes, which statement deponent knows to be totally devoid of foundation; inasmuch as the seizure of the property of said priest did not take place until seven weeks had elapsed from the period at which the said incumbent began to distrain for his tithe-rent, and more than four months from the commencement of the opposition to

the payment of tithes in said parish. That said Rev. Martin Doyle, shortly after the parishioners of the parish of Graig entered under the Composition Act, took a large farm (of about forty acres), as deponent believes, which at the time was subject to tithe-rent, for which, by the 41st section of said Act, the landlord is obliged to allow the tenant, in payment of his rent, on production of incumbent's receipt; therefore said Martin Doyle had no reason to complain, as the burden did not lie on him.*

This exculpatory document, however, admits the most important feature in the case. It was indeed true that the distress was made on a newly-taken farm; but still, to the unthinking people it had all the appearance of a vindictive departure from the ancient courtesy, not to exact tithe from the Roman Catholic clergy; and though it may not have been the first cause, it certainly gave a new impetus to the popular movement. Sir John Harvey stated, that 'it appeared to the meeting of Magistrates there, 'that that fact had a powerful influence upon what followed.'† Again, in this case, as appears from the evidence, a curate of the Established Church had become the agent or proctor of the incumbent, being at the same time invested with the commission of the peace; and acting in the double capacity of magistrate and tithe-agent, he naturally exasperated the parishioners. The event which took place was, however, but the spark falling amongst combustibles. The whole country was in readiness, and consequently was soon in a flame. Opposition quickly appeared in Queen's county. Mr Townshend said, 'it came 'over from the county of Kilkenny, having previously appeared 'at Graig.'‡ He stated, that the immediate cause of its occurrence in the parish of Mountrath was 'the non-residence of the 'rector, and also an alteration in the mode of collecting tithe 'made by the sequestrator of the living,' who, it is observable, was the clergyman of an adjoining parish. These were the two earliest occasions of the outbreaking of recent resistance; and whatever other more remote causes may have been behind, it is but too true that the immediate causes were the indiscreet acts of the clergy themselves. We admit that, in such cases, the chance is, that the first outbreak will result from some act of the person most interested in the matter. These cases, however, were peculiarly unfortunate; because, in one, the act was a personal offence to a Roman Catholic clergyman; in the other, an attempt to exact more than had previously been paid by the parish.

The result, which soon appeared through the whole of Ireland, is

* App. Min. Evid. 48. † Min. Evid. 6. ‡ Min. Evid. p. 317.

notorious. The distressed state of the clergy—the lamentable events which occur when an attempt is made to restore the lost authority of the law—and the continual demonstrations of popular feeling which crowd the columns of every provincial newspaper—indicate but too plainly the injurious effects of delay in applying timely measures to growing evils. The losses of the clergy, as individuals, however, have been of a nature which may, and we earnestly hope will, be repaired; but the damage done to the Church itself, and to the Country at large, is almost irreparable. The Church has been shaken to its very foundations. Fresh odium has been attached to it. Its utility, even in its proper sphere, has been impaired; and all this in consequence of a reckless attachment to the tithe system; and a neglect of those obvious precautions, which, under analogous circumstances, individuals would have observed in the ordinary transactions of life. Bankers and merchants continually adapt their arrangements to the fluctuating circumstances of the times. They know well, that an attempt to continue an antiquated or obnoxious system of trade would soon prove fatal—that, at whatever degree of credit they might have arrived, a run would quickly be made upon their establishments, and that certain ruin would immediately follow. So it was with the Irish Church. Its managers neglected to consult the public interest, or to attend to the public warnings. They refused to adapt its system to the varying customs, and feelings, and exigencies of the times; and bankruptcy has ensued. Its credit is now gone; its tokens no longer pass where they once were current; every thing, in fact, indicates past mismanagement, and future embarrassment.

But the consequences to the Country have been equally disastrous. It is almost better that a particular law should not exist, than that it should exist only to be broken and disregarded. Other obligations become associated with it, and are exposed to a similar danger. In Ireland this has been lamentably the case. All the bonds and ties of society have been disturbed. No authority either of the priest or of the magistrate—no sentiment of religion or morality—no provision of the civil or the criminal code, is strong enough to control the popular feeling when once it is excited. The most atrocious murders take place. Hostile and bloody collisions occur between the people and the military or the police; and the events at Carrickshock, Rathcor-mac, and Inniscarra show the desperate feelings with which the law has to contend. Even where the popular feeling does not lead to such afflicting consequences, it shows itself in a system of manœuvring, which, however amusing from the novel and

successful dexterity with which it is practised, yet indicates but too plainly the utter contempt entertained for the law.

But in the mean time, much ulterior injury is inflicted upon society. Not only does murder come to be regarded with indifference, and martyrdom, in the cause of opposition to the Church, to be applauded, but law loses the natural respect due to it; kindly feelings vanish, old habits are destroyed, every thing, in fact, occurs to lower the public mind into that demoralized condition so aptly described by Tacitus, and which Ireland has almost exhibited. ‘*Is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*’ What an awful warning does this result afford to those who refused or neglected—when their opportunities were all favourable—to correct the numerous abuses and evils by which it has been produced, and which those very persons are now, at the eleventh hour, able to discern, free to admit, and, in profession, at least, willing to remove! It indeed affords them—it affords all mankind—it affords every legislature a lesson as to the policy of taking the lead with more alertness in the reformation of abuses—of redeeming the time before it is too late—and of continually remembering that wise saying of Bacon, so fully verified in the case of Ireland, that ‘it were better to meet some dangers half-way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep.’

Having now shown that the resistance to tithes occurred as early as the reign of Henry VIII. — that its commencement was, in fact, coeval with the Reformation itself—that it has subsequently broken out upon various occasions, always manifesting a progressive increase of strength, as agriculture extended, and the complainants became more numerous—and that, finally, when the composition-acts had extended the liability more generally, and fixed it upon almost every landholder in the country, the same spirit of resistance has re-appeared, with a violence which has laid the whole tithe-system prostrate, and in defiance of act after act still maintains itself unabated—it will be interesting, in the next place, to enquire into the causes, and the sources from which this resistance continually derives nourishment. Such an enquiry, too, is of considerable importance with regard to ulterior measures; for, unless we heave the sounding-line in every direction as we advance, we may be deceived by superficial appearances, and led to act upon a false notion respecting the real nature and the depth of that national feeling, which seems to rise higher and higher at every returning tide.

There are many who delight in attributing both the origin and the continuance of recent resistance to the conduct of Government in 1831, in expressing a wish to improve the tithe-system. The King, in his speech on opening the session of 1831, noticed the opposition to tithes, and recommended an enquiry into the subject. Debates followed—committees were appointed—and every preliminary step was taken towards complying with this recommendation. But all these proceedings were consequent upon, not prior to the opposition. The violence of the war, too, which had been for some time raging, was rather abated than increased, when these proceedings became known in the country. Doctor Doyle, being questioned on this subject, said, ‘ I think the people have hastened, whilst these committees were sitting, to petition Parliament; so far the opposition to tithes has increased: but I believe that the outward opposition to them, by assemblages of persons assembled to oppose or to intimidate proctors and bailiffs, has become less and less since the meeting of Parliament.’* We believe this to be perfectly true. The resistance was of old standing, and of an expansive nature; and it would in a short time have spread itself spontaneously far and wide over the country, although no clergyman had kindled the first spark, or no government had held out hopes of change. But even suppose that it had been otherwise—is Parliament to be deterred from enquiry, through any apprehension of the consequences to which discussion or misrepresentation might possibly lead? Is Government to slumber at its post, lest the public should be awakened to the expectation of changes, different from those which Parliament upon enquiry might think sufficient? That some erroneous impression did exist, as to the opinions of Government, may perhaps be true. But who were they who took pains to create it? Who were they who gave out that the Whigs secretly encouraged resistance? Who scattered these ambiguous and malicious charges amongst an unthinking multitude? They were the very same persons—the Tory agitators—who raised such violent opposition to the first composition-act in 1823—to the second composition-act in 1832—to the million-act—to the bills of 1834 and 1835—to every measure, in fact, intended to benefit the clergy and their country, no matter from what quarter the proposal came—and who still enter into a combination to resist further measures, as well organized, though not so likely to prove successful, as that opposed to them by the people. These were the originators and the propagators of the delusion; and by affecting to believe it themselves, they became

* Min. Evidence, 346.

instrumental in making others believe it. But their mistaken policy has led to a costly retribution. They remind us of the account given by the insane man of his misfortunes : ' I thought ' the world mad, but the world thought me mad, and I was out-voted.'

Any person, however, who can for a moment raise himself above the low and commonplace prejudices of the times, and look with an impartial eye upon the past career of the Irish Church, must at once perceive, that the opposition which it has lately encountered has arisen from no modern occurrence ; but that it has been the natural result of a *constant tendency in the same direction*. Some of the instances of opposition may indeed have had relation to the peculiar circumstances of the times ; but still an unprejudiced eye will discover in these, traces of a feeling which is not of any particular month, or year, or age, but of every time ; and which, if not satisfied by a timely change in the object to which it relates, will again and again lead to a repetition of the like consequences. This feeling owes its existence in Ireland to the concurrence of various causes—some arising out of the tithe system itself—some out of the circumstances of the country—and some out of the peculiar habits of the people. Happily for the farmer, many of those belonging to the first have now ceased to exist. We may, therefore, pass rapidly over the more harassing effects of the old system—the valuing—the exactions of the tithe-proctor—the endless litigation—the inequality of the burden, and the disheartening injury continually done to industry. These were the thorns which had annoyed and harassed the farmer, until they were at last removed by the Tithe Composition Acts. But they were allowed to remain until they had, with a variety of other circumstances, produced in the minds of the people an habitual antipathy to the Church, and to every person or thing connected with it, which will continue long after the hardships themselves shall have been forgotten.

Amongst the other circumstances to which we allude, the anomalous position which has always been occupied by the Church, is one of the most conspicuous. The Established Church never obtained a secure footing in Ireland. The people were always arrayed against it, on political as well as upon religious grounds. Hostile feelings against the English had been cherished from the very beginning by the Irish, and which raised a formidable—almost an impassable—barrier against the advance of civilisation in any of its forms. Hence the Reformation, which spread so rapidly in England, made no real progress in Ireland. Even had the people been as qualified, as the English or the Scotch

were, to appreciate its principles, they were yet accustomed to look with too much suspicion towards the quarter from which it came, to bestow upon it an impartial attention. The supremacy of Henry VIII. was acknowledged by the Parliament alone; but it is probable that the Parliament—it is certain that the people—were neither convinced nor converted. Edward VI. made an attempt to force the Liturgy into general adoption, but was as unsuccessful as his father. When Mary ascended the throne, a universal reaction took place. The spring that had been bent by violence suddenly recoiled; and every thing which had been effected, by force or by favour, relapsed according to its natural tendency. Again, when Elizabeth attempted to restore the nominal authority of the Protestant religion, and to extend it over the country, she met with the most violent opposition. The clergy abandoned their cures—the people refused to hear any but the Catholic service—the churches fell into ruin—and it was deemed better to follow no religion at all than to profess the new one. Under the Princes of the House of Stuart the scene was altogether changed, and the Catholics were led to expect a complete restoration. But, when the Prince of Orange ascended the throne, they were repressed in every respect except the exercise of their religion: they were at once excluded from all civil privileges. But it is needless to dwell upon these details—they are well known—they have given the history of Ireland a degree of interest, greater perhaps than that belonging to the annals of any other country in Europe; for history is always interesting in proportion to the tragical and strange events which it relates. It has been well said, ‘happy the people whose history is the most wearisome to read.’ Unhappy Ireland exemplifies the truth of this remark. Her whole history is the record of political fluctuation and political tyranny—of alternating hopes and disappointments—of unbounded triumphs and unexampled severity—of every measure, event, or circumstance which could keep the minds of the people, especially of the Roman Catholic people, in continual agitation; and render odious to them every mark of the ancient English domination, or its modern symbol—Orange ascendancy. This is in reality the concealed idol of the Church party; although its votaries even still endeavour, like the ancient Romans, to keep the name of their tutelar deity a religious mystery, lest their enemies might either tamper with it or destroy it. But it has long ago been detected. The people are too quicksighted not to have perceived that the Church has been ever used by the Tory party as a pretext for political aggrandizement. Is it, therefore, a matter of surprise that the Roman Catholics of Ireland

should have imbibed a peculiar enmity towards that institution, which they cannot but regard as a badge of the conquest of their country, and the degradation of their religion?.

Successful agitation in the removal of the penal laws had lately brought to the test the proverbial strength of the people. Theory had here been verified in practice; and all the latent powers of the people had been called into effective service. The attack upon tithe property was the natural, as it was the immediate consequence, of the peculiar treatment of the Catholic question. The result had been anticipated by many. Timely warnings had been given, but in vain. Prejudice and party tactics prevailed over every other consideration. Toryism was smitten with its usual blindness, and did not foresee that a force would be generated which, when the first obstacle opposed to it had given way, would in all probability be directed to some other object. In this instance tithes lay at hand—they were too much in the way to escape. This was very clearly pointed out by the Archbishop of Dublin in the following passage.* We believe that his character of the Irish, though in some respects disparaging, is in the main correct; but then it is to be remembered that national habits result from moral causes such as those which we have described.

* There appears to be in Ireland a tendency to consider measures as measures of favour and disfavour rather than of right or justice, and if a notion is maintained that such and such things are done for the relief of either class, Protestants or Roman Catholics, they are apt to interpret it as a measure of favour, as so much done for one party, not for justice, and they endeavour to presume a little further. There is a very lax kind of morality which I have often found prevailing, that if a person has claimed something which has been considered his due, and which has been granted him for that reason, he will be by this encouraged to encroach upon something that is not his due, not considering it as a grant of a right that he has obtained, but as a matter of favour, or something yielded to intimidation. Now I suppose it can scarcely be denied that the concession of the Catholic claims was considered (by a great many at least) as granted to intimidation, and any thing that appears to be conceded in that manner, however just and reasonable, has the effect immediately of exciting cupidity and ambition, and of directing men's attention to something beyond—their having a fair right to such further concession or not seems hardly to enter into their consideration. I have no doubt, therefore, myself, that the concession of the Catholic claims, from the manner in which it was understood to be conceded, as some-

* Min. Evid. 185.

thing that could not be withheld, has contributed to embolden the Roman Catholics in many instances to organize a plan for obtaining something more.'

Again, we must not overlook the effects produced upon the minds of the people by the obvious political tendencies of the clergy of the Established Church. A large majority of the clergy were openly, and no doubt conscientiously, opposed to Catholic Emancipation. They had engaged much in political discussions. They constantly attended, and often took the lead, at political meetings. They were undisguised actors and voters at the elections of the day. They were foremost to forward petitions, or to exact pledges against the relaxation of the penal laws. They were, in fine, by their numbers, their connexions, and their influence, one of the most durable and conspicuous obstacles in the way of emancipation. Instead of directing their whole attention to the discharge of their professional duties, to gradual and inoffensive attempts to lead the Roman Catholics into a participation in the spiritual blessings of the Protestant religion, they principally endeavoured to oppose their participation in those temporal advantages which accidental circumstances had conferred upon its professors. The people soon perceived that the Church was hostile to the extension of their civil rights, and in return meditated a blow at its temporal possessions. Thus the clergy by their personal interference in those secular affairs, in which they have always been too much immersed, drew upon the church more than an ordinary degree of hostility.

But even within their own legitimate province they were equally unfortunate. Whilst some of them were openly resisting the siege which had been laid to Orange ascendancy, others vainly imagined, that, by sudden and violent counter-movements, they could take the Catholic religion itself by storm. We allude to the bygone proceedings of the 'Reformation Societies.' At the meetings of these societies, the religious tenets of the Roman Catholics were freely canvassed, and—as the people believed—grossly misrepresented. Conversions, generally supposed to be fictitious or interested, were publicly paraded. Every art was, in fact, practised in order to get up the appearance of a 'second reformation.' But the attempt failed; and whether the clergy were right or wrong in their motives—which it is beside our purpose to enquire—certain it is that it brought the church into hostile and unprofitable collision with the people and their pastors; and thus assisted in bringing it under the critical eye of the public more quickly than might otherwise have been the case.

These various circumstances, then, the inveterate animosity generated by the tithe system itself—the national feeling of hos-

tility to the church arising out of a long course of political events—the manner in which Catholic Emancipation was long treated and finally conceded—the conduct of the clergy as politicians and reformists—together with a natural disgust at the manner in which the church revenues have been distributed and applied, came in aid of that still more powerful feeling entertained by the people, that they are obliged to support a church designed for the service of a religion different from their own. All these have together created that irresistible power which has forced the Church into its present difficulties; and which still remains at hand to insist upon an equitable adjustment of all differences. It is of the utmost importance to weigh all these motives carefully,—to measure them in their height and in their depth, in their length and in their breadth,—and to discover how far they belong to human nature, or how far they may be dependent upon variable or transient circumstances. But of all these incitements there is none more powerful, none more incessant in operation, none which claims the attention of the Legislature more forcibly, than that feeling, on the part of more than seven-eighths of the Irish people, that they are paying for the support of a religious establishment from which they receive no benefit. This is the main source from which every other motive has derived its strength and its persevering spirit. Were it not for this feeling it might be contended with some reason, that the other motives to which we have referred, being in a great measure either local, or temporary, or personal, might subside in course of time. But this paramount feeling keeps them all alive, perpetuates them in the hearts of the people, and continually sustains their spirit of resistance. That it is a natural feeling is not to be denied. No reasoning, no force, no act, can control the consequences to which it naturally leads. It may be very well to tell the tenant, that, strictly speaking, the tithe is paid by his landlord and not by himself. But what avails all this if the tithe payer thinks and feels that it is he who really pays it? The theory may be otherwise in the eyes of the clergy and others; but this is the practical result in the eyes of the poor man. Neither is it of any avail to tell the Roman Catholics, or the Dissenters, that it is the duty of the state to preserve an institution which may possibly be of benefit to them or their descendants in time to come; or that it is for the general good, in a country where absenteeism is so prevalent, to secure the residence of at least one country gentleman for the diffusion of civilisation throughout a parish where he cannot diffuse religion. The people never consider such reasons as these. Deductions in Political Economy, and calculations of reversionary interests, are beyond the reach of

their uncultivated faculties. They act from feeling rather than from reason. The popular mind is always set in motion by what is near and palpable—it answers at once to the senses without consulting its powers of reflection; and however much those who, upon other occasions, deride the principles of political economy, may, in this instance, wish the people to understand the abstruse theory of rent, they may feel assured that the Irish never will feel it otherwise than a grievous hardship, to be forced to support a religion opposed to their own. Their own religion exercises a remarkable degree of influence over them,—manifesting itself in every transaction of life where the demoralizing effects of bad government have not as yet extended to the heart, and set aside what we may almost call its national tendency. For, those who know the Irish well, are aware that an attachment to their own religion, and an attention to its ceremonies, forms a very striking feature in the national character. Is it, therefore, a matter of surprise that every branch of a church establishment opposed to the religion of the people should meet with a more violent opposition in Ireland than in any other country in Europe? The result is perfectly natural. ‘I entreat the Protestant members of the House,’ said Lord Stanley in 1832, ‘to put themselves in the place of the Catholic peasant; and, arguing, not from reason or from justice, but from what would be their feelings, say whether this is a position in which they think it desirable that a Protestant clergyman should be placed with reference to his Catholic parishioners.’ But if this position be unfavourable to the interests and duties of the clergyman, how strong must those feelings be on the part of the people which have rendered it so? We would in like manner entreat those who affect to ridicule, or wish to violate those feelings—those who express so much horror at the notion of a state provision for the Roman Catholic church,—to place themselves for one moment in the position now occupied by the Catholics and Dissenters of Ireland, and say how they would feel if annually called upon to contribute to the income of the Roman Catholic priest or Dissenting minister of their parish? We suspect that they would shrink with horror from the bare notion of such a liability; for if the mere existence of a Roman Catholic church in Ireland, although dependent solely on the voluntary contributions of the Roman Catholics themselves, is in itself sufficient to awaken the jealousy, or excite the bad passions of so many Protestants, might we not with reason suspect, that, although the sword did not actually leap from its scabbard at the bidding of Lord Roden, against the National Board of Education, it yet would not remain sheathed when—under a reversed order of

things—the Catholic priest should come to distrain the goods of Protestant clergymen, or head the military in distraining those of their flocks. But we need not argue upon this supposed transposition of places, when the relation we have described is that in which more than seven-eighths of the population of Ireland are now by law placed;—rendered galling too by every motive, whether durable or transitory, which could influence a sensitive people to set themselves in array against the burden of which they complain.

It is further observable, that hostility to the church and to tithes is not peculiar to the Catholic part of the population. Mr Walsh, a magistrate of the county of Kilkenny, expressed himself as follows before the Lords' Committee in 1832:—‘ In the parish in which I reside, the Protestants are equally anxious to get rid of tithe as the Roman Catholics are. They have not gone to the open acts of resistance that the others have, but I think their feeling is as strong against it.’* And Mr Montgomery, being asked to describe the feeling with respect to tithe in the north of Ireland, says, ‘ I think with regard to the tithe system, as at present existing, I may say that it is a feeling of almost universal disapprobation. If I spoke of the people who do not, directly or indirectly, derive benefit from the system, I should think that very few individuals approve of it; and I believe, that the disapprobation is not confined to persons of any class of religious opinions, but generally extends to the great mass of the population. I am cognizant of the fact, that the members of the Established Church (I speak of the agricultural population connected with the church) are not more friendly, so far as I am at all acquainted with them, to the payment of tithes than individuals of other denominations.’† This was the state of things in 1832, and in order to bring the account up to the present time, we have only to look to the great number of applications, made by clergymen in the north of Ireland, for relief under the Million Act, to be satisfied, that the opposition of the Presbyterians remains as unabated as that of the Roman Catholics; and that the church is almost as much opposed in its own favoured corner—its city of refuge—the Protestant north, as it is in the Catholic south.

But in addition to the powerful combination of different feelings—some of early, some of more modern origin—which constitutes the great moral obstacle in the way of the Church and its favourite tithe system, the latter has by itself to contend with a

* Evidence, 204.

† Ibid. 423.

disadvantage of another kind, and of a still more serious nature;—we mean the control which the people themselves can always exercise over tithe property, in consequence of the immense number of persons upon whom the burden rests. A less dependent and less ramified institution, however unjust or however obnoxious, might perhaps be sustained, long after it had been condemned by the public voice, because only accessible through the intervention of Parliament. But the tithe system is at one moment condemned by the people, and in the next annihilated. The tithe payers—themselves a whole nation—at once take the law into their own hands; and whilst the legislature deliberates, settle it for the time to their perfect satisfaction. This obstacle to a continuance of the old system has long been felt, and has lately given rise to one of the most difficult problems in modern politics—the discovery of some fair means, by which it can be released from that injurious and dangerous control. There is, in our opinion, but one mode of solving it, if the condition be the continuance of tithes. We would at once cut the Gordian knot, and give the payers of tithe such an interest in its appropriation, as would lead them to regard it, whilst it exists, as a source of benefit to themselves. Then would all ancient prejudices, all practical difficulties, all notions of injustice vanish,—the agrarian war would terminate, and peace be restored to every parish in Ireland. Let us now turn to the attempts which have been made to accomplish this desirable result in a different way.

Lord Stanley proposed to shift the liability from the occupiers to the landlords, and to make the latter the future paymasters of the Church. The germ of this principle was contained in the first Tithe Composition Act, by which it was provided, that, wherever leases at a rack rent should be made, after the composition had been established in the parish, the land should be let tithe free. In such case, the tenant was still to pay the tithe to the clergyman, but to be allowed to deduct its amount from the rent, which, it was to be presumed, the landlord would take care to increase to that extent. A more futile provision could hardly have been conceived. It effected no real change. The nominal and real liabilities remained just as before. For any purpose therefore of practical utility it was altogether nugatory—a mere fictitious transposition of liabilities. It merely presented the *appearance* of a liability on the part of the landlord, without deducing any practical advantage from it. Were a conjecture to be offered as to the purpose which it was intended to serve, it might be imagined that it was designed as a means of sounding the landlords—as a feeler to ascertain whether they had inherited any of that spirit of hostility to tithes, by which their ancestors had been actuated

in 1735. But we can hardly give its author credit for having contemplated any ulterior measure. Lord Stanley has placed it in another point of view. Speaking of it in 1832 he said, 'I have no doubt it was his (Mr Goulburn's) intention to make the landlord virtually and really responsible for the payment of tithe, and to give a practical proof, that, although paid in the first instance by the tenant, it was in fact a deduction from the rent, and would be charged by the landlord, if not by the clergyman; so that it would be no relief to the occupying tenant to have tithe removed.' Whether this was Mr Goulburn's purpose or not, it is hard to say. If it was, he certainly fell upon a very round-about way of proving a self evident proposition; for nothing can be more clear than that upon a new letting—and that is the only case to which the proof applies—the tenant will pay a rent higher and higher in proportion to the amount of other burdens taken off the land. This elaborate process evolves one demonstration at all events;—namely, that the Tory framers of the act were determined, that, whether the landlord was virtually liable or not, the Catholic tenant should still be kept subject to the mortification of being the person to pay over the tithes to the clergyman.

The attempt made by Lord Stanley was more to the purpose, and the change of law which he effected more real. He proposed to adopt two methods, according to the circumstances, of taking the immediate payment of the clergy out of the hands of the occupying tenants—1st, by throwing the liability upon the landlords in all cases where they could reimburse themselves by increasing the old rent—2d, by permitting the landlords in other cases to undertake it voluntarily, upon certain terms. With a view to the former method, the act of 1832, exempted all tenants at will, from year to year, or for any lesser term, and all tenants under leases to be made subsequent to a given day, from the payment of tithes. The liability was, in these cases, first to attach upon the owner of the estate next above the occupying tenant; and on the expiration of his interest, upon the next superior landlord; and so on, until it should in the end devolve upon the proprietor of the fee. In such cases the tenants were of course to hear no more of tithe, which was in their eyes to be actually extinguished, or rather infused into the rent. The landlord was alone to be liable; and in default of payment by him, the clergyman's remedy was only to be by having a receiver over the rents. Where this arrangement took effect it was certainly very beneficial. But when it is remembered how little land is held in Ireland by tenures of the above description, compared with what is held under old and permanent leases, it is obvious, that for any purpose of general good the provision can have had but little perceptible effect. It was no more than a drop of oil upon the troubled ocean.

The other method contemplated by this act, for severing the connexion between the occupying tenants and the clergy, was capable of a far more extensive application ; it was, in fact, applicable, though not applied, to every other tenancy. It consisted in this, that the chief landlord or lessor should have the option, in the first instance, of undertaking the payment of the tithes ; and that for so doing, he should be allowed an abatement of fifteen per cent, to compensate for the loss and risk incident to the recovery of it from the tenants. In the event of his declining the offer, a like preference was to be given to the successive owners of each derivative estate intervening between the chief landlord and the occupiers of the soil. A period of six months was allowed to the chief landlord to make up his mind before the right descended upon the next derivative owner. But six months passed, and no advance was made by the former. Six months more passed, and none of the latter came forward. Another period of twelve months was offered by the Million Act in 1833, but to no purpose ! Time for reflection made no change in the result. In the interval, several meetings had been held by the agents of the principal landed proprietors ; and they had come to the unanimous conclusion, that they could not advise their employers to proceed under the act, if their estates were situate in the south, or west, or midland counties. The result has been, that only about £100,000 of the whole tithe of Ireland has been undertaken by the landlords. The returns made to Parliament do not, in general, specify the amount in each diocese. It appears, however, that *all* the tithes in the diocese of Derry have been undertaken ; which leaves but a part of the above to the southern and other districts. In these, some landlords, prompted by kindly feelings towards their parish ministers, have come forward to assist them in the hour of their distress—in some instances without a hope of being ever able to recover the amount from their tenants—in others, voluntarily remitting it as an abatement of rent, called for by the circumstances of the times.

After making all these allowances for peculiar circumstances, it is obvious that the plan, as one of general use, has been eminently unsuccessful. There were too many obstacles in the way of the measure to allow it to advance by voluntary movements. The time had long passed for adopting a voluntary principle. The subject had become unfitted for it. It had been tried for ten years under Goulburn's Act, and had in the end been, of necessity, superseded by a compulsory one. That the same act, then, which superseded it in a case where the parties were all interested, should have started it again, in a case where one of the parties—the landlord—was

almost indifferent, is truly surprising. The landlord had not suffered under the tithe system. He had nothing from which he wished to escape. All the inducements which he could now have to plunge into troubles from which he had hitherto been exempt, were therefore entirely of a patriotic nature. It was thus an experiment—and a hopeless experiment—upon the patriotism of the Irish landlords, who were vainly expected to come forward voluntarily, and endanger their rents and their popularity for the sake of fifteen per cent, and the good of their country. These inducements would naturally have a different degree of weight, according to the position in which the landlord should stand with regard to the occupying tenant. There are in Ireland two classes of landlords. The one the higher aristocracy, whose revenues are drawn from an immense extent of territory, and paid entirely by middlemen. These form by far the largest body of chief landlords. But they have no connexion with the occupying tenantry, and were not therefore likely to become tithe-collectors upon any terms. Wholly disconnected from the occupants, they could have no opportunity of annexing it to their rents,—of imparting to it any of the stability of the latter, or of throwing it into the beneficial form of an abatement. In relation to those tenants, they would merely be lay impropriators, who had always been obliged to expend more than fifteen per cent in the collection of their tithes, and had shared the same fate as the clerical owners when the resistance commenced. The act offered them no new or powerful remedies. They were to have merely the old, the worn-out, and offensive means hitherto possessed by ecclesiastical persons. With such a barren prospect before them, it is no wonder that the landlords allowed the tempting periods of six months, and twelve months, to pass without coming forward to become collectors of the proscribed impost—to become ‘the assignees of the popular detestation.’

The other class of landlords—composed of the middlemen, or owners of the fee, in immediate connexion with the cultivators of the soil—were more likely to come forward. These are, in general, persons of some capital, attentive to the improvement of their estates, and, of course, careful of the condition of their tenantry. The necessity of abating rents—the feeling, that where the tenant is relieved of one burden he becomes better able to bear the other to its full extent—together with a thousand other motives of interest or good-will, which arise out of the mutual ties that unite the tenant to his next immediate landlord—to say nothing of the patriotic motives—might induce such landlords to undertake the liability, and probably would have done so under ordinary circumstances. But the case was pecu-

liar here. The landlords naturally felt that their rents would be endangered by associating them with tithe. The tithe was not, as in the cases of tenants-at-will, or new leases, to be imperceptibly blended with rent. It was still to remain a separate and palpable thing in itself. Each was still to be recovered in its own customary and appropriate way. Tithe might still infect rent; and the landlords naturally shrunk from the danger which would attend its incorporation into their rentals, when there was no adequate compensation offered to them—nothing, in fact, but a nominal consideration. Many, no doubt, argued, that as it was the high pressure of rents which, in the first instance, had made the people sensitively alive to the pressure of tithes, the compliment might now be returned, and tithe, by too close an alliance with rents, suggest to the people that it was time to commence an attack upon the latter.

Thus was this act possessed of every attribute which could render its failure certain; in all those instances where, from the odium attached to tithe, it was most desirable that a successful remedy should have been applied. The measure seems only to have had for its object, to extricate the clergyman from the trouble and loss incident to the collection of his income from a number of different people. It neither introduced compulsion nor conciliation. It merely allowed certain persons to interpose themselves between the contending parties. It might thus, in particular places, somewhat abate the violence of the warfare, but could not diminish the general difficulties by which the subject was surrounded; because it indicated neither a wish nor a design to dry up the deep sources of Ireland's dissensions and bloodshed, and merely aimed at superficial obstacles; whilst all those of deeper origin, but which the eye of a wise statesman would at once recognise in the slightest external symptoms, long before they had worked themselves to the surface, were altogether overlooked or neglected.

We next come to the Ministerial plans introduced to Parliament during the last two sessions. But our narrowing limits will only allow us to take a very rapid glance at their leading features. Their common object was the commutation of tithe-composition into a rent charge of a less amount—variable at certain periods, according to the price of corn—and payable by the owner of the first estate of inheritance, or other equivalent estate in the land. By the bill of 1834, the amount of this rent-charge was to have been three-fifths of the composition, or L.60 for having L.100. The tithe-owner was to have an additional sum of L.17, 10s. charged, first upon the Consolidated Fund, and next on the Perpetuity Purchase Fund. The fate of this bill

is well known. The public have reason to remember it, in consequence of the important political changes which arose out of the unsettled state of the question; and the clergy have reason both to remember and deplore it, in consequence of the privations which they have since suffered, and the advantageous terms which were then lost to them for ever. Feelings of personal enmity towards an individual—the print of whose footsteps, when discovered, quickly gave the alarm—prevailed over every prudential or compassionate consideration. The bill was flung aside; the session closed; and the Irish Church was left to the prospect of another year of painful suspense.

The unexpected irruption of the Tories into office, however, soon cheered their drooping spirits. Then was the Church party elated to excess. Then did they picture to themselves the immediate abolition of the unscriptural System of Education, and the re-establishment of the Church revenues in all their unscriptural plenitude. These were their darling objects; and, judging from their zealous activity at the ensuing elections, it is to be supposed that they really did expect to realize them. For a moment they forgot the events of 1829. They only recollected the plausible principles of the Tory leaders when *out of office*—their professions of ability to restore the authority of tithe law—their willingness to consult both ecclesiastical emoluments and ecclesiastical prejudices—and they deceived themselves into an expectation of triumph. What must have been their astonishment, then, upon learning that the National Board was to be continued—that having been ‘robbed of their Bibles’ by the Whigs, the Tories were to withhold the stolen goods! And that in spite of the principles, so confidently maintained up to the close of the session of 1834, these same Tories not only found themselves unable to vindicate the law, and obliged to remit to the rebellious Irish the four years’ arrears of tithes then due, but had actually prepared a tithe bill, in principle nearly the same as that rejected a few months before, but in its details far less favourable to the church! They found out too late that they had made a wrong cast—that they had in fact appealed from Philip Sober to Philip Drunk—and that they had fully experienced the truth of Bacon’s quaint remark, that ‘occasion turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front and no hold taken, or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp.’

By the Tory bill it was proposed only to realize three-fourths of the composition, or L.75 for every L.100; but even this was greater in appearance than in reality, for the rent charge was to be subject to redemption; and the risk of being transferred to a

less productive security, would naturally have affected its value. The loss was to come out of the Perpetuity Purchase Fund. Had the Ministry been able to retain office, it is probable that the Duke of Wellington would have been as successful in persuading the Lords to adopt this Tory version of the Whig bill, in 1835, as he had been in dissuading them from adopting the original in 1834. No doubt, 'men, not measures,' would still have been the motto of the day. Feelings of personal favour would have succeeded those of personal enmity; and the measure which was rejected on account of the *man* in the one case, would have been accepted on account of the *men* in the other.

But we pass from this celebrated act of political plagiarism—this usurpation of the measure as well as of the offices of the Whigs—to the resumption of their own bill by the latter, and the modifications which a farther lapse of time had made necessary. By this bill it was proposed to realize seven-tenths of the composition, or L.70 for every L.100. Existing incumbents were to have had five per cent more charged upon the Perpetuity Purchase Fund, making up the same amount as that under the Tory bill. But the amount of the rent charge was to have been L.70. And what an instructive lesson does this descending scale afford! First, L.77, 10s. clear of all cost; then L.75; and finally L.70; from both of which last a farther deduction would have taken place for the expense of collection. Making such deduction, then, it will be found that there has been a loss at each successive stage of near five per cent! But this is not all. In 1834, when no appropriation clause was required, the church party would not take L.77, 10s. In 1835 they are willing to take L.70 without the clause. But they cannot have it unconditionally, and they reject the bill; though it had been so lately admitted by their own friends—during their short but instructive career in office—that the power of Parliament over this question was fast declining, and that it was likely that less advantageous terms would be imposed at every successive refusal. What will be their course on the next occasion it is impossible to predict; but the recollection of the old story of the sybil gives us a sort of superstitious confidence in the acceptance of the third offer. There has been time for reflection, and matter for instruction. We trust that a more prudent decision will be the result.

Let us now turn to the important question, respecting the amount of abatement to be conceded to the parishioner, and by consequence, the amount of revenue proper to be realized for the tithe owner. In reference to this, it is to be observed generally, that Parliament is, in this instance, called upon to revive an odious and almost abdicated right—to deal with a subject long neglected

and damaged by Tory misrule—and that therefore, even without reference to particular circumstances, it is unreasonable to expect to realize a full amount. It must indeed be obvious to any person, who reflects for a moment upon the precarious and uncertain nature of tithe property—the odium attached to it—and the difficulties which must by consequence attend the collection of any substitute, until time shall have carried into oblivion many disagreeable recollections and associations, that it would be most unreasonable to impose upon the landlords the task of collecting the rent charge, without such an abatement as would satisfy the tenants, upon whom the liability, after devolving from lessee to lessee, must ultimately rest. The Tories themselves felt this, and proposed to make an abatement of twenty-five per cent. But then, with regard to the tithe owners, if we for a moment compare the advantages of a well-paid and well-secured rent charge with all the inconveniences and losses incident to the old system, it must be plain, that L.70 of rent charge would be more beneficial to the proprietor than L.100 of tithe. The usual cost of collection had been from ten to twelve per cent; and in many cases—particularly in those of lay impropriations—the lessees of tithes had reserved to themselves a far larger share. Nor was the result very different under the composition acts; as the difficulty of collecting from a great number of persons still continued. But under the new system, bad debts were to be no more heard of, and the cost of collection was only to be two and a half per cent. Then, looking at tithe as a property in the market—the light in which lay impropriators view it—we find that tithe was never worth more than two-fifths of a well-secured rent charge. A prevalent notion respecting the public nature of tithe property—the indisputable right of Parliament to interfere with the Church revenues—the recollection of what took place in the Irish House of Commons in 1735—with many other circumstances, have made such an impression upon the public mind, that we doubt if tithe was ever estimated at seven-tenths of its nominal amount. From this it may be inferred, that thirty per cent is not too much to remit to the tithe payers, nor L.70 per cent too little to realize for the tithe owners. The latter will naturally complain as long as the question is open. They will struggle to make a hard bargain. But the moment the question has closed, and they have been put into possession of a certain substitute, they will no doubt rejoice. ‘It is nought, it is ‘hought, saith the buyer; but when he is gone his way then he ‘boasteth.’

The bill of last session also contained a provision, to allow of the re-opening of the composition in certain special cases. It

was alleged by the church party that this would have had the effect of diminishing very much the total amount of tithe property. We apprehend no such result. It is to be presumed that the opposite changes in different cases would compensate. But if, as the unwillingness of the church party to allow a revision would almost lead us to suspect, 'the reciprocity should be all on 'one side,' it is evident that injustice has occurred. It would certainly be desirable to close the question at once, and prevent all further wrangling between the incumbents and their parishioners; but it is notorious, that in some cases, the compositions were hastily and inconsiderately fixed; and that in many cases promissory notes from insolvent persons, or adjudications before tribunals in the absence of the parties, or other equally unfair items, have been made the basis of the composition; and if by this means the revenues of the Church have been forced up to an unnaturally high level, it would seem to be no more than bare justice to revise and correct such compositions.

Another very equitable arrangement was also proposed by this bill. The rent charge was to have been variable *annually* and *simultaneously* in all the parishes, instead of *septennially* and *irregularly*, according to the different periods at which the composition had been established. A slight abatement would certainly have been thus made in those parishes where the amount had been fixed according to the high price of corn, for a period of seven or twenty-one years, and a part of such period should be still unexpired. These would have been at once brought to a level with the others; instead of running on to the end of their term. But with the exception of the cases in which accident had thus given the incumbent a temporary advantage, the new arrangement would have been equally beneficial to both parties. If prices fell in one year, that year would form one of the seven, upon which the average to determine the amount for the next year should be taken; and thus the tenant would be more quickly compensated for the change of price. If, on the contrary, prices were to rise, the income of the incumbent would be more quickly increased. In both cases, the variation in the amount of the rent charge would have been rendered more gradual by this more refined application of the principle of averages.

These three modes—the abatement of thirty per cent—the re-opening of the composition in certain special cases—and the substitution of an annual for a septennial variation, constituted Sir Robert Peel's 'mathematical process, the process of exhaustion,' by which 'the church was to be relieved of her superfluous wealth.' But leaving out of consideration the justice of those terms, there are yet other reasons why the church should not complain. There

is another mathematical process, which has produced far greater effects, in increasing that wealth, than this process of exhaustion could possibly countervail, we mean the 'method of increments'—a method with which the Irish church has too long been familiar. The revenues of the parochial clergy have, from the earliest times, been growing with the growth of tillage, and have, in more modern times, received a very rapid extension, in consequence of those improvements in the arts of cultivation, by which land has, within the last twenty or thirty years, been made to produce a far greater quantity of agricultural produce than it had previously done. Hence those revenues—which Swift laments to have been in his days barely sufficient to support 550 clergymen in decency and comfort—had attained, at the time when the composition act stopped their further increase, a value equivalent, at the then price of produce, to L.555,000 a-year; a sum found to be sufficient, when paid, to support more than double the number of incumbents, always in comfort—generally in affluence—frequently in splendour. But even under the composition acts, the church obtained the benefit of a peculiarly favourable process of commutation. Under both acts, the amount of the composition was to be calculated upon 'an average of all sums, paid or agreed for, or 'adjudged to be paid,' in the parish, on account of tithes for a given period of seven years. The amount was thus to be taken as the average of what should appear on the clergyman's books to have been *payable* as well as *paid*, during the seven years, ending November 1821, under the first act; and during the seven years, ending November 1830, under the second. Thus were all bad debts at once taken into the reckoning, and made to swell the new amount to an extent far greater than the tithe owner would ever have received. Under the first act, too, the Commissioners were to be at liberty to add one-fifth to the amount already so liberally ascertained. Then, with respect to the average prices, these were, during the former period, as high as L.1, 18s. 8½d. for wheat, and 15s. 2¼d. for oats.* Consequently a tenth of the produce was, in such case, represented by an amount of money high in the same proportion; and the Church had thus the benefit of converting that tenth into money, at a time when the price of produce was almost at a maximum. This advantage would not have been permanent under Goulburn's Act. At the end of twenty-one years there would have been a new valuation, according to the then price of corn; but Lord Stanley's Act inter-

* We take these sums from the printed returns prepared by Government for the use of the Commissioners.

posed and confirmed the advantage for ever, by rendering the composition permanent. This was admitted in 1832, but not remedied. Lord Stanley observed, that 'the clergyman, under any composition now entered into, according to the provisions of the existing law (Goulburn's Act), would receive an income one-fifth more than it ever has been the intention of the legislature to confer upon him.' Prices had fallen to the extent of one-fifth; and consequently in all those parishes in Ireland where Goulburn's Act had been put in force, the income of the clergy was even in 1832 one-fifth more than the legislature ever intended to confer upon them—to say nothing of the further increase of one-fifth which had been made in many cases.

Under Lord Stanley's Act, a new period, as we have seen, was selected. For this the average prices were, for wheat, L.1, 12s. 0½d., for oats, 12s. 11½d. But, comparing these with later averages, we shall find that, even upon that occasion, the Church was not a loser.

It may be said, however, that the composition was in many cases entered into by special agreement under the act of 1824. Perhaps the amount may have been so fixed in one-fourth of the parishes. But even here, there were effectual securities against decrease, and little security against increase. The veto of the bishop, the private interest of the clergymen, and the love of both for the church—which would almost seem, from late events, to be stronger than any other motive—were on one side; the interest of a few vestry men—selected by a high qualification from a class of society not unfriendly to the growing power and wealth of the Church, naturally anxious to terminate the horrors of the ancient tithe system, and only fixing a general liability for the whole parish, a considerable increase of which could not sensibly affect their proportionate shares—were on the other. We ask, is it probable that the Church found it difficult in such cases to realize the uttermost farthing? Or—the transaction being a voluntary one—is it not likely that the offer was only accepted when it presented good measure? Yet, notwithstanding all the advantages which the Church has had upon every occasion of converting tithe into money, complaints are made respecting the hardship of making any deduction from her overgrown revenues, even for the sake of justice or security. But surely if it be unjust to abate any thing from the clergyman's income, even for such purposes, it must have been equally unjust to have unduly increased the liability of the tithe payer. The rights of property are equal and mutual; and every argument urged against the requisite abatement from one side, must, under the circumstances that have occurred, come with

equal if not greater weight in its favour from the other. There is no reason why—because the church has obtained a temporary advantage—she should be allowed to profit by her own wrong; and that tithe property should not be brought back to its reasonable dimensions and proportions.

It remains to notice the very important provision contained in both of the Whig bills—but excluded from the Tory bill, as perhaps involving too great a departure from ancient custom—we mean the provision for enabling the commissioners of land revenues to collect the rent charge, and issue it to the clergy at the small cost of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. With respect to this cost, it is quite obvious that it is much less than would fall upon the tithe owner under a different management; for how could he expect to have his rents collected for less than landed proprietors pay for theirs, which usually is five per cent? It is only by collecting it in large sums by public officers, and by the authority of the Crown, that the cost can be reduced. Then, with respect to the other great benefit likely to arise from such a change, we mean the relief of the clergyman from the annoyance of collecting his own income from his parishioners—from a different class of persons indeed under the proposed system, but still from his parishioners—and from that class of them too which is, generally speaking, composed of Protestants, and with whom it is far more necessary that he should be upon good terms, than with the Roman Catholics,—it is too obvious to require illustration. The following remarks, however, in the ‘*Letters on Tithe*,’ are so appropriate, and derive so much weight from the high character and long experience of the writer, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting them to the reader.

‘It has always been considered as a wise maxim, that if you wish to preserve the friendship of any individual, you should avoid, as much as possible, the implicating yourself with him in business. But it is of the very essence of pastoral influence, that the clergyman should be the friend of his parishioners. In no other character can he do them good. The minister is, in some measure, the representative of religion. He is God’s ambassador to the people: and, if he appear to them in any other light than that of a friend, he will, as far as his influence extends, prejudice them against religion, and alienate their minds from God. How then are his yearly or half-yearly demands upon his flock for money likely to operate in this respect? In this country, even amongst the gentry and wealthier farmers, there are few whose circumstances or whose dispositions incline them to answer their pecuniary engagements without reluctance. And of these classes no small proportion labour under serious difficulties and embarrassment. Amongst the various trials of life, the recollection of their creditors is, perhaps, the one which presses with heaviest weight upon their minds. And yet, alas! in such a light must the clergyman, under the tithe system, always appear to his parishioners.

Instead of the familiar friend, in whose society they lay aside their cares, and whose presence is a call from earthly to heavenly things, they behold in him an object either of fear or of the most uncomfortable embarrassment: of the former if he is rigid: and of the latter if he is backward in his demands. He may honestly and faithfully tell them that Christianity can instruct the mind to live above the world, to despise its interests, and to cast every care upon God. But there is something in the circumstances of the parties, unfavourable to the due impression of these counsels. There is an awkwardness in the case. The clergyman cannot divest himself of the feeling, that his advice comes with an ill grace from one whose demands increase the amount of those anxieties which his pastoral instructions would remove. And farmers are not always philosophers, nor are they always dispassionate in their judgments. Is it not, then, human nature that the man should be tempted at least to reason in this way. "If you yourself live above the world, and despise its interests, why do you not make some reduction in my tithe? My mind is distressed and harassed: and you tell me that while it is so, I cannot attend to the salvation of my soul. If my soul, then, is worth all that you say it is, why do you not make some sacrifice of your income to save it?" It may be said that none but men of unreasonable minds, and ill managed affairs, will argue in this manner. Let it be so. But are not such, I ask, the very persons who need the counsels of religion most? Are the clergyman's ministrations to be confined to those alone whose principles are rightly formed, and whose lives are rightly ordered? Is he sent to call the righteous, and not sinners, to repentance? And here I would observe, that precisely in proportion as a minister is earnest in his sacred calling, and alive to the peculiar nature of his responsibilities, he will be sensible of the disadvantages under which the present system places him. In the same degree that he aims at doing spiritual good, will he be embarrassed in his ministry by this unhappy association of worldly business. If, indeed, he converses with his parishioners merely as a man of this world, no inconsistency will be apparent. No one will contrast his heavenly counsels with his earthly circumstances. All will be of a piece. He may be upright in his dealings, and respectable in his habits. He may be, in a word, as some would have him, a squire in miniature, and a tolerable substitute for a resident gentry; and business will be no bar to any agency in which he engages. But it is, I repeat it, against the clergyman, in his legitimate and peculiar character, that the system which I oppose will operate with full force. It will be a clog on every wheel which would carry him easily and successfully through the discharge of his high and heavenly ministrations.*

These sentiments, so sound in principle, and no doubt responded to in secret by many an Irish clergyman who has experienced their truth,—deriving much weight, too, from the quarter whence they come,—ought to be well considered by those rash clerical politicians, who would willingly risk the peace of Ireland

* *Letters on Tithes*, p. 7.

—the best interests of their Church—the cause of true religion—their own individual usefulness as members of the community—every thing, in fact, rather than appear to yield to those who object to their constant occupation with secular affairs, and who regard church revenues in the true spirit with which they were originally granted;—as intended, to use the language of an Irish statute, ‘to provide for the due maintenance of such as shall teach and instruct the people in the worship of God, and the better to enable them to keep hospitality and relieve the poor.’*

But a discussion of the Appropriation Question, which the language of this statute suggests to us, does not come within the scope of our present design. Our object has been merely to call attention to the resistance to tithes which has prevailed in Ireland from the earliest periods—to the powerful and incessant feelings by which the people have been actuated—to the timely warnings so frequently given but always neglected—to the inadequacy of all the measures hitherto adopted—to the principal circumstances, in fact, by which the subject has been involved in those peculiar difficulties, from which it now appears impossible to extricate it, unless the aid of some more powerful assistant, such, for example, as a new appropriation, be called in. To this subject, however, as well as to the various plans lately suggested for consolidating and simplifying the numerous local burdens in Ireland, we may probably return at a future period. In the mean time we shall close this historical retrospect with a few observations respecting the endless evils likely to ensue, should the law be allowed to remain as at present.

There are some who, blind to the peculiar embarrassments in which the tithe system has been long involved, look upon it as if still possessed of its ancient vitality and profitable attributes, and capable of being permanently re-established. These insatuated persons, either fearing that some risks might attend any change, or seeking perhaps to make better terms by manœuvring, would fain persuade the public, that enough has already been done by the Legislature,—that the only suitable remedies have been tried,—and that the ordinary legal means, properly and strenuously worked, are fully capable of restoring security to tithe property, and peace to the country. The experiment has been lately tried by the ‘Lay Association,’ but without permanent success. The people have indeed in many places been ‘Exchequered.’ Tithes have been awarded by the superior courts; but the executive process has almost invariably failed. Little has been done towards re-

* 10 and 11, Car. i. ch. ii.

establishing the obnoxious law, whilst immense progress has been made in widening the old breach between the people and the church. This result had been predicted by Mr Woodward in the following instructive passage :—

‘ If the clergy set about enforcing the payment of their tithe with, what is called, vigour, one day’s operation of that scheme may do more, in any given parish, to injure the cause of Protestantism, than years of patient and faithful ministerial labour could accomplish towards its furtherance. The plan proposed is, by making examples of a few, to awe the rest into submission. And these examples, I conceive, can be made but in one of three ways : 1. By bringing, on individuals, a heavy burden of expense. 2. By seizing on their persons. 3. By distraining their goods with military force. Now be it remembered, that the Romanists of this country are taught by their priests, that it is their duty to resist, or evade, the payment of tithe. All, then, who suffer in this cause, are considered as suffering for conscience’ sake. And the man who is selected by the clergyman as an example, will appear to his neighbours as a sacrifice to principle. If visited by heavy costs, every display will be made of the distress to which he has been brought down. If his person is seized on, he will, as he proceeds to prison, assume all the magnanimity of a martyr. And if unhappily the military are called in, while their arms are glittering in the fields, and while children are running affrighted to their mothers, that day will not be lost ; Irish tact will seize the critical moment to strike an impression never to be effaced, and to fix upon the youthful mind the lasting association of Protestantism with oppression, cruelty, and blood. Who that contemplates the possibility of scenes like these, would refuse to join with Solomon in saying, “ Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox, and hatred therewith.” ’

What a striking contrast is there between this passage and the letter addressed, in December last, by the Archbishop of Tuam to the Editor of a London newspaper, in which, alluding to the sums raised in England for the relief of the Irish clergy and the purposes of the ‘ Lay Association,’ he says, ‘ The happy vindication of the law will (under God), I confidently hope, relieve the generous English from this heavy draught upon their unbounded liberality ; and I would hope (and I feel that I speak the sentiments of a large body, and probably the whole clergy of Ireland) that the present existing law will be left alone by the powers that be ; that they will cease to legislate upon what is called the Irish Tithe Question ; and thus the clergy will, in future, with little difficulty, without any intercourse with the lower orders upon the subject, peaceably receive their hitherto acknowledged undoubted property, and, as far as that question is concerned, peace may be restored to this unhappy land.’ What infatuation ! Can we for one moment believe that this is the latent wish of the whole clergy of Ireland ? Is this Dignitary of the Church ignorant of the failure of Lord Stanley’s Act—or blind to the scenes which are daily passing around him, in which

the clergy are so seriously and unpleasantly involved? Does he, or do they regard the events of Rathcormac or Inniscarra as the *happy vindication of the law*—the sacrifice of human life, under such circumstances, as acceptable to the Almighty! We should have expected that an archbishop would have acted more in the spirit of the following glowing passage:—‘Will not the dignitaries of the Church,’ said Grattan, ‘interpose on such an occasion? How painful must it have been to them, the teachers of the Gospel, and therefore enemies to the shedding of blood, to have thought themselves under the repeated necessity of applying to Parliament for sanguinary laws. The most sanguinary laws on your statute-books are tithe bills; the Whiteboy Act is a tithe bill—the Riot Act, a tithe bill. How painful to those dignitaries must it be, to feel themselves in the office of making perpetual complaints against their own flocks, and to be conscious, in some instances, of having jaded and disgusted the ears of the court by charges against the peasantry! How painful for them to have repeated recourse to the military in their own case, and to think that many of their sinful flock, but their flock notwithstanding, were saved from the indiscriminating edge of the sword by ecclesiastical zeal, tempered and withheld, and in some cases disappointed, by the judicious mercy of military command!’ But how vain the expectation! A Prelate not only urging the vigorous enforcement of a sanguinary law, but asserting that it is the wish of the clergy of Ireland that it should be vindicated! We cannot, we will not believe, that such is the general feeling of the clergy. They have seen too much—they have suffered too much—to wish that the system should be allowed to remain in a position so injurious to the country, and so full of peril to themselves. Some more hardy individuals, placed by peculiar circumstances beyond the reach of the missiles flying in every other direction, may perhaps advise this dangerous course; but we never can believe that the whole clergy, or even a ‘large body’ of the clergy in Ireland, secretly agree with them. That any should still be found anxious to intrust themselves to the wreck of their once stately vessel, and again to risk their fortunes or their lives upon such frail security,—regardless of the safer means held out to them by those, who, in their infatuation, they have been taught to regard as enemies,—is to us passing strange. To these persons we can only say, that, looking at the whole state of the question with an impartial eye, we are satisfied that the antipathy to tithes, which has ever been breaking forth in a thousand forms, has raised obstacles in their way, which neither Incumbents, nor Prelates, nor ‘Lay Associations,’—no, nor Government itself, though countenanced and aided by all these powers,—ever can permanently overcome.

ART. IX.—*England in 1835. Being a Series of Letters written to Friends in Germany, during a Residence in London, and Excursions into the Provinces.* By FREDRICK VON RAUMER, Professor of History at the University of Berlin. Translated from the German. By SARAH AUSTIN. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

IN these times of political excitement, when the opinions of every man on the most indifferent circumstances and events of the day seem to receive a colour from his party sentiments, there are two classes of foreign writers to whom England appears to furnish nothing but a field for prejudiced remark and bitter declamation. Her institutions offer them only the hoped for evidences of progressive decay; the recollection of her triumphs abroad embitters the feeling with which they regard her wealth and prosperity at home; her social usages, little understood even by her well wishers, are misrepresented among her enemies in the most grotesque caricatures. Above all, as few take the pains to judge from their own personal observation, of the actual condition of their neighbours, the exaggerations on one side or the other, in which our own party scribes are in the habit of indulging, are seized upon as undoubted authority; and pictures of present misery and approaching revolution are drawn with additional confidence from the statements of English writers themselves.

That partisans of the 'Movement' in France, or disciples of the exalted school of 'young Germany,' should look upon England with peculiar hostility is not to be wondered at. National independence, and the cause of liberal institutions have, it must be confessed, some ground of accusation against us. All the passions and interests which were repressed or crushed by the settlement of 1815 are, from old recollections, set in permanent hostility to the name of England, however different her vocation may be in 1836. But the chief source of the distaste of republicans for our country and institutions lies deeper. The very existence of British society, and British power, afford a daily refutation to sundry modern theories of the social system. It is, therefore, natural enough, that the partisans of those theories (and although they are but speculative doctrines amongst ourselves, blood flows, and prisons are filled for them on the continent,) should seek as far as possible to elude that refutation. Every existing sign of prosperity or stability receives therefore from them a contrary interpretation. In their eyes, every phenomenon is a presage of evil; and the vast activity, the stupendous wealth, and the ever-active intelligence of the densely-peopled world under their view, appear

to them enveloped in one dark cloud, pregnant with the elements of sudden and tempestuous ruin.

But the hatred which is borne us by the high legitimate party of the Continent is quite as cordial, and far less justifiable. To our profusion of treasure and blood—ill spent in some instances, spent without requital in all—that party owes its power and almost its existence. Had England not rallied, armed, and encouraged its defenders, the old hereditary *régime* would probably have been as completely swept away from the soil of Europe, west of the Vistula, as from that of France herself. It was the power of England which formed the keystone of the Holy Alliance, although not framed with her actual co-operation: without us that alliance must have fallen to pieces from its own ill-balanced weight. Yet it is precisely from those classes and parties, which the overthrow of Napoleon placed in power, that we now encounter the most hearty and constant vituperation. Let it not be imagined, that the hostile tone of the legitimatist body towards England has its origin only in the events of 1830. Long before that period, the exalted Catholic zealots of France, and the official scribes of German and Northern Cabinets, were quite as loud, and as regardless of truth in their accusations,—quite as lavish of political prophecies, ever falsified by events, as they are at the present day.

‘I do not believe,’ says M. Von Raumer, himself a Prussian, and strongly attached to his own national institutions, ‘that there are to be found any where so many prophets of death for England as in Berlin. The “*Wochenblatt*,” the “*Spikersche Correspondent*,” and especially the clever “*Prussian*,” a keen observer and an elegant writer, all agree that Great Britain is about to die,—not at some future time or other, but at once and in all haste, of ten different disorders:—Reform and revolution, taxes and debts, misery and ignorance, ruin of agriculture, over-speculation in manufactures, drunkenness, prostitution, &c. Mere painting, black on black, or grey on grey, an exaggerated imitation of Rembrandt in rhetoric!’

‘Do not judge,’ he says in another letter, ‘of the condition of the world, exclusively after the views of certain diplomatists; they all acquire a strong predilection for some things, and an equally obstinate prejudice against others; and what they have said to themselves a hundred times, passes at last with them for actual gospel. Their rank, or their affectation of rank, holds them aloof from communication with persons of different classes and occupations; they seldom hear an opinion or a conviction sharply and distinctly expressed. Life, in its manifold variety, is full of points and corners; but the by-paths of a diplomatist are like the intricate courses of a parcel of smooth marbles rolling in different directions. The diplomatists of the continent find also especial difficulty in understanding a country so foreign to their nature as Great Britain; and, if they have made their preliminary exercises at Paris, and learnt to set a French pair of spectacles on Russian eyes, all seems to waver and float indistinctly

before them ; and all definite forms and outlines disappear from their view. A few days ago a famous diplomatist said to me—the King of England, in order to secure the passage of the Irish Church bill through the House of Lords, will create from 50 to 100 Peers. I, who am neither famous nor a diplomatist, said, he will create none. Then, replied the other, the bill falls to the ground, and civil war will be organized by O'Connell. I answered, there will be no civil war ; but the Catholics will persevere in the non-payment of tithes, and the Protestant Church, for which the zealous fight, will have to bear the loss. The church then, answered the other, is ruined whether the bill passes or not ; and if the church is ruined, England herself is inevitably destroyed. I replied, however events may waver backwards and forwards for some time to come, a secular plundering of church revenues, of which in the present bill there is no trace whatever, will not take place, and the so-called Voluntary system will not conquer. But, as religious oaths and sinecures are abolished in the State, so they will also come to an end ; the former in the universities, the latter in the church. These changes lead to no ruin, but to the improvement of existing institutions. The life of the whole British Empire does not consist in one and the same external form of the church ;—in Ireland the Catholic form, in England the Episcopal, in Scotland the Presbyterian prevails : all are living institutions, and all will continue to live, and will become better from year to year, as the stones of offence and of intolerance, which are falsely represented as principles of Christianity, are more and more cleared out of the way, and each church is more and more taught to rely on love as the fundamental article of our faith.

All the partisans of extreme doctrines, in short, whatever the complexion of their opinions may be, seem to look with fervent expectation for that day of which Napoleon so often prophesied the advent—

‘ Bidding our town in one vast blaze expire,
Her towers in dust, her Thames a lake of fire ’—

without one thought for the heavy injury—the long and almost hopeless blight—which general liberty and civilisation would endure from such a catastrophe. The disciple of equality denounces a country in which political life, and social usages, every where bear witness to the preponderance of a powerful and wealthy oligarchy. The theoretical republican turns with sovereign contempt from a land in which custom as well as law still sanction the interference of an hereditary aristocracy with the course of government, when, in the rest of Western Europe, the ancient pride and power of the *noblesse* seem smitten with absolute paralysis ;—when a Jew stockbroker has just succeeded a playwright in swaying the destinies of Castile and Aragon ;—and, in France, the son of a bad cook has crept over the necks of his colleagues into the seat of ministerial supremacy. Catholics contemplate our multitude of obscure and vulgar sects with pre-eminent disgust ; whilst Ame-

ricans are equally offended by the sight of a titled and endowed church. The admirer of the new-fashioned absolutism of the continent sees nothing but anarchy in a realm where the King is a cypher in his council, and the police little better than a cypher in the ordinary administration of the country. England offers at this moment (as she has offered for the last 150 years) an asylum to the *Fuorusciti* of every possible faction. She even now contains fragments which every successive political tempest has detached from the coast of France—Nobles and Priests of the first emigration, who prefer to drag out their existence here on the scanty pittance afforded by their government (formerly in the shape of an annual stipend, but since 1830 only as an occasional succour), rather than return to a country which has long become changed and cold to them and their feeling—Conventionals, Bonapartists, Carlists; and a few specimens of the last and wildest of all the discomfited parties,—the modern Republicans, freshly escaped from the prison of Sainte Pelagie. We have known individual specimens belonging to most of these classes, and however violently they might differ on other points, we have generally found them to agree in one. They all found consolation in their exile from the comfortable persuasion, that the land of their refuge was hastening every day towards irretrievable perdition.

From such distorted views, it is most satisfactory to appeal to the calm and reasonable judgment of such a writer as M. Von Raumer, who must be well known to many of our readers as a historical scholar of the first eminence. We are not precisely acquainted with the circumstances of his political history, although we know that he is, in public estimation at least, considered as a supporter of existing institutions in the German confederacy, and especially in Prussia; and has thus been exposed to the peculiar vituperation of Henry Heine, the Coryphæus of 'young Germany.' Whether he is in any way connected with the Prussian Government we cannot tell: all we know is, that if his admiration of the Prussian King and the Prussian system sometimes appears exaggerated to English eyes, his remarks are always conceived in a liberal and enlightened spirit. Although, in principle, an adherent of the middle party in European politics, and certainly exhibiting a turn of thought and sentiment which would render him liable, in France, to the unenviable title of *Doctrinaire*, he seems to hold the revolutionary extreme in much greater aversion than its opposite; and to be a Conservative in the fullest sense of the word—one who is desirous for the maintenance of the *status quo* of Europe, and for the preservation of old political institutions, as best adapted to the necessities of the several countries in which they flourish. The

observations of such a writer, where we have reason to place confidence in his good sense and honesty, possess a real value. It is unquestionably advantageous to be able to look, for a moment, at the existing circumstances and relations of things by which we are surrounded with other eyes than our own; but nothing is gained by the exchange, if we can only procure the distorted optics of some foreign partisan, who is still more liable to be misled by his political predilections, than we by our national prejudices. But when we encounter a traveller, who is a zealous and intelligent admirer of England and her institutions, to a degree which some even here may deem excessive, and which is certainly little calculated to secure him popularity abroad, we are happy in being able to learn of him what portions of these institutions he is most solicitous to preserve as they are, and what, in his view, requires amendment; and to ascertain his unbiassed sentiments as to our present policy and prospects. In this view, the volumes before us, filled as they are with political disquisitions, will prove interesting to many. They will find in them a diary of those important public occurrences which occupied so much of our own thoughts during the progress of the first half of last year; together with the reflections which they drew, day by day, from the pen of an enlightened and dispassionate foreigner. We do not say that there is much of originality in M. Von Raumer's observations; and we have not noted many striking passages, or much which will convey new impressions to the reader: the general result left upon our minds is rather that of sound practical sense—of moderate and reasonable opinions—and of a thorough good-humoured inclination to see every thing, as far as possible, on the favourable side.

One observation has been very strongly brought home to us by the perusal of these Letters; they evince the incalculable facilities which the study of past times affords for the comprehension of the present. M. Von Raumer had never visited England until last year; nor had the course of his life and employments thrown him much in the way of acquiring a practical knowledge of English society or usages. But, as an historian by profession, he had studied that society and those usages in books, until they became far more familiar to him than they become to foreigners in general after a long residence amongst us. Hence, from the first moment of his landing in England, he neither expresses nor betrays any peculiar difficulty in comprehending those details of English life and peculiarities,—no less of private than of political existence,—which make England appear, in the phrase of Shakespeare, rather *in*, than *of* the society of European States; Hence the reader will detect, in his Letters, no traces of that preliminary apprenticeship which most travellers have to

serve, before they become completely acquainted with the usages of the country which they describe. He arrives among us less as a stranger, than as one who revisits, after absence, a land to which he has been long accustomed and is deeply attached. We are not sure that this peculiarity, if it adds to the value, will not, with some readers in this country, detract from the interest of the work. Great part of its contents present nothing more than such thoughts and opinions as we are familiar with among intelligent men living in general English society; and the only singularity about them is the German dress in which they appear.

M. Von Raumer's introductions to English company were very general among all ranks, and it is flattering to our character for hospitality to read the uniform testimony which he bears to the kindness and attention which he met with in every quarter, though these, we know, were secured to him, in great measure, by his own frank and unaffected manners, and his general *savoir vivre*, even more than by his literary reputation. But as the greater part of his days was occupied with researches in the way of his vocation in the British Museum and the State Paper Office, and the objects which occupied his mind in conversation chiefly related to matters of public interest, there will not be found in his pages much allusion to the common topics of London life; or much that denotes acquaintance with *the world* in the ordinary sense of the phrase. He abstains also, in the most honourable manner, from all detail of private conversation or anecdote; and thus voluntarily relinquishes the chief power which a tourist possesses of rendering his book attractive to all classes of readers. Those who expect to find in these *Letters on England* the same interest which was excited by the work of a noble countryman of the writer, ushered into English publicity with the advantage of translation by the same spirited pen, will be woefully disappointed. We were amused also in observing the difference of the feelings with which the worthy historian enjoys the first party of the season to which he was introduced at Devonshire House, and the gradually decaying interest which he displays on successive exhibitions of the same description. When the mere spectacle had lost its charm, his admiration becomes sobered down at last into a very moderate appreciation of the charms of an English rout.

May 28, 1835.—Lord ——— received me with friendly expressions, but, while so many more distinguished guests were arriving, he was naturally unable to give himself any farther trouble about me. A very beautiful lady was so compassionate as to touch a little on literary matters and Italian recollections, but remarked significantly that there were too few people present for the size of the rooms, and that therefore

one could not move with freedom. Does not this mean that a multitude of company is necessary to put an end to stiffness, and render too critical observation impossible?

That in such assemblies as these the host and hostess cannot give themselves any trouble about individuals is evident enough, but that, whenever a guest arrives, some incomprehensible name should be shouted out by the servant at the entrance of the rooms, is quite superfluous for such as know each other, and cannot help those who do not know each other in the least degree. An Englishman would be very much astonished if I were to treat him as an acquaintance by introduction on the strength of this announcement of his name. Nor does any one take it into his head to address a stranger the more on that account. Thus these routs remain without farther use for a stranger as soon as one has attained a general impression of them—no communication of living and active sentiment is acquired in them. Even those who have known each other long, move up and down, like the atoms of Epicurus, without uniting or congregating themselves to any purpose. . . . A German host does not indeed give himself trouble the whole evening through about his guest, but having accepted him as a good bill, he does not lay him aside, but indorses him over to a second in the company, who again passes him to the third, and such a circle or *giro* as this is convenient for all without becoming tiresome to any one.

But political speculation, both on the existing state of parties, and on the general prospects of England, absorbs to a far greater degree the attention of M. Von Raumer. He arrived in England just in the crisis of the fate of the Peel Ministry, and his opinion of its character, prospects, and stability, occupies a great part of his earlier letters.

March 28, 1835.—For some days to come I cannot reckon on seeing or speaking to any body. The political crisis occupies all minds. Next Monday the affair will probably be decided. It is certainly not very difficult to blow up the present Ministry, but very difficult to form a new one that will last. Peel stands alone, and a man of such distinguished talents cannot be displaced without a loss to the country. But his colleagues, who, as they pretend, are now anxious to effect those measures which all their lives they have stigmatized as destructive, are neither entitled to be trusted, nor to be considered as statesmen in any high sense of the word. . . . The danger, the "crisis," has been brought on by the manner in which the King dismissed the Melbourne Ministry, which, so far as form is concerned, it would be difficult to justify. It was impossible that Ministry could last—part of it was already gone. Instead of proceeding from these undeniable facts to demonstrate the necessity of some change, and to take means to effect it in the most conciliatory way, the dismissal was given (without any sudden obvious cause) so abruptly, that some of the Ministers first heard of it in the street; and this was done without the rational precaution of first recalling Peel, and thus avoiding Wellington's formless and needless interminiterium. This has naturally exasperated the Whigs, and Peel is com-

pelled to ally himself with the high Tories. . . The thing cannot go on If Sir Robert Peel were well quit of his *tail*, far more and better things might be hoped from him. With other allies and other troops he might begin a more glorious and successful campaign. . . . People wonder that the Whigs have never long held their post at the helm; but have always been driven out by the Tories. . This seems to me natural and even inevitable. . . The former have always been the excitors and executors of great changes, and in certain crises have undertaken the task of daring physicians; but their practice is less suited to the ordinary course of affairs—in quiet times people return to their own diet. Had the Tories always done the right thing, at the right time, the Whigs would never have come into power. But they carelessly let the clock run down, and then the Whigs stepped in and wound it up. When they had done this they were driven out again. The idol of the Ultra Tories is the *vis inertia*—that of the Ultra Whigs the *perpetuum mobile*—but motion, to be true and accurate, requires the centripetal as well as the centrifugal force; and if this is true of matter, how much more so of the varied and intricate movements of moral life!—(Translation).

These and many similar passages will give the reader a correct view of the turn and colour of M. Von Raumer's political sentiments—cautious and unexaggerated,—clinging to established institutions from the fear of those ulterior measures to which their violation might lead—liberal, but moderate, and affording little relish to palates accustomed to high-seasoned doctrines of any kind. The more remarkable will it appear to the English reader, that so quiet and almost timid a politician assumes at once a clear and decided tone respecting the great question which was chiefly at issue during his stay in England—the appropriation of part of the revenues of the Irish Church to purposes of Education. Trained in the school of history, and accustomed to regard the interference of the state with the property of ancient Foundations as a right undeniable in principle, and constantly exercised in practice in almost every European state—the right on which, in point of fact, all the more or less liberal constitutions of continental states are at this moment founded, for there is not one, we believe, which has not practised that interference again and again—he is utterly at a loss to comprehend the tenacity of English sentiment on a point which to him appears one of the clearest in political science. Still less, conversant as he is with the history of the last three centuries, and with the present internal relations of the German confederacy, can he understand the perverse fanaticism which, in our country—in this solitary respect our unfortunate country—turns every difference of religious opinion into a source of social bitterness and animosity.

'The old Tory party (the new cannot yet be characterised) considered the entire property of the Church not only as unconditionally private property, but even all the existing divisions of it (such, for example, as the celebrated income of the Bishop of Durham), as the unalienable property of him and his successors to all futurity. The Whigs, on the other hand, maintain, that it is allowable to take from the too-much to add to the too-little. The Tories affirm, that Church and School are so utterly distinct and severed, that the superfluous wealth of the former must not be applied to the wants of the latter; while the Whigs seek to show the contrary, and regard Church and School as one great and indissoluble whole. The Tories call it unjust and sinful ever, on any pretext, to expend the money of the Church or the State on the Catholic Church; while a portion of the Whigs do not entirely forget that the revenues of their Church were derived from Catholic sources, and that, since the emancipation, the hostility of former days ought not to be kept in mind. . . . Extirpation, banishment, and forcible conversion are the three great means which were formerly employed to arrive at this end (religious unity). Who is there that has the courage now explicitly to recommend any one of them? And what avail all the shifts by which men try to disguise, or to conceal, intolerance and selfishness? The much-abused Holy Alliance talks far better sense on this subject than Sir Edward Knatchbull or the Bishop of Exeter. . . . The success of William III., so advantageous to the liberties of Europe, laid Ireland—Tory, Conservative Ireland—in chains. For a century the struggle endured; slowly and reluctantly did England concede something to the claims of nature and of justice, while every step she set in this course was denounced by many as a dangerous innovation—as the destruction of State, Church, and Religion. At every step it was said that far too much had already been conceded. Too much! What, then, can explain the existence of such a man as O'Connell? Whence the possibility of the position occupied—of the influence exercised—by O'Connell? A demagogue of a shape and magnitude such as history never yet beheld. With the most powerful government in the world as his antagonist, a single man has become the counsellor, the trust, the ruler of a people; the poor and hungry voluntarily give to their advocate a salary larger than the King of England can afford to pay his ministers. That, reply some, is merely a consequence of the frenzy and revolutionary fury of our days. Is this a satisfactory answer? . . . Treat the Irish Catholics as the Prussian Catholics are treated, and O'Connell's revolutionary fire, which you pretend is so vast and unquenchable, is in that same moment extinct; instead of flame you will find but ashes, and the turbulent declaimer will be reduced to order and to peace.'—(Translation.)

'To a man who is placed without this English party circle, what is here thought impossible appears so easy! If Whigs and Tories would agree in the only wise and just policy with regard to the Catholics, there were an end to all talk of injustice, spoliation, agitation, rebellion, and what not. If they will not, no ministry can last, whoever be at its head.

'Strange! the so-called private property of the West Indian slaveholders has been annihilated; twenty millions have been applied by the nation to indemnify them, and to secure freedom to some hundreds of

thousands; yet to apply any part of the property of the Church or the State to the giving a sound and religious education to five or six millions of Irish, is called impious and revolutionary! —(Transl.)

‘The fate of the propositions respecting the Irish Church is more doubtful than that of the Corporation Bill. For in this instance, many personal and pecuniary interests of patrons and landlords come in question, and it remains uncertain how far the cry of “the Church in danger” may influence the English voters, and produce a new House of Commons with different opinions. With true and genuine Christianity this cry has little or nothing to do, and the appropriation of Church property to temporal purposes forms no part of the plan. But can there be no circumstances under which such an appropriation might not be justifiable, or even advantageous? Whoever, in the face of numerous examples, denies this, exposes himself to the danger of having the converse measure—the appropriation of the revenues of the State to ecclesiastical purposes—designated on the same grounds as unjust and insufferable. Such abstract and simply negative principles never fully satisfy existing circumstances; and the High Tories and Radicals denote, notwithstanding their mutual hostility, only the extreme points of abstract systems, in which Church and State are alike deprived of the power of wholesome operation upon each other. In the middle space between the two there is indeed wide room for difference of opinion; but has not Peel himself, in comparison with the doctrines of his party in former times, been forced to give way to an enormous extent? I should not be surprised if a proposal for the payment of the Catholic clergy were to come from his side, in order to escape, if possible, from the “appropriation.” At all events, the old system of the Tories is fairly beaten out of the field, and as Oxford rejected Peel some time ago, she has now also to reject the Duke of Wellington, in order to carry on her own idolatry of narrow prejudices.’

We have been thus diffuse in our extracts with respect to this all-engrossing topic of our national policy, not, assuredly, from any wish to cite as a high political authority one who only claims the character of a very honest and unbiassed observer, and a writer of cool sense as well as learning; but because it is one of those points on which we feel it to be most especially necessary, that English eyes should be accustomed, occasionally, to view objects through the medium under which they strike those of all observers beyond the sea, without any single exception of party or of nation. No one can surely deny the possibility, that a question which, in one form or another, has, for a long series of years, formed the great rallying-point of discussion and controversy, may have assumed false and exaggerated proportions through the mist which that perpetual controversy has raised. No one can deny it to be probable enough that we may attach adventitious consequence to particular forms and institutions, from the circumstance of their having been, for ages, defended by one party, and attacked in one shape or another by the opposite one. When, therefore, we per-

ceive that the opinions of all foreign reasoners, without any exception whatever, however different in all other respects, agree for once in this,—that the absolutist points to England and her so-called freedom, as affording a disadvantageous contrast to the religious equality which prevails under his own despotism—that the republican regards the sinecure Church of Ireland with exultation as the one vulnerable point in the circumference of that great Babylon over whose anticipated destruction he gloats in daily and nightly visions—that the liberal admirer of England points to it with unfeigned and unceasing regret as the deficiency which at once disfigures and weakens the compact frame of our institutions—are we to reject, as nothing, this accumulated weight of testimony, and wrap ourselves up in our insular convictions, regardless alike of the enemy's scorn and the friend's advice?

Such, at least, are the observations of M. Von Raumer, a Protestant, and a religious man, before the course of his travels has led him to visit the shores of Catholic Ireland. What are his impressions when he witnesses the actual state of that people, respecting whom we are struggling in endless debate, whether some thousands a-year should be retrenched from the sums devoted to keeping up among them the unreal shadow of a Church establishment—when he has seen, with his own eyes, the unspeakable and hideous misery of the children of that unhappy soil? We will not make extracts from that portion of his work, although it does honour to the eloquence of his heart as well as his judgment. It has already been given to the public in an English form; and, if it had not been so, the task is one we have little appetite to undertake. We may perhaps hope, that he has somewhat exaggerated the amount of guilt under which England lies charged before God and man for her share in the creation of that mass of distress; but such a view, if not wholly correct, is natural enough in one who passes at once from the abundance of English wealth to the squalid beggary of Ireland,—his ears still full of English declamations on the rights of the Protestant Churches and the implacable rancour of Popery. But we turn, in preference, to subjects of less painful interest.

Although, as we have said, M. Von Raumer's insight into the political and social system of England is remarkably clear and precise, and he is perfectly free from that tendency to generalization which so commonly causes men to form false conclusions from the phenomena which they observe in a foreign country; yet it is no less true, that the judgments which he passes on customs and institutions are frequently dictated by German, or rather Prussian notions of expediency. He is, as we have already said, an admirer and a hearty defender of the political system of his country; nor

do we quarrel with him for his patriotic preferences, or for calling the King of Prussia 'the greatest reformer in Europe.' But they sometimes interfere in a very awkward manner with his attachment to England and her usages; as, for example, in his observations on the freedom of the press, where his favourite maxim; that the institutions of each country are best adapted in the main for its own necessities, will hardly suffice, even in its utmost latitude, to enable him to reconcile such opposite predilections. The unlimited freedom of English discussion contrasts too strongly with the jealous political censorship of Prussia;—as ignorant as it is narrow, if we may judge from the recent decree respecting those English newspapers, to which it allows the privilege of free circulation. The following passage, however, will give a more favourable view of his speculations on general topics of domestic policy:—

'I return to the point from which I set out. If a stranger (a Frenchman or an Englishman) dogmatically calls Prussia a despotic state, because he knows only his own standard, or applies his own measure, such a prejudice is to be gradually removed or refuted. A Prussian, on the other hand, who speaks in this manner, knows nothing of his own country, or does not care to know it. Both are equally blamable. I will not, however, be unreasonable. We endure great mental suffering, or a severe illness, more easily than a series of useless vexations, than gnats and flies in our rooms and beds. The Prussian police has certainly been sometimes too busy with such vexations and fly-catching, and has driven even patient people to impatience. No revolutions arise from trifles, neither can they be kept off by trifles. The most comprehensive, the most rigid police was ineffectual (opposed to great causes) in Russia and France. In the year 1813, by the emancipation of the peasants, the independence of the citizens, and by exciting youth, the waves of the ocean were raised, which swept away the greatest despotism of modern times. Can we wonder, then, that after such a storm, all minds did not at once subside into a perfect calm; but, as in Gluck's "Iphigenia," some tones still echoed, some lightnings still flashed! Truly, those persons who now go about with their police watering-pot to extinguish the last spark, would never, in those years of terror, have fetched, like Prometheus, the sacred fire from heaven, to purify the world from its dross, and gain the pure silver of a new era.

'Such modes of cure and renovation are happily not necessary every day. But if our youth does not sufficiently estimate the value of what has been gained, and of a tranquil orderly state of things, the error is pardonable, and a happy proof that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the over-anxious, the generous fire is not extinguished, but in reserve for times of new danger. Every useful fire, it is true, may spread, and become a dangerous conflagration; but the firemen do not on that account stand, from year's end to year's end, with their engines and water-buckets

in the market-place—they do not blow their horns so incessantly that nobody pays attention to them. In Venice, Madrid, and perhaps in Paris, a secret police may have been possible and necessary, but it is utterly at variance with the German character. . . . England has no police tyrants like France, and no petty spies like Germany, *but it abounds the more in theological zealots. . . .* With the same senseless, acrimonious, unchristian zeal with which the Roman Catholic Church is attacked, libelers, on their part, attack the English Established Church. . . . They do not aim at improving what is defective, but at overthrowing all that exists. Unstable *atomism* is to give to the Church and the State new solidity and unity. What madness! Neither Church nor State is dependent in origin or progress on the mere whim of the passing hour. The English advocates of the voluntary system in the Church, and the French panegyrists of the “*volonté générale*,” cultivate the same barren, unprofitable soil. Scarcely a blade of grass springs up with all their care: then comes the heat of the day, and what has been extolled and admired withers so rapidly, vanishes so quickly from the eye and the memory, that the next day produces the same transient pleasure, or the same trouble. Religious sectarians and political theologians have an especial hatred of the science of theology. The grace of God has implanted in every man a sense of justice, of truth, of religion, of health. But when the science of justice disappears, pettifoggers triumph—when philosophy disappears, ignorance steps in—when theology retires, incredulity and superstition take its place—and when the science of physic for the body, and of true policy for the State, are lost, quacks and mountebanks flourish. Masters and scholars, pastors and congregations, cultivated knowledge and spontaneous feeling, are not opposed but belong to each other. He who would make shift with one-half, or raise the half to the dignity of the whole, lives in a dangerous error, which will soon bring its own punishment.

The treatment of the Roman Catholics in England is, in fact, less difficult than that of the Dissenters. As soon as it shall be thought fit to place the former on an equality with the English Church, or to treat them in the same manner as in Prussia, all difficulties will vanish. The Dissenters, on the other hand, have no firm connected system. They disperse, arrive, or vanish, often with unexpected rapidity. It is easy to find what, according to the Roman Catholic or the Protestant doctrine, is a church, a clergyman, a marriage, &c.; and what importance is to be attached to all these things. But is every room, where a few dissentients assemble, to pass for a church? What persons can give validity to a marriage? What rights and duties are to be attributed to them? Is every one at liberty to refuse contributing to the general burthens of the church? or, is he absolutely bound to contribute, as to the burthens of the State? These and similar questions are, indeed, hard to be answered, and cannot be decided without an accurate comparison of all the circumstances. In Germany, where only two great parties exist together, all is more simple, and in greater masses, than here, where *every internal difference immediately appears externally*, and makes itself of consequence.”—(Translation.)

We scarcely know what to make of the following remarks, and more especially of the concluding portion of them.

‘A Russian education would be, if not a tyrannical, at least a crooked one, much in the same fashion in which they harness one of the pair of horses in their droshkies askew,—a barbarism which, like other Russian customs, ought not to find imitators, or rather apes, in Berlin. French ultra-liberalism, and Russian absolutism, are two dishes offered gratis, both of which a reasonable German equally declines, without wishing to force his own national diet on either of the two *restaurateurs* of Europe.

‘But in one point of view, the Russians are now more fortunate than many European nations—they have a constitution suited to their wants. A constitution! you will say. They have no constitution at all. Truly, they have no chambers, no elections, no qualification for voters, no right and left side, no *tiers parti*, no right and left centre; but they have (what political science needs no less than mathematical) *one* centre, and that is the Emperor. A deliberating and debating assembly, a general code, a universal church for the whole empire and all its nations,—these and similar institutions would be unsuitable and impossible. The forms of other older and simpler commonwealths are wholly inapplicable for this book of patterns of so many nations, religions, degrees of civilisation, &c.; they want a man to direct the whole, and this Emperor is a man, in the full sense of the word, in body and spirit. Many royal qualities are unquestionably united in him; an imposing, and, at the same time, attractive exterior, a laudable activity, an unusual strength of will, and unconquerable courage. All these preserved him his crown in a moment of many dangers; and that he was able to confront these dangers with such triumphant success, made him worthy to enjoy that crown. But the last judgment, whether of applause or condemnation, will not be passed on him by history, until it is known that, through his whole life, he held the freedom of independent nations sacred, and preferred their friendship to their subjugation! Undoubtedly a mere personal guarantee is always more or less dependent on the life of the guarantor; but in the mean time the constitution of the Emperor Nicholas bears in my eyes such a character, that I would rather take an annuity secured on its duration than on that of many paper constitutions.’

We suspect that it is a propensity peculiarly fostered by the education and bias of an historiographer, to assign rather too high a rank among the attributes of princes to personal energy of character. Such energy makes heroes, and furnishes matter for the historian; it rarely, in modern times, contributes to the well-being of the governed, or even to the permanence of a dynasty; unless where it is combined with the far higher qualities of mental illumination and a due appreciation of the necessities of the age. Frederic II. and Catherine II. were energetic princes in the higher sense—recent occurrences have rendered it but too questionable, whether the undoubted vigour of the Emperor Nicholas’s

nature is coupled with any qualities capable of directing it to great ends.

But in no part of M. Von Raumer's work have his German principles and education led him to take so singular a view of English institutions, as in that which refers to our system of agriculture, and the relations between landlord and tenant. He institutes a comparison between the position of the English farmer and the Prussian small proprietor (having prepared himself for the task, we suspect, by a perusal of Professor Jones's work on the *Distribution of Wealth*), which is founded on a very inaccurate notion of this part of our national usages. He appears to hold, in common with many other foreign observers who are misled by the same appearances, that the system of tenancy at will is a relic of feudal servitude; that it places the farmer in a hard position, and is necessarily opposed to all improvement. He seems to regard it as an early step in the progress of society, and to contemplate the future completion of the English system by the conversion of all such tenants into holders on long leases. Nay, having satisfied himself, on his visit to Ireland, that part of the extreme distress of the occupiers of the land is owing to the prevalence of tenancy at will, he boldly proposes that the English Parliament,—in imitation of the King of Prussia's famous edicts enabling the peasants to buy out the customary services due to their noble landlords,—should declare the peasantry, by a sweeping enactment, proprietors of the freehold throughout Ireland!

M. Von Raumer (as is noticed by Mr C. Lewis in his recent work on Irish Disturbances) is evidently not aware that great part of the best cultivated region of England,—that which supports perhaps the most flourishing tenantry,—is in the occupation of farmers who hold at will; or rather from year to year, on nearly the same terms which are imposed on the miserable cottiers of Ireland; and that some of the most backward of our agricultural districts are those in which the longest leases are granted by the custom of the country. We by no means say that tenancy at will is the best system of tenancy; but the fact as to cultivation is as we have stated it. The truth is, that the relations of landlord and tenant are governed much more by usage than by law; and more than either by the general circumstances and condition of the people. The remarks of M. Von Raumer himself on a very different subject—the diversity of effect produced in Italy and in England by nearly the same institutions relating to marriage and divorce—would apply with equal force here. We may also add, that our author, who is the last man to advocate absolute spoliation of proprietors by the state, seems to be under an error when he compares the emancipation of peasants, who held by fixed ser-

vices (as in Prussia), with the conversion of tenants at rack-rent into proprietors. The case of the former is that of a vicious contract between landlord and tenant, in which both parties were losers by the restrictions which usage imposed upon them. When these restrictions were removed, the additional value which the property acquired was such as to enable the tenant to pay out of it a certain remuneration, to the landlord for his newly acquired right of property, and still to make his ordinary profit of the remainder. But in the case of rack-rent, the whole nett produce of the land is already divided between landlord and tenant; and if the mutual relations of the two are disturbed, and the right of property transferred from the former to the latter, where is the fund out of which the new proprietor is to make compensation? The whole scheme wears so startling a character to English apprehension, that it involuntarily leads us to more general considerations.

It appears at first sight strange, and yet it is by no means unaccountable, that the principle of the sacredness of property, which forms as it were the very basis of the whole English system, should be thus boldly disregarded by a foreign writer in his projects of reform. It is amongst ourselves an axiom which admits of no dispute, except with that class of philosophers who regard the whole constitution of the world as radically wrong. Where else are we to find, in the educated classes of society, the reformer, however daring, who does not admit this as the incontrovertible foundation of all political argument? We have many who would abolish an assembly of hereditary legislators—many who hold a national church useless or oppressive—many who openly preach up republican forms and usages—but where (with the slight exception above mentioned) are we to look for the reasoner who publicly maintains the propriety of taking from the rich to give to the poor? Yet we have here a writer of moderate and even conservative views,—the champion of the British aristocracy, the strenuous upholder of church establishments, and attached even to the external forms of existing governments,—who nevertheless, and without any apparent consciousness of inconsistency, advocates an interference with the right of property than which Godwin or Saint-Simon could hardly have sanctioned a greater. Does not such a phenomenon suggest a doubt, whether that extreme veneration of the rights of property which pervades all English usages and modes of thinking, depends, in fact, on universally acknowledged principles of political science? or whether it is not rather a peculiarity of our own to attribute to them such exclusive sanctity? A little historical enquiry will throw some light on the causes of this singular diversity.

A hundred years ago, the peasantry of Brandenburg and Prussia Proper were serfs, no less absolutely than those of Russia at the present day. Their labour was the property of their masters, although the rights of these were modified by prescriptive usage: the lord had also jurisdiction in his dominical courts, in many cases to a considerable extent, over the liberty and property of the vassal. It was only about that period that Frederick William I. promulgated his famous *Prügel-mandat*, or 'cane-decree,' in which the inhuman and barbarous custom (*das barbarische Unwesen*) of beating the aforesaid vassals with sticks and switches was forbidden by law;—reserving, apparently, the license of the cane exclusively for his own royal hands;—since we are told that the people of Potsdam used to retreat in doors whenever he appeared in the streets, aware of his propensity for the infliction of manual chastisement. Slowly indeed did the Prussian boors emerge from this prostrate condition. In his reign, and that of his successor, they were gradually raised from the condition of absolute serfs, to that of labourers attached to the soil; but the system continued on the same footing in other respects. A large portion of the lands were *adeliche Güter* (noble fiefs), which nobles only could purchase or inherit; a smaller portion *bauer-Güter* (peasant fiefs), restricted in the same manner to peasants: all trade was excluded from the villages, and confined to the towns by the most arbitrary municipal enactments. The abuses of this system were yearly more and more evident amidst advancing civilisation; yet they do not appear to have excited much attention, until the decayed and impoverished state of the nobles themselves, and the general discouragement which prevailed after the French invasion, gave a sudden impulse to reform. Then it was that Stein and Hardenberg commenced their extraordinary career of innovation. In 1807 the distinction between noble and peasant lands was done away. In 1808, the exemption of the *noblesse* from direct taxes (itself an important right of property) was abolished. And finally, in 1810, the peasants, who had been already raised from the condition of serfs to that of tenants at a fixed labour rent, were again, by one sweeping measure, converted through a great extent of the kingdom into proprietors! A portion of the land occupied by each tenant was subtracted from the owner and given to the occupier, subject to a rent charge, varying according to circumstances, but redeemable at a legal valuation—and thus the whole proprietary system was remodelled by a short succession of edicts. Whether it was wise, in an economical point of view, to interfere thus forcibly with the natural progress of events, is a difficult question to answer: the reader must choose between the unfavourable view given by Mr Jacob and Professor

Jones of the results of the Prussian system, and M. Von Raumer's patriotic reply. Our purpose is only to remark, how important the influence of such enactments must have been on the opinions, and still more on the feelings of men, as concerning the right of property.

During the whole of this period of transition in Prussia (a period signalized by changes of scarcely less consequence in other continental states), England, advancing in civilisation and wealth, has been absolutely stationary in respect of the economical relations subsisting between different classes of her inhabitants. The enfranchisement of the serf was practically completed before the Reformation: the gradual conversion of the copyholder from an inferior tenant into a proprietor is so ancient, that we cannot assign the date of its accomplishment. The contract between landlord and tenant has been for generations back what it now is,—a mere pecuniary contract, implying no sort of legal subjection on the one hand, or protection on the other. The establishment of our system of property in all its conditions and modifications does not appear to our eyes as the work of the legislature, but as something antecedent to all legislation, which it is the business of the State (too often deemed its main business by those who forget the higher objects of political society) to cherish and defend. The characteristic flexibility of our institutions, which has preserved us from those crises to which all continental states have been more or less subject, in the transition from feudal to modern economy, is chiefly owing to the gradual manner, and the early period, in which the land, among ourselves, was emancipated from the restraints of the military system. It was the early dissolution of the old hierarchy of proprietors—beginning, perhaps, with the restraint imposed on subinfeudation in the reign of Edward I., which made England what she is, far more than trial by jury, or even representative government. These in their present form are effects, rather than causes, of the prevalence of that tempered and popular aristocracy which was established amongst us on so comprehensive a basis. ‘If,’ (says Burke) ‘there is in our own history any one circumstance to which, under God, are to be attributed the steady resistance, the fortunate issue, and sober settlement of all our struggles for liberty, it is, that while the landed interest, instead of forming a separate body, as in other countries, has at all times been in close connexion and union with the other great interests of the country; it has been spontaneously allowed to lead and direct, and moderate all the rest.’ Hence the laws of property, although occasionally productive of partial inconvenience, have never amongst ourselves been set in any essential degree in opposition to public utility. The prerogatives of a

large and powerful body have not been at any period incompatible with the economical wellbeing of the community. Thus that collision has been avoided which has taken place in 'so many continental countries, and will, perhaps at no distant period, take place in most others. For, whenever the principle of property, and the principle of public expediency, have come into direct conflict, the former, strong as adamant in ordinary times, has been dashed to pieces. Such was the case in France, when the Revolution robbed her nobility, first of their prerogatives, and then of their land itself; such was the case in Prussia, under the not less revolutionary, although peaceful innovations of Stein and Hardenberg; such will, at some future time, be the case in Russia, where, even at the beginning of the present reign, the remonstrances and claims of the crown peasants were so loudly uttered as to call down a fatherly admonition from their Czar. Hence it is that the notion of the right of property, among jurists and politicians, has been much shaken and loosened by the progress of external events. The love of the soil may be strong in the French small *propriétaire*, and in the Prussian peasant, who has just bought his pittance of land *out and out* at an exorbitant sacrifice; but if we consult the general sentiment of the enlightened classes throughout continental Europe, we shall perhaps find much less tenacity of opinion respecting rights of exclusive enjoyment to be prevalent at the present day, than in any former period of her civilisation. With ourselves, the case is far otherwise; and we experience at every turn the evil as well as the good effects of our adhesive love for the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*. It is this peculiarity which renders it so difficult to deal with those real or imaginary 'vested rights' which stand pertinaciously in the way of innovation. It is our nervous fear lest individual rights should be in danger of violation which leads us falsely to attribute to public or corporate property all the characteristics of private; and causes us to forget or disguise the important truth, that the amount of immediate advantage which will justify the state in dealing with either of the former, is incomparably less than that which will excuse a violation of the latter. Hence the *sacrosanct* character which so many of our political reasoners seem to attribute to all property of every kind, in whatever hands and under whatever conditions it may be placed.

Whether, in a society like that of modern Europe, which is daily striking out new and unimagined paths in the road of civil science, property may not ultimately become, in all countries in which that society prevails, a secondary and subordinate principle of permanence only;—whether the relations of men to the commonwealth may not become gradually stronger, and their re-

lations to the soil be progressively weakened—these are questions of which the solution is placed far aloof in the highest regions of political speculation. It is time for us to descend from such lofty investigations, and to give our readers some specimens of M. Von Raumer's criticisms in matters of Taste and Art; as his time and thoughts were by no means exclusively given to Politics, either practical or theoretical. To say the truth, however, we meet with little under this head to gratify our national vanity; for our author, friend, and panegyrist as he is, speaks of our efforts in the fine arts with a species of compassionate forbearance. The following remarks on one of the greatest of our Sculptors, are worth extracting; nor are the rules of criticism laid down in them to be despised; but they are, to use the writer's favourite expression, 'one-sided':—

'10th June.—We visited the studio of Chantrey, the most distinguished sculptor of this country. When I compare his works with those of former times, there appears beyond doubt (as I before remarked when describing Westminster Abbey), an uncommon progress, a return from the ornamented, the exaggerated, the far-fetched, and the insipid towards simple nature,—towards natural attitudes and unconstrained posture. But this return towards nature is only the necessary condition, not the highest end of art. By far the greater number of Chantrey's works are busts or statues from the life (excelling, it is said, in point of resemblance), and sepulchral monuments. But I discover in those heads nothing more than a true perception and imitation of nature;—not the poetical and ideal illustration of nature, which is never wanting in the works of sculptors of the highest stamp. The resemblance or portrait, in art, must ever be something one-sided, subordinate, bounded; but men such as Lysippus, Raphael, Titian, knew how to remove those limits,—to reconcile the real with the ideal; not to imitate only but to create, and to purify the given form of all its dross by making it pass through the purgatory of their genius. When you compare Titian's Charles V. with Adamberger's Charles V. you will perceive at once what I require, and what I missed yesterday. I found in these great statues of heroes, statesmen, &c, not indeed the defects of former times, but a certain uniform similarity of attitude, mien, and drapery, which made me doubt whether I could safely picture the definite individuality of the man from the work, and conclude that it was fully and adequately disclosed. Such a doubt is impossible to one who looks, for example, at Rauch's Blücher and Scharnhorst.

All Chantrey's works lie on *this* side of the line at which art began among the Greeks—where beauty of form, and the ideal, in the right sense of the word, disclosed themselves as the highest end and true subject-matter of art. Canova has undoubtedly his weak sides; but he at least aimed at producing a Paris, a Perseus, a Venus, his Dancers and his Graces; not to mention German artists. Rauch's two Queens far surpass, in beauty and in finish, all works of the same description which I have seen of Chantrey's; and works which have, for their exclusive object, the developement of beauty, that beauty of which the conception

of the artist should be full—such works cannot be produced here; because in England an admired artist has too many commissions of another sort to execute.'

Although struck with the beauty and extended magnificence of streets and squares, M. Von Raumer finds few objects of admiration in our public buildings,—even those in which we are most accustomed to pride ourselves. Westminster Abbey disappoints him, from the want of general effect, and the division of the edifice, by a multiplicity of screens and partitions, into little fractions which seem expressly contrived for the multiplication of inspectors and ecclesiastical toll-collectors; and the wretched taste of the monuments. Saint Paul's he characterises as 'a cold white waste,' and a puritanized Saint Peter's. Even York attracts little of his notice: he bestows on it a word or two of commendation, but seems to think the want of a spire a defect which places it far below other Gothic Cathedrals;—a mistake, as it appears to us, of accident for substance, and which gives us an additional proof that few continental amateurs, however judicious in other matters of taste, have a right conception of the excellences of the most graceful, and most poetical, of all styles of architecture. It is evident that M. Von Raumer's taste in Gothic is formed, naturally enough, on the great minsters of his own country—in which all graceful peculiarities are commonly exaggerated (according to the national taste, until purified in recent times by the assiduous cultivation of classical art) into grotesqueness; and the bold and daring takes place of the sublime. Windsor alone not only repays but far exceeds his expectations; but in a proper spirit of self-humiliation, we prefer selecting his observations on Buckingham Palace:—

'20th June —Yesterday I visited Buckingham House, the King's new palace in the Green Park. Much may be said against the arrangement and proportions of the exterior, yet it has somewhat of an imposing effect from its extent, and from the disposition of its columns. But the inside! I never in my life saw any thing, which might be pronounced in every point of view so complete and unlucky a failure. The King himself, it is said, after the expenditure of incalculable sums, is so little pleased with it that he has no disposition to become its inhabitant, as soon as the unfortunate building is ready for him. This disinclination appears to me very natural. I could not live there myself with any degree of satisfaction, for I should suffer daily annoyance from the eccentric mixture of all styles of architecture and ornament; the absence of all true taste; the total want of perception of measure and proportion. First of all, the great entrance-hall does not fulfil its object, because the principal staircase lies on one side of it, and a vast space, almost wholly destitute of light, extends opposite without purpose or meaning. The great halls on the first floor are adorned with columns; but what columns! some red, like raw

sausages; others blue, like blue starch—bad imitations of marble, which is altogether wanting, standing on mis-shapen masses of pedestal, and supporting one scarcely knows what. Then, in the next hall, no pillars at all, but pilasters only; then pilasters without base or capital; then with capitals, and with bases most absurdly notched and cut off. In the same room fragments from Egypt, Greece, Etruria, Rome, and the middle ages, all thrown together in a confused mass. Doors, windows, and fire-places of such incorrect proportions that the error must be evident to the most unpractised eye; the spaces inartificially divided, cut up, and parcelled out; the doors sometimes in the middle, sometimes in the corners; in one room three doors of different height and breadth; over the doors in some of the rooms bas-reliefs and other sculptures, admirably diversified with Pigmies and Brobdignaggians,—people from two to six feet in height, living together in singular harmony. The smaller sort of these especially have such miserable spider-like arms and spindle shanks, that one might believe they had been half famished in a time of scarcity, and had come into the King's Palace to find nourishment. The great picture gallery is much spoken of. It is certainly great, and the Gothic fretwork hanging from the half-vaulted roof produced a certain effect. But on the other hand, this imitation of Henry VII.'s Chapel is not in its right place here, where other times and other nations govern in the doors and fire-places. These doors and fire-places stand again in no accurate proportion to the whole; the wall is too lofty to be hung all over with paintings; and the light from the top is false, unsatisfactory, coming from two sides, and broken moreover by the architectural ornaments. Thus the palace stands as a wretched and costly evidence, that wealth, taste, and science are unable to do, what moderate means can effect when aided by talent and understanding. A palace, according to Bentham's theory of art, in which the sense of beauty and taste is an empty superstition that vanishes before his ordeal of utility. But what is in fact the utility of this palace? The best that could happen would be, that some Aladdin might come with his magic lamp and transport it into the deserts of Africa. Travellers would then make pilgrimages to it, and learned men would puzzle their brains over those travellers' narratives and drawings, and marvel at the singular state of civilisation and taste in which the unknown people must have lived who could build after such a fashion. Disputations would be held on the subject, and the nation itself might stand excused, if not justified, and its enormous pecuniary sacrifices might be laid in the scale against its want of taste; but the King, and above all the architect, would be rightly condemned on all the principles of art and justice.'

If it could be afterwards ascertained, by exploring the monuments of the departed nation, that it took in fact no share at all, even in the way of voluntary contribution, in the erection of this monstrous piece of extravagance;—that the necessary funds were abstracted from the chest of the commonwealth, without the knowledge of its representatives;—the *pauvre peuple taillable* might perhaps meet with still more favourable judgment at the hands of the antiquarians in question. But future generations,

we fear, will have but too good reason to lament the general want of taste exhibited by that which now exists. Not that our exhibitions, our model-rooms, and still more the numerous insulated specimens of modern architectural elegance scattered here and there over the capital and the country, do not prove that there is no deficiency of correct judgment and skill in individual artists. Could the talent which England now possesses be fairly sought out and drawn to a proper theatre, it would suffice when supported by English wealth and energy—we will not say to construct an Athens or a Rome—but to raise a modern metropolis such as assuredly no European nation possesses. The deficiency of which we complain is not in individuals, but in the mass—in the public at large—which forms no correct appreciation of what is wanted—which has no general principles of taste or steady views of art, to control the caprices of court projectors and speculating architects. Wherever convenience is the first object in a public work, and beauty a mere subordinate requisite, no country can point to greater or more successful undertakings than our own: witness, in London, the gradual widening of our great thoroughfares, the opening of new avenues, and removal of deformities,—those vast improvements which have of late years given a new appearance to whole districts of the metropolis. But in that branch of art which appeals chiefly, or entirely, to the sense of architectural beauty,—in the construction of ornamental edifices, and still more in the disposition and arrangement of them so as to assist in the production of a general effect—we appear still to be elementary scholars. And, as every year loads the ground with additional monuments of bad taste and extravagance, which future generations will not pluck up courage enough to demolish altogether, it is, we fear, but too evident, that the great opportunities afforded in recent times for the architectural embellishment of our capital will have been permanently thrown away.

Many reasons have been suggested for the unfortunate result of most of our undertakings of this description; but we believe that the chief cause is to be found in that restless impatience of delay, so characteristic of our ever busy and agitated community. We carry the rapid views of commercial enterprise into all our great national undertakings; and are content with no prospect short of the immediate attainment of the object of our wishes. Whenever it is in contemplation to erect a public edifice, one of the first recommendations of a proposed plan is the speed with which it may be executed. He who contracts for the construction of a mere work of ornament is in general obliged to promise its completion within a given period, in order to satisfy public expectation; and the prospectus of his operations is drawn up as if

it were that of a railroad, or any other enterprise undertaken by shareholders, who are desirous of a quick return for their investment. One crude and ill-concocted scheme succeeds another with ceaseless rapidity: scarcely has one public building been pronounced a failure by general consent, than another is forthwith commenced in as inconsiderate a manner, without the slightest reference to the causes of previous ill success. One edifice is begun in such a situation that the front cannot be carried on, so as to complete the design, without running into the middle of a street; and remains mutilated of one-third of its due extent, constantly annoying the eye by its position, unconformable to the line of buildings in which it stands. Others,—handsome elevations in themselves,—are absolutely crushed by the mass of the loftier private buildings about them; or lost in some wide space which they are not calculated to fill. The same prevailing fault of impatience produces another bad effect,—that although our grants of public money for national buildings are often enormous in reference to our annual expenditure, they are sometimes small and niggardly in comparison with the object to be effected. A building which, to answer its end, should cost half a million—a sum easily to be raised by instalments in twenty years—is completed pitifully and meanly for L.150,000, because the Board of Works is determined to astonish the nation, by having it ‘open to the ‘public’ in two! Who has not admired the elegant arch, and fairy colonade, which face each other, on the two sides of the great western entrance into London, when they are regarded without reference to surrounding objects, as mere *bijoux* of architectural taste? But who, on the other hand, has not felt how miserably incongruous they are with the stately position which they occupy, at the portals of the most enormous city which ever spread itself over the surface of the earth? And, to cite a still more distressing instance—who does not gaze with feelings of vexation and regret, when standing at Charing Cross, and looking over one of the noblest *Places* in the world, at the poor, low, and elongated façade of the National Gallery, which now lines its northern side;—appearing as if the only object of the nation had been to cover a vacant space as fast as possible at the smallest expense of stone or mortar—or as if the old King’s Mews had been new-faced, and ornamented for the nonce? It is not our wish to offend the ingenious architect, who has already broken so many lances in defence of his own achievements;—many of the details of his work are unquestionably beautiful,—the little columns, the little pepper-boxes, the little broken outlines and minute windows may be all admirable in their way: all we regret is, that the finest site in Europe has been irrevocably squandered on so insignificant a

construction ! Had Louis XIV. or Napoleon been in possession of such an *emplacement*, ten times the sum voted for that purpose would have been spent, and twenty-times the allotted period consumed on the work—but at last something would have been produced worthy of commanding the central spot of that great thoroughfare, which is, to use a daring metaphor of Heine, as it were the artery of the right hand of the world.

It is singular that a people, the durability of whose government and institutions forms perhaps its most distinguished attribute—safe from foreign attacks by its insular position, and secured at home by the compact solidity of its national character—enjoying prospects of future permanence which are assuredly surpassed by those of no other nation—the people of a realm, which, to reckon from its union under one Saxon monarch to the present day, has almost equalled the eleven hundred years of imperial Rome, from her foundation to the division of her sovereignty,—should thus build, as it were, as if it looked for no to-morrow—as if some advancing tide of ruin were about to sweep over us and our empire, and we were anxious to leave as many vestiges as possible of our brief dominion before its final extinction. A nation, in the undertaking and execution of great works, should ever be, what Horace censures in a short-lived mortal, *sepulcri immemor*. We should think of futurity, and leave it to our sons, if necessary, to complete the great conceptions which our own time may form. We should work as if for the life of a people, and not for that of the ephemeral generation which now composes it. Such was the principle which actuated those Pontiffs, who spent centuries in perfecting the grandeur of modern Rome ; and the same principle has been successfully pursued by the sovereigns of France. The sums annually spent in that country on the adornment of its capital, are very inferior indeed to those which are squandered here,—not to mention the less enterprising spirit and less profuse expenditure of private individuals and companies. Accordingly, every traveller from England sneers at the slowness with which architectural embellishments proceed in Paris. But time retorts our sneers upon ourselves, and vindicates the patient and parsimonious, at the expense of the tasteless prodigal. The public monuments of France are not only, for the most part, conceived on a grander scale, if not in a better style, than those of London ; but, which is at least of equal importance, they are in general constructed with a view to the production of combined effects,—to the gradual and slow elaboration of a magnificent whole. The plans of Louis XIV., the additions of his two successors, and the extended and gigantic schemes of Napoleon, all bear a certain relation, and impart mutual dignity to each other. Even build-

ings which individually are failures, have an imposing aspect as parts of the picture. One rational mind might appear to have presided over the whole developement of the modern city. The arch of Neuilly is still incomplete after thirty years of expectation ; but when finished, where is the monument among ourselves which we shall be able to put in competition with it,—considering at once its beauty as a work of art and the grandeur of its situation? The Louvre has lingered under the trowel through six reigns and two revolutions, and is still far from complete ; but how gladly would we give all the palaces and fragments of palaces in London, and within ten miles of it, and suffer all the treasure they have cost to be sunk without return, to be only half as far advanced towards the construction of an edifice as worthy of our monarchy ! London and Paris inevitably remind us (speaking of the public buildings only, and not of the general aspect of those cities), the one of the country-seat of a *parvenu*,—restless in the vanity and enjoyment of his new possession, spending extravagant sums on every caprice of taste, on Gothic conservatories and Palladian stables, Elizabethan terraces and Chinese temples—the other, of the ancestral dwelling of some patrician family of old date, and moderate command of money,—gradually embellished by the taste of successive generations ; each working with a view to the future as well as the present, and sedulous rather to do well than to do much—to produce something which shall be in keeping with previous conceptions, and heighten the general effect of the whole, rather than to strike the eye by the rapid creation of novelties.

But we must come to a conclusion ; and we cannot dismiss our author with a better recommendation to English readers, than by extracting one of those many passages which seem dictated by a heart overflowing with genuine feeling for this country, her people, and institutions. We shall also be able to present it in the most advantageous form, by making use of Mrs Austin's admirable translation. It would have been far better for the reader, as well as ourselves, if we could have made all our extracts from her work, instead of employing our own language ; but circumstances which we need not detail, rendered this impossible. We have, however, distinguished by a different reference, the passages in which we have been able to resort to it. The dinner of which M. Von Raumer speaks, in the following extract, was the Theatrical Fund Dinner, at which he was present. It took place on the very day when the Peel Ministry was broken up. 'I could tell you a great deal more about the dinner, but all these particulars lost their interest with me in comparison with one thought. In this very same hour the ministry was dissolved ;

‘and this dissolution was not (as it so often is in France) a
‘mere concern of *coteries* and *tracaseries*, but had a real and sub-
‘stantive meaning, and tended to real and effective changes.
‘What a deal of wit, good and bad—what angry passions—what
‘hope and fear—what praise and blame—would have foamed
‘over, like *champagne-mousseux*, in such an hour in Paris! Here,
‘not a trace of the kind. The first toast to the King (not as
‘with us, with three times three, but with nine times nine, and
‘as *sforzato* as possible), then to the Queen, the Royal Family,
‘all with the greatest applause, as likewise “God save the King.”
‘It seemed as if all that was passing without were but a light
‘ripple on the surface of the waters. The weal of England, her
‘riches, her laws, her freedom, seemed moored to some immove-
‘able anchor in the securest and serenest depths of ocean, whence
‘neither winds nor waves can ever tear them loose. The clouds
‘which flit along the face of Heaven, and so often seem to us
‘timid spectators to portend a coming storm, may here be re-
‘garded but as the passing fleeces of a summer sky, or rather
‘as the proof and the earnest of an equable and safe state of the
‘atmosphere.

‘In short, there was something to my mind in the whole pro-
‘ceeding—both what was done and what was left undone—so
‘wholly peculiar, so above all measure exciting, that in my sym-
‘pathy with England (and have not years of my life been given
‘to this country?) I could hardly refrain from tears; and I ear-
‘nestly prayed to God that this star might not be quenched, but
‘that He would be pleased to purify and enlighten it, and to re-
‘move from it all the spots which partially obscure its bright-
‘ness.’—(Translation.)

ART. X.—1. *Inaugural Lecture, read before the University of Oxford, March 17th, 1836.* By R. D. HAMPDEN, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity. Second Edition. Pp. 34. Oxford: 1836.

2. *Statements of Christian Doctrine, extracted from the Published Writings of R. D. Hampden, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.* Pp. 36. London: 1836.

3. *Elucidations of Dr Hampden's Theological Statements.* Pp. 47. Oxford: 1836.

4. *Dr Hampden's Theological Statements and the Thirty-nine Articles Compared.* By a Resident Member of Convocation. With a Preface. Pp. 62. Oxford: 1836.

5. *Dr Hampden's Past and Present Statements Compared.* Pp. 22. Oxford: 1836.

DR HAMPDEN, the present Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, after having obtained as a young man the highest academical distinctions, was appointed, in the year 1832, to preach what are called the ‘Bampton Lectures.’ These consist of a course of eight sermons, preached before the University every year on some point of Christian theology; and when the preacher is a man of any ability or reputation, the sermons, from their elaborate character, and from being delivered during a period of several weeks, always attract considerable attention. In the following year, Dr Hampden was appointed by Lord Grenville, Principal of St Mary’s Hall; and, in 1834, he was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy,—the electors being the Vice-chancellor and Proctors for the time, the Dean of Christ Church, and the Presidents of Magdalen and St John’s Colleges; and one of the qualifications required in the Professor by the statutes being, that he should be *sinceritate fidei commendatus*. The Dean of Christ Church, Dr Gaisford, and the Presidents of Magdalen and St John’s, Drs Routh and Dynter, held their present situations in the year 1834, and elected Dr Hampden to the professorship. The ‘Purity of his Faith’ received also, on the same occasion, the sanction of Dr Rowley’s approbation, the Master of University College, who was, in 1834, as he still is, the Vice-chancellor of the University.

A career so marked at every period by academical honours, pointed out Dr Hampden as one of the most distinguished members of his University; and when the King’s Government se-

lected him to fill the important office of Regius Professor of Divinity, upon no other recommendation than that of his high public and academical character, it might have been supposed that their choice would have been received by the University, not with satisfaction merely, but with gratitude. The Government had, in a manner, believed the University's testimonial; and had attached so much weight to it as to be thereby influenced in the disposal of a piece of preferment not more lucrative than honourable.

But instead of peace there came a whirlwind. A numerous party in the University first took upon themselves, with characteristic modesty, to petition his Majesty to rescind his own appointment; and when this application was treated with due contempt, the baffled petitioners, or rather conspirators, commenced one of the most extraordinary courses of agitation ever yet witnessed even in the annals of party malignity.

As a first step, they met in the common room of Corpus Christi College, and named a committee to conduct their business. The committee drew up a declaration, which was submitted to the whole body of the conspirators, and then published, with a long list of names subscribed to it. The declaration contained a protest against Dr Hampden's appointment: it charged him with having 'contradicted the doctrinal truths which he was pledged to maintain;' and with having 'asserted principles which necessarily tend to subvert, not only the authority of the Church, but the whole fabric and reality of Christian truth.' By way of scholium on this declaration, the committee annexed to it an extract from their own report, in which they explained the mischievous principles ascribed to Dr Hampden as no other than what they call the 'Philosophy of Rationalism.' 'It is the theory of rationalism,' they say ' (as set forth systematically in the Bampton Lectures of 1832, and still more recently asserted in lectures addressed to students), which is to be considered the root of all the errors of Dr Hampden's system.'

We feel, that in this last quotation, we are drawing somewhat largely upon the confidence of our readers. We can indeed, to speak plainly, forgive them if they mistrust us. It is monstrous, it is almost incredible, that a charge of 'mischievous principles' should be founded upon Dr Hampden's Bampton Lectures of 1832; and not only this, but that these mischievous principles should be described as 'SET FORTH SYSTEMATICALLY!' MISCHIEVOUS PRINCIPLES, SET FORTH SYSTEMATICALLY, in a course of eight sermons preached successively in the University pulpit, before the Vice-chancellor and all the Dignitaries and Tutors

of the University,—and no proceedings instituted, no censure passed, no accusation made,—but, on the contrary, the preacher subsequently receiving from the University the highest degree in divinity—that degree which is virtually a professorship of theology—the University’s commission to give lectures to its students in every branch of that faculty—receiving again the office of Head of a Hall—and, lastly, the Professorship of Moral Philosophy! Such was the University of Oxford’s censure upon eight sermons full of ‘SYSTEMATIC MISCHIEF,’—preached in her own church,—and in the presence of her highest authorities! And this statement comes, not from an enemy, not from a rival;—it is no dissenting slander; no *Edinburgh Review* calumny;—but it is given out to the world from the very heart of Oxford herself; and subscribed with the names of five of her most devoted sons, who have known her long and well, who cannot misrepresent her in ignorance, who would not slander her in malice!

But the marvel is greater still. This charge against Dr Hampden’s Bampton Lectures, made by five individuals, has been adopted and sanctioned by seventy-six others—all of them masters of arts at the least—all describing themselves as persons ‘engaged or interested in the religious instruction of the University.’ All the five accusers, and an immense majority of the seventy-six sanctioners of the accusation, were exactly as much engaged and interested in the religious instruction of the University, in 1832, as they are now, in 1836. A reference to the Oxford calendar of 1832 will prove this at once to those to whom it is not notorious. Was there ever an accusation involving its unhappy promoters in such a dilemma of infamy? Compromisers of mischievous principles in 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835,—or slanderers of a good and most Christian man in 1836—disqualified for the office of religious instructors, upon their own showing, by four years of either dulness or indifference, daring which they could not understand, or did not notice, what was ‘mischievous’—or else by one month of audacious and unprincipled calumny! We leave it to the nation to decide for which of these merits it will continue to respect and confide in the greater part of the eighty-one graduates, fellows, and tutors who have signed the declaration against Dr Hampden.

Still, here is a phenomenon which requires explanation. What new circumstances have either enlightened the ignorance of these persons, or awakened their slanders? Whence this hurricane after so profound but, it seems, so treacherous a calm? Dr Hampden, in 1834, published a pamphlet, entitled ‘Observations on Religious Dissent, with particular reference to the

'use of Religious Tests in the University;' and, in 1835, he was a strenuous advocate for the measure, which had received, it is said, the sanction of the Duke of Wellington, the Chancellor of the University; namely, the substituting of a Declaration of Agreement with the doctrines of the Church, so far as the declarant's knowledge went, in the place of the unqualified subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, now required of every young man who enters at Oxford. It was natural that these acts should throw a new light on all that Dr Hampden had formerly written; nor can we be surprised that the eighty-one graduates, &c. should have partaken in this sudden illumination.

We return, however, to our narrative. The Corpus new Political Union petitioned the Board of Heads of Colleges and Halls, to propose to Convocation two measures:—one, an address from the University to the Bishops, requesting them not to require from candidates for orders the usual certificate of having attended the lectures of the Regius Professor of Divinity, but to be satisfied with attendance on the lectures of the Margaret Professor of Divinity, Dr Fawcett;—the other, a statute to be passed by the University itself, depriving the actual Regius Professor of his voice in the nomination of the select preachers, and also in the cognizance of any alleged heretical preaching. But the Heads of Houses refused to bring forward either of these measures before the Convocation.

Undismayed by this check, the unionists, by dint of sheer importunity and agitation, prevailed upon the Board to depart from their former resolution, and to propose the second of the two measures to Convocation,—the address to the Bishops being tacitly relinquished. Accordingly, notice was officially given, that on the 22d day of March a Convocation would be held for the consideration of the proposed statute. This precious bill of attainder states, in its preamble, that the University has no confidence in its Regius Professor of Divinity, in consequence of the manner in which he has treated theological subjects, in his published writings; and then, an enactment follows, divesting the said Professor of the powers which we have mentioned a little above, and which are attached to his office.

It were waste of time to comment on this proceeding: it were idle to dwell on the utter confusion which it exhibits of the simplest principles of good government—on the attempt to substitute the vote of a factious majority for the sober judgment of a court of justice—to put a vague charge of 'having forfeited the confidence of the University' in the place of the definite, intelligible, and tangible accusation of 'having preached doctrine contrary to the Articles of the Church.' For the Church of

England, like every other society, is not without a legal check upon the conduct of its ministers. If a clergyman's preaching be at variance with the tenets of the Church, the Bishop of his diocese may take cognizance of it; or if the alleged offence be committed in Oxford, the University statutes have provided that the vice-chancellor, with the assistance of six doctors of divinity, shall enquire into the truth of the charge, and pass sentence accordingly. If Dr Hampden had really published any thing in opposition to the Articles of the Church of England, there was a ready way of substantiating the charge, and obtaining a censure upon him, from a competent authority. But the course of truth and honesty was not suited to the eighty-one conspirators. They thought that they had a secure majority in Convocation, which would vote for any thing that they proposed to it. A *vote*, they knew, might give them what they could never dare to hope from a *verdict*. If Justice were to decide upon the case, they were sure to be disgracefully defeated; if Faction could be made the judge, they had a reasonable prospect of success.

Mean time, a charge that dared not abide the decision of a legal tribunal, was to be supported by evidence worthy of itself. A pamphlet was published, entitled 'Elucidations of Dr Hampden's Theological statements,' consisting of a number of quotations from his works, classed in such an order, and separated in such a manner from the context, as might best serve the compiler's purposes. This was followed by another and more elaborate production, which we have noticed at the head of this article, in which a number of propositions on different points of theology are professedly selected from Dr Hampden's works, and contrasted with the Articles of the Church of England—a selection made precisely in the same spirit, and conducted with the same honesty, as the famous selection of articles from Wycliff's works, which had the honour of being condemned by the Council of Constance.

We have before us a copy of the 'Elucidations,' in which the *omissions* in the pretended quotations there given from Dr Hampden's works have been carefully noted down; and these omissions happen so unluckily to fall upon passages which would have altered the whole tone and character of the quotation, that there is no possibility of acquitting the compiler of deliberate dishonesty. For instance, that person, in order to 'elucidate,' which, in his language means 'to misrepresent,' Dr Hampden's Doctrine on the Trinity, begins a quotation with this sentence: 'No one can be more convinced than I am, that there is a real mystery of God revealed in the Christian dispensation; and that no scheme of Unitarianism can solve the whole of the

‘phenomena which Scripture records. But I am also as fully ‘sensible, that there is a mystery attached to the subject, ‘which is not a mystery of God;’ and then follows the explanation of this last clause, for which the passage has been selected. The appearance, therefore, to the reader of the ‘Elucidations’ is necessarily this, that Dr Hampden, after one prefatory sentence expressing, for decency’s sake, his belief that there was a *mystery* connected with the divine nature, goes on with great satisfaction to dispute, or undervalue the peculiar view of this mystery entertained by the Church of England. Accordingly, the pretended elucidator observes, in his introduction to this chapter of his work, that ‘Dr Hampden holds that there is ‘some mystery in the divine nature; but what that mystery is, or ‘that it is the very mystery which the Catholic doctrine of the ‘Trinity expresses, is, he considers, not revealed.’ A grave charge undoubtedly against a member and a minister of the Church of England, which professes its belief in the especial doctrine of the Trinity! But what shall we say to this elucidator, when we find that this serious charge rests only on his own direct falsification of what Dr Hampden has written? For the quotation which we have copied is preceded by about a page and a half, in which Dr Hampden has been at great pains to distinguish between the doctrine of the Trinity itself, and the technical language in which it has been expressed in the writings of theologians; and to urge that it is only this language which has thrown a difficulty in the way of receiving the doctrine;—‘causing,’ he says, ‘the wisdom of God to be received as the foolishness of ‘man.’ And then the paragraph with which the elucidator’s quotation begins, begins in reality with the following sentence, which alone is sufficient to refute the whole charge founded upon its deliberate suppression. ‘The truth itself, of the Trinitarian ‘doctrine, emerges from these mists of human speculation, like ‘the bold naked land on which an atmosphere of fog has for a ‘while rested, and then been dispersed.’ It is apparent enough that the atmosphere of fog, of which Dr Hampden speaks, has rested without being dispersed, upon the understanding or conscience of the ‘elucidator.’

This same falsehood, for it deserves no lighter name, runs through all the second pamphlet, the preface to which is actually signed with the name of Dr Pusey. The technical language in which scriptural truths have been expressed is carefully confounded with the truths themselves. Dr Hampden as carefully distinguishes them; repeating over and over again his firm belief that the scriptural truths are such in substance as the Church of England represents them,—but agreeing with many other good

and sound divines, in regarding the language in which they are conveyed in theological writings, as perplexing; and as not setting forth the truth in the same practical manner as it is to be found in the scripture. Now, if a minister of the Church of England did not believe that her articles expressed substantially the truth, as it is in the scripture, he would undoubtedly be guilty of great inconsistency in subscribing them; but to account *historically* for the origin of the technical language of those articles,—and to separate it from the divine truth intended to be expressed by it, is neither inconsistent with the faith of an orthodox Christian, nor with the subscriptions signed by a clergyman of the Church of England.

With a natural and pardonable earnestness, yet paying, we think, far too great deference to charges so worthless in themselves, and known to proceed from authors whose censure was to be coveted by every good Christian minister, Dr Hampden's friends were at the pains of publishing 'statements of Christian doctrine,' extracted also from his works; and containing a series of passages on every important point in theology, so full, so clear, so entirely in unison with the doctrines of the Church, and expressed with such intense earnestness of sincerity, that it might seem beyond the power of the very spirit of calumny itself to affix a charge of heresy on their author. It is very important also to observe, that these passages are extracted in great proportion from a published volume of Dr Hampden's parochial sermons;—a work which his calumniators took good care not to notice. Now, it is manifest, that the real nature of a man's religious views and feelings is to be collected most perfectly from his general pastoral preaching to his own congregation; and not from a set of sermons preached on a particular subject, and when that subject is in itself of an abstract and unimpassioned character. The subject of Dr Hampden's Bampton Lectures was the influence of the Scholastic Philosophy on Christianity; his business therefore was less to enforce the original truths of the gospel, than to condemn the corruptions of them; his statements were of necessity negative rather than positive; confuting error rather than inculcating truth. To quote, therefore, exclusively from such a work, even had the quotations been fairly made, was to give an utterly inadequate and unjust view of Dr Hampden's character as an instructor in positive Christianity.

In the midst of all this ferment, the day arrived on which Dr Hampden was to deliver his inaugural Lecture. As might have been expected, an immense crowd of hearers attended it. It was a trying moment; for as the Professor looked round upon his audience, he saw the well-known faces of his persecutors, who

had already shown abundantly that they were of those who make a man an offender for a word; and who were come to his lecture not to be convinced, not to be softened, not to listen and to judge with fairness and truth; but to lay hold upon every expression, to misunderstand or misrepresent his matter, and to pervert his tone and manner;—ready to call conciliation cowardice, and firmness pride. Yet from this fiery ordeal Dr Hampden came forth nobly triumphant. It was touching to observe the subdued emotion of his countenance, and the unquelled and unexcited dignity of his voice:—it was beautiful to mark how he had triumphed over opposite temptations,—how meekly and patiently he laboured to remove misunderstanding,—how honestly he abstained from one word of unworthy compromise,—yet how heroically he forbore from every expression of resentment or contempt towards the faction of his unworthy calumniators. We cannot resist the pleasure of copying the concluding passage of this most Christian address.

‘I appeal from an excited spirit to a spirit of soberness and candour; I demand not to be tried by the conclusions of an adverse school, but by the calm and gentle reason of men disposed to give me credit for no less love of the truth and the faith than themselves, and who will openly contend with me by argument, not by censure and intimidation, and the array of hostile numbers: “Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur,” says an ancient philosopher, “ut meliora pluribus placeant; argumentum pessimi, turba est.” And a far greater than the philosopher has said:—“Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you.”—“Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.”—“If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.” These words are my comfort; I trust he who spoke them will enable me to proceed on my way without repining at the suffering through which he has required that I should pass; and without relaxation of spirit in his work under the painfulness of the counteraction against which it must be done. I am at all times ready to meet fair and free discussion, but to misrepresentation, and clamour, and violence, with God’s help I will never yield. I pray God to forgive those who may have employed such weapons against me, and to turn their hearts, and to grant them more of that mind which was in Christ Jesus.

‘It is a great grief to me, I acknowledge, to know that there are any whose honest though mistaken zeal I may have offended. Such are, I trust, open to conviction and kinder feelings; I should, however, unless experience had furnished ample instances of it, wonder that Christian zeal should in any individual have carried him to proceedings destructive of Christian purity and peace. A sense of Christian duty and the kind feelings of the heart will never, I believe, be found apart from each other, and least of all, in doing “the work of the Lord.”

‘After all, however, I appear not here as a functionary of the University, or of the Church alone, but as the servant of a Master in Heaven

by whose judgment I must stand or fall. For let me say it with that humility which becomes me in applying to myself such sacred words : " With me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you or of man's judgment ; yea, I judge not mine own self. For I know nothing by myself ; yet am I not hereby justified : but he that judgeth me is the Lord. Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts ; and then shall every man have praise of God."

This might have been thought irresistible ; but faction and fanaticism combined are proof against any impression of truth or goodness. The conspirators actually adjourned their meetings from Corpus common room to Mr Baxter's Printing office ; there, with the press before them, they issued with unabated zeal their placards, and circulars, and elucidations, and statements,—all designed to fanaticise their partisans amongst the country clergy, whom they had summoned up to Oxford to secure their expected triumph in the Convocation on the 22d of March.

There is no reason to doubt that their arts would have been successful ; but the exemplary firmness of the Proctors saved the University, for a time at least, from the deep disgrace in which the party would have involved it. By the constitution of Oxford, if two Proctors are agreed, they can interpose a *veto* upon any measure brought forward by the Heads of Houses ; and thus prevent it from being submitted at all to the votes of the Convocation. On the 19th of March the Proctors gave official notice of their intention to negative the statute. The factious and fanatical party, deceived by the unscrupulous falsehoods of the Tory Newspapers, still expected that there would be a division, and crowded up to Oxford. When the 22d of March arrived, they found out their error :—the Convocation was held, and the Proctors, as they had declared they would do, put their negative on the statute in the usual form. The conspirators and their country disciples consoled themselves by fresh placards, and by a meeting in Brazenose Hall, where they had the pleasure of listening to speeches from Lord Kenyon, Lord Encombe, Mr A. Trevor, and Dr Pusey.

Thus the persecution rests for the present. But it will be renewed, in all probability, early in the next term, when new Proctors will have come into office. Mean while, we may be thought to have given undue importance to these Oxford squabbles ; and to have unwisely gratified the vanity of a few obscure fanatics by noticing them in this Journal. The *individuals*, indeed, are sufficiently insignificant ;—nor shall we, by naming them, confer on them that notoriety for which nature has not designed them. But the *party*, unworthy as it is, is yet strong enough to be mischievous.

Always defeated in the end, it has yet always impeded the progress of good, and in some degree marred its triumph;—so it did at the Revolution of 1688,—so it did at the Reformation.

The common language, which describes history to be philosophy teaching by examples, is an ambiguous expression of a great but ill-understood truth. No man would go to history for lessons of private morality: we have other far better and readier means of learning these. But what history does furnish, when read aright, is a mirror to reflect the true character of existing parties, and so, to determine our judgment in taking part with one or another. It gives us this true mirror when we have learned, in the parties and revolutions of past times, to separate what is accidental and particular from what is essential and universal—to fix first the true standard of all political enterprise, and then to judge of parties, whatever may be their subordinate resemblances or differences, by their attachment or opposition to this one great end. Thus we find, that the zealous worshipper of the saints and apostles, in the sixteenth century, was the real moral successor of their persecutors in the first; and thus the fanatic who now spreads the no-popery war-cry, is the genuine representative of those very Papists of the sixteenth century, whose names he is overwhelming with obloquy.

This is consoling, because it shows that the world has on the whole advanced;—that the heresy of one period becomes the orthodox faith of another;—and that that which great and good men taught at the price of their blood, obtains in the end so sure a triumph, that even the low and the wicked are obliged to do it homage, and make use of its name to exclude that further development of truth which is indeed its own genuine child. Thus, even the Tories of our days profess to admire the Revolution of 1688; but whilst exalting the individual of the race, as it were, who has done his appointed work, and has nearly-lived out his generation, they would fain see his lineage become extinct for ever, and no heir born in due season to continue and improve what he had begun. For it is false to say that the reform, or the truth, of a later age undoes or despises the reforms and the truths which have preceded them. They do not destroy, but complete;—holding in honour, loving, and using the reforms and the truths achieved and discovered by their fathers,—but deeming it the worthiest tribute to their fathers' memory to imitate their example, by farther reforming and developing some farther truth, as they did.

But on the character of no party does history throw so full and clear a light as on the High Church party of the Church of England—the party of the Oxford conspirators. Unlike the

political Tories, who are only analogously like the Tories of the Revolution, by being as much in the rear of the existing generation as the old Tories were in the rear of theirs, these Church Tories have stirred neither actually nor relatively; they are the very Nonjurors and High Church clergy of King William's, and Anne's, and George the First's reign, reproduced, with scarcely a shade of difference. Now, as then, this party is made up of two elements; of the Hophni and Phinehas school, on the one hand—the mere low worldly clergy, careless and grossly ignorant,—ministers not of the Gospel but of the aristocracy, who belong to Christianity only from the accident of its being established by law; and of the formalist Judaizing fanatics, on the other hand, who have ever been the peculiar disgrace of the Church of England; for these High Church fanatics have imbibed, even of fanaticism itself, nothing but the folly and the virulence. Other fanatics have persecuted, like the Romanists, in order to uphold a magnificent system, which, striking its roots deep, and stretching its branches wide, exercises a vast influence over the moral condition of man, and may almost excuse some extravagance of zeal in its behalf. Others again have been fanatics for freedom, and for what they deemed the due authority of God's own word. They were violent against human ceremonies—they despised learning—they cast away the delicacies, and almost the humanities of society, for the sake of asserting two great principles, noble even in their exaggeration,—entire freedom towards man, and entire devotion towards God. But the fanaticism of the English High Churchman has been the fanaticism of mere foolery. A dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony;—a technical phraseology;—the superstition of a priesthood, without its power;—the form of Episcopal government, without the substance;—a system imperfect and paralysed, not independent, not sovereign,—afraid to cast off the subjection against which it is perpetually murmuring. Such are the objects of High Church fanaticism—objects so pitiful, that, if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better,—they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual—to no effect, social or religious, except to the changing of sense into silliness, and holiness of heart and life into formality and hypocrisy.

Once, however, and once only, in the history of Christianity, do we find a heresy—for never was that term more justly applied—so degraded and low principled as this. We must pass over the times of Romanists—we must go back to the very beginning of the Christian Church, and there, in the Jews and Judaizers of the New Testament, we find the only

exact resemblance to the High Churchman of Oxford. In the zealots of circumcision and the ceremonies of the law,—in the slanderers and persecutors of St Paul—the doters upon old wives' fables and endless genealogies—the men of 'soft words' and fair speeches,—of a 'voluntary humility,' all the time that they were calumniating and opposing the Gospel and its great apostle;—in the malignant fanatics who, to the number of more than forty, formed a conspiracy to assassinate Paul, because he had denied the necessity of ceremonies to salvation—the men of 'mint, and anise, and cummin,' who cared not for judgment, mercy, and truth—the enemies and revilers of the holiest names which earth reverences, and who are condemned, in the most emphatic language, by that authority which all Christians acknowledge as divine;—in these, and in these alone, can the party which has headed the late Oxford conspiracy find their perfect prototype.

But we may not press this farther *now*. Most true and complete as is the parallel, and most instructive as it is, towards setting a mark upon these revived Judaizers, to warn all Christians against their spirit and their practice, yet it would lead us into matter, and thoughts, and feelings too deep to find a place here. We turn to a comparison less solemn—to a period and a country less remote—to the events of scarcely more than a century ago—to the spirit and the proceedings of the High Church party under the Liberal Government that followed the Revolution. The tricks that have been now attempted to be played in the Convocation of the University were then played in the Convocation of the Clergy. There, we find the bigot Dr Jane, who defeated the attempt of King William's Government to effect a union between the Church and the Dissenters, by the parrot-like repetition of *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. There we find Burnet's *Exposition of the Articles* condemned by the lower House of Convocation, on grounds similar to those now urged by the Oxford conspirators against the writings of Dr Hampden; namely, 'that it allowed a diversity of opinions, which the Articles were framed to avoid; that it contained many passages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received doctrines of our Church; and that some things in it were of dangerous consequence to the Church, and derogated from the honour of the Reformation.' Such was the sentence passed by the High Churchmen of the last century, upon a book which is now universally received as a correct statement of the doctrines of the Church, and which is commonly recommended by the Bishops as a companion to the theological studies of candidates for orders! Again, the rancorous slanders

of the High Churchmen against names amongst the most revered in the annals of the Church, may sufficiently console Dr Hampden for the same slanders now vented against himself. The Irish nonjuror Lesley, in an anonymous pamphlet, professing to be written by 'A true son of the Church,' and published in 1695, writes thus of Archbishop Tillotson :—' His politics 'are Leviathan, and his religion is latitudinarian, which is none ; 'that is, nothing that is positive, but against every thing that is 'positive in other religions. * * * He is owned by the 'atheistical wits of all England as their true primate and 'apostle. They glory and rejoice in him, and make their public boasts of him. He leads them not only the length of 'Socinianism (they are but slender beaux who have got no further than that), but to call in question all revelation, to turn 'Genesis, &c., into a mere romance—to ridicule the whole, as 'Blount, Gildon, and others of the doctor's disciples have done 'in print.' Lesley goes on to call Tillotson's principles 'diabolical,' and says that he had by them 'deeply poisoned' the nation. * And another nonjuror, Hickes, a man, like one or two of the Oxford conspirators, much vaunted by his party for the pretended holiness of his life, because he used a sentimental style of excessive religious feeling in his prayers and other compositions, found his religion perfectly compatible with falsehood and malignity ; for he was privy to the writing of this wicked libel, and recommended it, hoping that it might see the light before the publication of his own discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson. † These men, whose intellectual powers were so low, that Johnson himself, in spite of all his prejudices in their favour, declared, 'that with one exception, he never knew 'a nonjuror who could reason,' appear to have exactly reversed the precept of St Paul, which bids us 'in malice to be children, 'but in understanding to be men.'

But the Government held on its way in spite of the clamours, the constant libels, and the occasional treasons of the High Church clergy. It continued to advance real Christians, like Burnet and Tillotson, to such important stations in the Church as fell vacant. The higher clergy were thus gradually purified ; and of the lower, the Hophni and Phinehas party, seeing which way promotion came, composed their outward bearing accordingly, while the more fanatical party died out in their own folly. Then came a period in which the spirit of the Heads of the Clergy

* Birch, *Life of Tillotson*, p. 297, 2d ed. 1753.

† Birch, *ubi supra*.

was indeed an honour to the Church of England—the period marked by the names of Wake, of Butler, of the apostolical Bishop Wilson, and of Secker—men firm and earnest in the faith of the Church of England; but in whom faith ministered to holiness and to charity, because it was the faith of Christians, and not of Judaizers.

Yet the experience of the last century affords, in one respect, a warning by which we hope that the Liberal Government of the present day will not fail to profit. The poisonous plant of Judaism was cut down or withered away; but the root was left in the ground; and thus, when its season returned, it sprang up again, and is now again growing rankly. In other words, Oxford was allowed to retain its exclusive character—opinions and prejudices of one sort only found admission to it—it stood aloof from the great mass of the intelligence of the nation, neither influencing it, nor influenced by it. The consequences were doubly injurious: Oxford, on the one hand, lived wholly in the past, and that past continually viewed amiss; whilst the active part of the nation, finding one of its great seats of education thus incompetent to discharge its duties, could but supply its place imperfectly by other means. Men's views became too exclusively practical and utilitarian—they lived too entirely in the present; and thus learning decayed, and a narrowmindedness of another sort began to prevail, equally injurious to that lofty wisdom, which, by ever looking at the present through the past, learns thus, and thus only, to provide aright for it and for the future. We are satisfied that there is a spirit, in an ancient and magnificent University like Oxford, far too valuable to be quietly suffered to taint and spoil itself, by refusing the wholesome combination of elements of a different species. If Oxford be left alone, and a substitute for it be sought in a new University, both will suffer, for both will remain more or less sectarian;—the High Church fanaticism will become more and more inveterate, while it will be met by extremes of another sort, not more respectable or profitable.

One word more in conclusion. We have used the language of severe condemnation in speaking of the late proceedings at Oxford, and of the party which originated them. We should be most unwilling to speak harshly of any mere differences of opinion, utterly false and mischievous as we hold the views of the High Church party to be; yet, if it were merely an *intellectual error*, it should be confuted, indeed, firmly and plainly, but still, with all tenderness to the persons of those who held it. But the attack on Dr Hampden bears upon it the character, not of error, but of *moral wickedness*. When men break through

the charities and decencies of life, to run down a good and pious individual—when they raise a cry against him which they know will arouse the worst passions, and be re-echoed by their baser followers with a violence to shame even themselves—when they appeal not to any legal and competent tribunal, but to the votes of an assembly where party spirit is notoriously virulent—when they garble the writings of their intended victim, wholly neglecting such as would palpably refute their charge, and so detaching the passages which they quote from the context, and keeping out of sight the writer's general object, as to produce an impression unfair and false—above all, when refusing to give credit to a good man's solemn declarations, they labour as far as in them lies to ruin his character,—to say nothing of the acute pain occasioned to a noble mind by being insulted with such suspicions,—in such a proceeding we see nothing of Christian zeal, but much of the mingled fraud, and baseness, and cruelty, of fanatical persecution. And, for such persecution, the plea of conscience is not admissible; it can only be a conscience so blinded by wilful neglect of the highest truth, or so corrupted by the habitual indulgence of evil passions, that it rather aggravates than excuses the guilt of those whom it misleads.

ART. XI.—*Chapters of Contemporary History.* By Sir John Walsh, Bart. Third Edition. 8vo. London: 1836.

JUVENAL says, poverty made a man ridiculous at Rome. In England, on the contrary, ridicule is no exception to our general rule—that nothing much out of the common way can be done without money. It requires some ingenuity on the part of a poor man to be as ignorant and as odious as a rich one easily contrives to make himself. And, do what he will, he cannot display to the same extent the specific incongruities in which the ludicrous consists. A shopkeeper, or a small proprietor, may be very silly fellows. They may be smitten, too, with a passion for pamphleteering. But the composition and the notoriety of a work like the '*Chapters of Contemporary History*' are sublimities beyond their reach. To write any thing, in which the matter, the manner, and the success should be so ridiculously out of all proportion, is amongst the privileges of the higher orders. Twopenny trash is honestly sold for twopence, and dies a na-

tural death; whilst the equivalent production for the edification of Conservative Clubs gets stilted up into a smart octavo, and is dragged about the town in the pasteboard triumph of a third edition. The end of all this is a day of reckoning with the Reviewers when the periodical audit of their stewardship comes round. Our much-made-of author must not suspect us of giving way to another 'singular and evanescent impulse of candour and sincerity,' when we advise him to stick by his present friends. It would be imposing on his simplicity to hold out to him any chance of a market, at any price—much less of three editions and five shilling purchasers—in any other quarter.

It is common enough to see persons all whose geese are swans. The degree of comic effect produced by the delusion depends on the sort of goose in whose behalf the supposed metamorphosis is committed. To understand the full humour of the fable in which the parent owl dwells on the beauty of her young ones, we must know what a young owl is really like; and how little it is able to justify the affectation of attempting to look much wiser than its neighbours.

Sir John Walsh's solemn didactic manner, and his sublime intimations of a magisterial command over the present times, approaching to the prophetic, when he anticipates the future, prepare his readers for revelations of corresponding magnitude. The particular scheme by which he undertakes to clear away the doubts, and answer for the political salvation of his contemporaries, makes it necessary that he should begin with a chapter on the 'Administration of Lord Grey.' His apology for leading us through the 'mass of cloudy oratory' in which that period was enveloped, to the proper points of view, is eminently characteristic.—'Yet I do feel that there is no recent portion of our history more pregnant with instruction to the calm and philosophic spectator, or which, now that the partial dispersion of the mist enables us to catch the leading bearings of that intricate navigation, better merits a retrospective survey.' His chapter on Conservatism is drawn up in similar heroics.—'Discarding, therefore, the contracted views and petty diatribes of the party journalists—brushing aside their hackneyed repetitions of Whig and Tory controversies, let us endeavour to raise ourselves to the level of circumstances; and measure, if we can, the mighty questions which are agitated, and the vast sections of the community which are arrayed against each other.' Gibbon could not descend upon his subject more pompously, with all the consciousness of power. After this, the prostrate public will, for a time, scarcely presume to question either the dispersion of the mist, or the calmness and philosophy of their guide, or the gran-

deur of the prospect spread out before them. When they summon courage to look up, and can take a retrospective survey of the portion of apocryphal history in which the *Gran Maestro* has proffered to preside at their mysterious initiation, we defy them to find there a single idea that is not as familiar as household words to the humblest correspondent of the Tory Newspapers.

It is impossible not to see that Sir John Walsh prides himself upon his philosophy. An elaborate passage on innovation is evidently a great favourite with its author. We feel it due to him, accordingly, to quote it, by and by, as an example of the discriminating vigour of his analysis; and of the accuracy and good sense with which, upon a fair occasion, he can apply his knowledge to the illustrating one subject by another. The passage is introduced by way of corollary to a description of the impression which the present state of France is reported to make upon such of our countrymen as have visited it since the peace—an impression ‘even more instructive,’ it is said, than the Reign of Terror; inasmuch as it has ‘tended powerfully to confirm us in that repugnance to organic changes, to extensive innovation, which *tempered the desire for practical amelioration.*’ There are a hundred reasons, as old as history itself, against changing, merely for the sake of change, in the case of a creature who is so easily put out of his way as man is, and who lives so much in the future, and the expectations out of which the future grows. Man stands shaking or removing even worse than a Clock. But the old reasons do not satisfy Sir John. Let us see what he offers Reformers in their room. He admits that errors, when proved, must be corrected. Nevertheless, there is a characteristic mischief always produced, more or less, on substituting a new system for an old one. This, it is stated, consists in the fact, that even when the new system is a rectification of previous errors, the discovery of the error must necessarily weaken our confidence in the infallibility of human wisdom. Considering that man is any thing but infallible, the more he was made aware of the fact, we should have thought the better. It would afford a chance of teaching him modesty and discretion. Sir John, however, thinks otherwise, and every body has a right to his own opinion. This ‘natural and obvious view of the subject,’ which (new as, he justly imagines, it will be, to most people) he has long and well considered, he goes on to illustrate by a reference to physical science. We are generally opposed to running parallels between things so different in their principles as morals and physics. Waving this objection in the present instance, what is the analogy proposed? Is it that certain advantages have been experienced in some particular branch of physical science by prolonging the errors of former

times? Oh no. Then it must be a list of the disadvantages experienced on removing them? Nothing of the sort. That would have been something to the purpose. On the contrary, Sir John gravely directs our attention to the serious evils which must ensue to physical science, in case apparent errors were to be treated as real ones. For instance,—where, he asks, would have been modern astronomy, if, in consequence of the plausible objections, which were at one time taken to the theory of gravitation, the Newtonian system, instead of being submitted to further investigation, had been summarily superseded. We wish the Conservatives joy of so apposite an illustration. On trying to apply the corresponding parts of the two suppositions to each other, they cannot but be assisted by the closeness of the analogy! With most understandings, the moral left by the latter will, we apprehend, be in direct contradiction to the moral intended to be inculcated by the former. It may happen, in both political and natural philosophy, that what are considered to be real defects are sometimes apparent ones only. This is a possibility of which Reformers are aware. If mankind do not know this source of human fallibility, it is right that they should be informed of it. But, we can scarcely represent to ourselves an honest advocate of innovation (and with such alone an argument is supposed to deal) who wants to be taught, *ex cathedra*, that no system, whether political or astronomical, ought to be charged with any irregularities but such as properly belong to it. Sir John, however, must speak for himself. The following is the passage to which we alluded. It is right that the world should see what sort of Logic it is which delights Conservatives.

‘I have always thought that, in answer to the sophistries of those who so perpetually confound innovation and improvement, there is a very natural and obvious view of the subject, which has not been frequently brought forward. It is common to say that innovation is not improvement; but we may carry out the position farther, and assert that innovation is always in its nature opposed to improvement; that its single tendency is always to suspend, often to retard it, and that it must be accompanied by great countervailing advantages, to overbalance this inclination. Innovation—I mean the substitution of a new and untried system for an old one—must generally be advocated, upon the ground that we have been long in error, that we have made many steps in a false direction, that we have blindly wasted and misapplied our time and efforts. Should the error be proved, it must be corrected; when we are convinced that our course is a mistaken one, we must retrace our path, but the necessity is dispiriting. The very conviction that we have been deceived when we believed that we were right, the very proof of our fallibility is of itself a discouragement to attempts in a new track. We feel that we have wasted time and power, that we were buoyed up by a

delusive belief that we were advancing ; and we have at last to learn that we have lost our labour. We have been wrong, therefore we may be wrong again. What better security have we now than we had before ? The improvement obtained by the mere ratification of error, is of a negative and unsatisfactory nature. Substantial improvement, real progress, is gained by adding truth to truth, and building on the foundation which is already laid. If the foundation should prove unsound, or the plan defective, all may have to be begun again ; but we do not commonly call this advancing. Apply this reasoning to some other science than politics. Let us take the discoveries of Newton for example, which shed undying glory on the country which gave him birth, and which raise human nature itself to a higher scale in the creation, to a more intimate knowledge of the scheme and the attributes of its mighty author. When by the great law of gravity, the immortal philosopher explained all the wonderful mechanism of planetary motion, certain slight irregularities caught his attention, trifling vacillations which he was unable to account for upon his system, and which he was disposed to consider as exceptions attributable to the little caprices of nature. The later observations of the eminent French mathematicians, and their use of new and refined methods of calculation, proved those apparent deviations to be strict results of an extended application of his principles. They discovered that the disturbances, as they are called, were the effects of the reciprocal action of the gravity of the different planetary bodies upon each other ; and farther, that by a beautiful nicety in the adjustment, they balanced each other, so as never to introduce any permanent irregularity into the system. Here, then, is progress, wholesome, sound, indisputable progress—a principle satisfactorily explaining new facts, and the new facts corroborating the truth of the principle. Suppose now that we had found in La Place or La Grange a radical reformer in astronomical science—that their ingenuity had detected a flaw in the reasoning of the *Principia*—that the immortal discoveries of Newton had been reduced to the level of the whirlpools of Des Cartes, or any other fanciful and exploded theory, would this have been advance ? How we should have regretted the overthrow of that noble and lucid system—how we should have mourned that our mental vision, which had been extended almost to embrace infinity, should have again been contracted to a narrow span ! How painfully and reluctantly should we have surrendered the high and pure thoughts, the splendid prospects of the economy of the universe, which this proudest achievement of human intellect had spread before us ! And with what a cold scepticism as to the reality of truth in any thing—with what a mortified sense of the fallibility of our powers should we have recalled our absolute belief in a theory, which while it enables the imagination to wing its loftiest flight, rests upon reason's firmest basis.

That this is very fine writing we must not presume to doubt. Our concern has been only with the argument. The moral of the whole we leave to the more leisurely digestion of astounded Utilitarians.

There is another character, besides that of philosopher, in

which Sir John evidently considers his political communications entitled to respectful notice. It is that in which he appeared as one of the *dramatis personæ* for a part of the period he describes. From his notions of the nature of the opportunities of a near observer, it appears that his skill in details is about upon a par with his faculty for generalization. 'Of the Whig recruits in the 'new Parliament, my opportunities of observation were not very 'close or frequent. *We sat in a different part of the House*, and 'had little communication.' Simonides, the founder of the science of local memory, and technical father of Von Feinagle, is said, on the falling in of the roof of an assembly-room, to have afterwards identified the bodies of the company by remembering where the different members sat. Sir John Walsh appears to have the elements of a corresponding science of local judgment floating in his head. To a theatrical critic, the place in the play-house where he may happen to sit, is an essential point. The look, the tones, every thing may depend upon it. But when the object to be criticised is the political conduct pursued throughout a session, by a great political party in a popular assembly, juxtaposition is a new criterion among the means of adequate observation! It is an indispensable condition, however, in the case only of Whigs. In that of Radicals he was able to make up his mind without its aid.

It can by no means be objected to Sir John Walsh, that he has ordinarily any difficulty either in making up his mind, or in expressing it—at least, when it is to the discredit of his opponents. Indeed, the freedom of his speech smacks of the privilege of Parliament. His contemptuous estimate of the men engaged in public life is so freely given, that we have been at the trouble of enquiring (but with no very satisfactory result) by what Parliamentary laurels he has earned the title to thunder to the right and left, from his little hill, over the whole political world. The debate on the address, in the first reformed Parliament, is described as 'a deluge of frothy inanity,'—a bathos from which that unlucky assembly never afterwards could rise. The reform members, Whigs as well as Radicals, were a set of triflers; men for the most part without any politics, and who just wanted to be members of Parliament to see their names in the newspapers. The Movement party (in which the two are supposed to be amalgamated at present, and which it is the grand aim of our author to dress up as a sort of political *Bugaboo*), he cannot refrain from making too contemptible to be really terrible. Even now, they are not more essentially ill-disposed than so many noisy children; and are ruining the country without knowing or intending it. 'I doubt if many of the members have ever coolly

‘and distinctly held up to their minds the consequence of the success of their various bills and motions; and if they were to carry them, that they would be taken by surprise and be at a loss what to attempt next. I believe that the majority of them have never sought or wished any great changes in our social system, but live from hand to mouth, caring very little about that future which they would render so uncertain, but just occupied with the immediate object, and seeking to recommend themselves to their constituents, or to make a sensation in the public eye by their advocacy of Vote by Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, or any other popular questions. They are borne along, drifting down the rapid current of events, making frequent splashes in the water, to persuade others, and perhaps to delude themselves that they are really swimming towards a fixed point.’

In the diffusion of quackery and ignorance which distinguishes the present age, frivolous presumption is, it seems, the character as well of the body of the English people, as of the Government itself. To take the case of Ireland. This is a subject upon which no part of the public, except Sir John Walsh and his friends, have ever got beyond declamation. The Ministers are as ill-informed as, and much more unprincipled than, the rest. ‘This inertness of mind, this disposition to rest satisfied with information derived through such suspicious channels, is not confined to the generality of private persons. There appears in the whole body of public men connected with the present Ministry the same predominant impressions received from a superficial glance at the surface—the same belief that they perfectly comprehend the whole subject. I never have been able, in the speeches of Lord John Russell, to trace the slightest indication that his mind had caught the distinguishing features of the case; or that he was in the smallest degree aware of the real difficulties which embarrass every question connected with the sister country.’ It is perfectly marvellous that any living soul should be found beyond the walls of an Orange Lodge capable of ushering in, by a criminatory preface of this description, the insolent postulates which are afterwards announced, in the chapter on Ireland, as constituting first principles in Irish politics.—A chapter on Celts, serfs, and hereditary national hatred! To say that the weakness and the nullity of the Irish Church bill require no comment, is an easy method of conducting a discussion;—a method better adapted to a logician of Sir John Walsh’s powers than his pretensions. But to assert, that such a measure can have no origin but party objects, and party feelings (meaning thereby, that the interests of the public on this important occasion, have been wilfully sacrificed to the interests of a party), is to forget the manners which

Baronets as well as Knights ought to observe in personal contentions. 'As a means,' says he, 'of thoroughly embroiling the question, of preventing any satisfactory adjustment of it, it appears to have answered its end. It would be superfluous to reason upon it as a system adapted to tranquillize the feuds, or to ameliorate the condition of the Irish people, *since these are objects which it never was intended to effect.*' Did Paley write his unanswerable chapter on Church Establishments for party objects? Did Mr G. Knight write his celebrated pamphlet against the monster Church under party feelings? Unless a headlong partisan was stricken with a judicial blindness from the party animosity which he so bountifully attributes to the Whigs, he would have perceived that Lord Melbourne might arrive, on purely public grounds, both at the general truths which were long ago promulgated by Paley to Cambridge students, and also at a particular application of them, which was revealed, though but for a season, to Mr G. Knight.

Sir John Walsh is not a party man. The Conservatives so scrupulously abstained from party manœuvres against Lord Grey that they have lost the prudence of the serpent, in the harmlessness of the dove. Party spirit is at present emphatically a Whig vice! It is a little too much, however, in Sir John to protest that the extent to which the Whigs are tainted by it is something more than he could have conceived. For it is plain that if he could but be persuaded to be a party man, his notion of its bitterness and its license would soon enable him to throw the puny precedents of the Whigs into the shade. Sir John is not a Radical. Were he ever to take that line he could teach, it seems, such bunglers as Mr Roebuck a lesson far beyond any thing of which at present they have an idea. He hints that it was all that he could do to keep his hands off from the case of the Dorchester labourers. It went to his heart to see so beautiful an occasion so sadly thrown away.

By this time our readers will probably have perceived that the writer of our 'contemporary history' has entered on a task for which he has no appropriate qualification;—not the judgment—not the fairness.

There are practical men in the world whose object it sometimes serves to divide mankind into fools and rogues. The system has at least brevity to recommend it. It is easily made and easily learned. Sir John Walsh undertakes to separate the whole English people by a line equally summary and decisive. We need not send for a conjuror to divine his object. It is plain enough. Those whom he places on one side of his imaginary line he calls Conservatives; those whom he places on the

other he calls Radicals, or the Movement. By this generic classification all intermediate parties are at once annihilated. Our political Linnæus proceeds to favour the public with an elaborate description of the two classes. This is despatched with the same facility. Their consolidation into two distinct masses is so homogeneous and complete, that to distinguish section from section, or individual from individual, would be only a multiplication of useless subdivisions. When, practically speaking, all gradation of opinion and all individuality of character have respectively disappeared from among the two parties, one name is as good as another. For political purposes, accordingly, it has become quite indifferent, whether, in describing Conservatives or Radicals, we use the name of the Duke of Cumberland or Sir Robert Peel on one side, or of Lord Lansdowne or Mr O'Connell on the other! At present, the Conservatives combine in their ranks all the select elements of true political superiority; and whilst their general spirit is that of attachment to the constitution, it is the height of calumny to impute to them the slightest indisposition to reform. As such, they are represented, one and all, by Sir Robert Peel! On the other hand, the Movement is a fluctuating chaos. It possesses in itself nor element of cohesion nor rule of action. It has no leader, and it acknowledges none. It is kept together only by the pressure from without, and is seen heaving backwards and forwards under the single law which it recognises—that of blind submission to the will of the majority. Yesterday, it was favourable to the House of Lords, because the House of Lords was popular with ‘ninety-nine persons out of a hundred,’ whom you might meet with in the street. To-day, it is leagued against the House of Lords and the Church, because ‘the ephemeral opinion of the multitude’ has veered round,—in consequence, perhaps, of ‘half a dozen articles in a leading journal.’ To-morrow, it must be expected to be found, not veering back again, but drifting down the rapid current of events,—pushed and pushing on by its democratic instincts to a democratic republic. As the Scotch and English portions of the Movement are at present without the talent and enthusiasm necessary to raise up a leader of their own, they must take the consequences of their dullness and lukewarmness. The whole is apparently represented by Mr O'Connell!

Here is as pretty a piece of fancy work as system-monger ever framed! Its only fault is, that not a syllable of it is true. Sir John has a pleasure in *astronomical* illustrations: we therefore venture to tell him that a political map of England got up after this fashion, is fit only to be framed and glazed as companion to a map of the heavens scribbled over with cycles and

epicycles, or the vortices of Des Cartes, Facts and reasonings, so worthy of each other, forcibly remind us of the Baron who, holding that, according to the ancient faith, the sun moved backwards and forwards on the vault over our heads, accounted for our not seeing it regularly return to its place of rising, by saying, that it returned always in the night. And to call this star-gazing, 'contemporary history!' Its contemporaries will be proof, we warrant them, against its seductions. It has none of the bewitching qualities by which political romances, like Defoe's 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' survive to perplex posterity. A party writer should have been content to use a common party title, unless he could raise his mind and temper to something worthy of the title of *historian*. The present writer has no more claim to that title, than the miserable rhymster who,

'Much too warm on picking work to dwell,
Just fagoted his notions as they fell,
And if they rhymed and rattled, all was well,'

had to that of Poet.

The complacency with which Sir John Walsh views the work of his hands is infinitely amusing. Having thrown aside his 'party spectacles' to look at the character of the first Reformed Parliament with 'the naked eye of impartiality and truth,' he thus describes the administration of Lord Melbourne. 'I am, therefore, *fully borne out in my conclusion*, that the practical statesman, looking to results, will admit of no distinction between the Ministerial party, and their Movement allies; and that whatever may be the individual differences or minor shades of opinion, we have already arrived at the point, when there exists but one broad marked line of demarcation—that between the Conservative and the Radical.' This being the case, there follows, in due course, a chapter on the objects of the Movement party. The gist of this chapter is to show that the dangerousness of that party consists in their having no object at all. He concludes this alarming inference by serving upon the English nation a notice equally absolute and triumphant as the last. 'The spirit of democracy has no power of self-control. If the counteracting influences are not strong enough to control it, where will it transport us? It is quite evident that a democratic republic must be the termination. It is equally certain that such a form of government, could never be even temporarily established, except by great revolutions in our social, as well as our political system. Those who wish to accomplish such an end by such means, may go on, but "the time is come," according to the phrase of the day, *when persons possessed of a grain of foresight* will make their election, and not contribute their assistance to the

'attainment of partial objects, unless they are prepared to concur in all the consequences.'

This monstrous theory is built upon a series of assumptions alike conspicuous for their hardihood and inconsistency. The reader will bear in mind that the essence of the theory is concentrated in two propositions: First, that there are at present only two parties in the state; next, that the character of these two parties is faithfully represented in the description which Sir John Walsh has given of them. These are the points on which the author is well aware that he must try what a bold face can do. Determined that there shall be no such entities as Whigs, he is apparently convinced that he had nothing to do but write a book with one chapter about Conservatives, another about Radicals, and none about Whigs; and that there must thus be an end of the party. With his notion of the mortal nature of his pamphlet, and of the vindictiveness of the Whigs, he did wisely in his generation to make it as poisonous as he knew how. Woe betide him if they survive it! He must as surely be expecting that they will stipulate that he shall be given up to them on the first occasion, as his predecessor Dennis expected that he was about to be surrendered to Louis XIV. The refuse of an obsolete and degraded coterie—the Russells and Cavendishes, the Greys, the Lansdownes, the Ponsonbys, the Foxes—may perhaps be troublesome, and insist on being alive. If so, they must be treated as Swift treated Partridge the astrologer, and be informed that they know nothing at all about the matter. By the law of England nobody can be a witness in his own case. On the supposition, that the present ministers should not only continue 'to call themselves by what fanciful soubriquet they please,' but should have the impudence moreover, to declare that they are answerable for their own measures and opinions only, the outrageousness of so barefaced a doctrine, is all that can be wanting to complete the measure of their iniquity! Here, we beg leave to give Sir John Walsh a friendly hint. Should the party be seen walking about again as large as life, he must not immediately take it for a ghost. According to no less veracious and competent an historian than himself, it has played some singular freaks of this kind already. From the alternations in its recent history, as recorded by him, it has a peculiar talent at vanishing and re-appearing. A century, nay half a century ago, Whigs and Tories were the only known bodies in the political sphere. It is one of the mistakes of the imbecile Whigs, that they go on practically acting, as if this continued to be the case. Nevertheless, in the interval, they have so rapidly declined (if they had but the sense to perceive it), that in 1828 they were all but extinct. They

then existed but 'in a few select coteries in the metropolis.' The rising generation viewed them 'but as the lingering and 'curious relics of an antecedent period. They but just escaped, by the death of Canning, being finally absorbed in the 'blaze of his genius.' The Reform bill passed: how and by whom is not explained. It cannot have been the act of the worn out Whigs; still less that of the Radicals. For their appearance even within the walls of the House of Commons is allowed still to have been a novelty; and we are told that there was hardly a name among them familiar to our ears, except the twin *lucida sidera* Radicals for Westminster, Sir Francis Burdett and Sir John Hobhouse. Passed, however, it was;—an event, according to this view of the case, scarcely less surprising in itself, than in the marvellous manner in which it operated, by way of resurrection to the Whig party. 'They revived to sway the destinies of 'the nation. The elections of December, 1832, returned two-thirds of the whole number decided Whigs.' But Sir John has a way of his own when he comes to deal with cause and effect. So he has no difficulty in asserting, a few pages farther on, that it is by this very Reform bill that Whiggism has been undermined. According to his own account of its previous condition, what was there left to undermine? Reduced to decrepitude, the power of the Reform bill can have been manifested in nothing so much as that it created, from out of a few coteries of the metropolis, an apparent majority of the English nation,—called forth the lingering and curious relics of an antecedent period into a vivid political existence, and gave us, in the first triumphant exercise of the popular franchise, a House of Commons, containing *nominatim*, four hundred decided Whigs! To be consistent with himself, it is clear Sir John should have said—not that Whiggism was undermined by the Reform bill, but, that on the subsiding of the temporary delirium under which the first Reform Parliament had been chosen, the Whigs had fallen back into their previous insignificance. Their brief reign was only a passing phantasmagoria. Their supposed reanimation had nothing more Promethean in it than the galvanizing a dead jack-ass!

The express design of this pamphlet, which was brought out with great applause against the meeting of Parliament, was to convince the nation that the destruction of the Whigs as a party, had opened the way to a republic. This attempt at frightening the Isle from its propriety pays the Whig party the compliment of presuming, that on the supposition that any such party continues to exist, the constitution may be yet considered safe. We have endeavoured, therefore, for the sake of sincere alarmists, to ascertain whether there is any reason for believing in its de-

cease, except the report maliciously circulated, if not originated, by the political gossip over whose scandalous chronicle we are engaged. What are the proofs adduced by our informant? The operation by which four hundred decided Whigs and their respective constituencies, after suddenly springing up like mushrooms for the nonce, were as suddenly converted, the greater part into Radicals, the rest into Tories, has so much more the air of a trick of legerdemain than of an event in real life—that the evidence on which it rests must be proportionably strong. On the contrary, the evidence on the present occasion turns out to be only just the sort of proof to be naturally expected from a mere pamphleteer. It is simple enough: the whole case is made to hinge on two facts—the secession of Lord Stanley, and the resignation of Lord Grey. For this purpose, notwithstanding the unmeasured abuse with which Lord Grey was pelted as long as he was Minister, it is now discovered that his Administration was highly Conservative; that Lord Grey and Lord Stanley were in truth pillars of Conservatism; and that, on the day when the premiership was transferred to Lord Melbourne, ‘It was not a Cabinet which was dissolved, it was a Government which was overturned.’ The Tories are as ingenious as any Jesuits in shaping their case—now this way, now that, according to emergencies. Their different emissaries have different instructions;—all with a broad discretionary margin. The old Tories must have the old doctrine preached. But the good cause cannot be recovered except by new converts, and they must be brought in by other means. To our mind, the part assigned Sir John has a little too much of the recruiting serjeant in it. Being sent into the adversaries’ camp to see what he can do by tampering with deserters, he has been allowed to go great lengths in building the bridge over which penitent Reformers are now invited to retreat. The supporters of Lord Grey, elsewhere denominated and despised as Whigs, are now to be fraternized with as Tories in disguise. It is with Lord Melbourne that Radicalism first penetrated through, and took possession of the Cabinet. His first administration was, from the beginning, Radical in its construction. His second Administration necessarily became still more so; as the inherent Radicalism on which his first Administration is stated to have been grounded, must have been mitigated by the influence of the 400 anomalous Whigs by whom it was upheld. Things are now in a very different condition. It is added (and truly), that the dissolution which followed the dismissal of Lord Melbourne materially affected the relative strength of parties, both in and out of Parliament. On such appeals the two extremes are always gainers at the expense of the middle party; and in this instance, the dissolution which

was expressly directed against the middle party (which constituted the strength of the Reform Parliament) is said to have answered its purpose so successfully, as to place the second Administration, in any question between itself and the Conservatives, in dependence upon the votes of the Radicals for a majority.

Half the delusions in the world are propagated by confusing matter of fact with matter of opinion. The above statement expresses two opinions, which have just as much credit as the authority of Sir John Walsh can give them, and nothing more. First, it is said that the original principle of Lord Grey's Administration was more Conservative than the original principle of Lord Melbourne's; next, that whatever may be supposed to be the original principle on which Lord Melbourne might have preferred to conduct his Government, he must be taken, at present, to adopt the political principles of the persons whose support is necessary to his political existence. We will by-and-by remark on the degree of truth which is contained in these opinions. The above statement appeals also to three facts which are understood to furnish conclusive evidence that the Whigs, as a political party, have been swallowed up by the Radicals. First, the Radicals, he says, drove out Lord Stanley from the Grey Cabinet. Next, they drove out Lord Grey himself. In the last place, they have since acquired such an accession to their Parliamentary numbers in the House of Commons, that although they cannot form a Radical Administration of themselves, yet they hold the scales between Whigs and Tories.

Now we will take the facts *seriatim*, and see what can be made of them. The Radicals had no hand in Lord Stanley's resignation. Whatever may be his faculty for making enemies, Lord Stanley cannot by any possibility have so dangerous an enemy as himself, except, perhaps, Sir James Graham. His resignation was, from first to last, his own doing. As Irish Secretary, he had sanctioned the principle of ascertaining and appropriating whatever was excessive in the revenues of the Irish Church. As Irish Secretary, he had introduced the system of national education, by which the Roman Catholic and the Protestant population were to be educated together; and were to have a chance afforded them of learning in their youth that they have a common country and a common faith. Could any human being have imagined beforehand that he would afterwards have objected to applying towards the maintenance of his own schools—either his own or any other surplus similarly derived? The principle of the application of a surplus thus identified was no victory of the Radicals, nor even of the Irish Roman Catholics. It was a partial and but a partial recognition of the doctrine of common sense, as laid down

long ago by eminent divines and laymen. It was the principle held by Lord Grey himself. It is, in truth, only the adapting to our own age (what the Constitution has always encouraged) the employment of public property according to the specific nature of the public wants. If it be allowed the character of a Conservative principle in the person of Lord Grey, it is the height of unreasonableness to treat it as a Radical principle in the person of his colleagues.

In the case of Lord Grey himself, the Radicals were no parties, primary or secondary, to his abrupt retirement. Sir John Walsh informs us that the *precise cause* is still involved in much ambiguity; nevertheless, he has no doubt that the *primary cause* was his uneasiness from the Movement, and his dissatisfaction under waning popularity. Now, in a case of this kind, we should put much more reliance on the precise cause, provided the supposed ambiguity could be removed; than on the primary one, as to which it happens to suit Sir John's hypothesis not to entertain a doubt. It is singular that a writer, who on all other subjects knows so much more than other people, should choose to know so much less upon this occasion. What passed even in Parliament made the cause of Lord Grey's retirement as clear as the sun at noon. It had nothing more to do with Radical than with Conservative ascendancy; and, to meet assertion with assertion, we for our own part have no doubt but that Lord Howick is sitting in the Cabinet of Lord Melbourne the unambiguous and the consistent representative of Lord Grey.

Sir John says, that the Conservatives felt for the difficulties of Lord Grey, and wished for the continuance of his administration. Even Lord Melbourne's dismissal was a subject of regret. If the King had but thought of consulting Sir John, he would have been far from recommending it. He does not say with what advice he was prepared for Sir Robert Peel, on the occasion of the dissolution which ensued. Now, the Radicals had as little to do with these two latter facts as with the former. The whole responsibility of them is with the party, in whose supposed interest, and amidst whose exulting shouts, the measures were devised. It was not Mr Warburton who was sent for to Brighton, but the Duke of Wellington: it was not Mr O'Connell who dissolved the Whig Parliament, the first-born of reform, but Sir Robert Peel. Nevertheless, the consequences of this experiment may have been as favourable to the increase of the numbers and the spirit of the body which Sir John Walsh would comprehend under the name of Radical, as if they had plotted it themselves. We believe that it was much more so. It opened closed wounds. It broke in upon the growing confidence of the nation. It re-

newed suspicions that were subsiding. It showed the elements and the temper of which any Court administration, that was to displace the Whigs, must practically and necessarily consist. It was in vain that apostate newspapers reiterated the cuckoo note—'not men but measures.' Sir Robert Peel, in the midst of all his disclaimers and recantations, acknowledged that a country, duly alive to its welfare and its honour, would certainly look to, and as certainly insist on both. Using this language, it is evident he must have seen from the first, the consequences which it involved. His position was so false throughout, that nothing but one of the proverbial accidents of public life, or some egregious error on the part of his opponents, could enable him to maintain it. After standing for a short season between the people and his ultra colleagues—looking first at one and then at the other, with a word and a smile for each—like Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy, he fell into the arms of Comedy (for such were the ultras enacting the part of old reformers), and was carried off the stage. The people, however, in the mean time, had taken up the matter in earnest, as a mischievous reality. In their resentment, they returned to Parliament a greater number than before, of persons whom Sir John Walsh naturally enough suspects of a disposition to go beyond the limits of the Whig code in their approximation towards the spirit of democracy. Radical ceased to be a title of which a gentleman was ashamed. What was of still more consequence, those, whom they returned as Whigs, received at the principal hustings in the kingdom notice of the most convincing kind, that a destruction of their party, as complete as Sir John imagines has taken place, was the darling dream of Tory policy, and the very end projected by the dissolution. They came back, therefore, still Whigs, it is true, but bearing evident marks upon them that they had passed through a furnace heated somewhat hotter than they had ever been submitted to before.

Now, things having been brought to this state, and in this manner, what view might it be expected that a contemporary historian (much more a statesman) would take of the case, on which, and for which he was called upon to prescribe? In looking at the effects, he ought, in the first place, thoroughly to understand and appreciate the respective causes, social or personal, permanent or occasional, remote or immediate, out of which they have arisen. Eschewing passion and exaggeration, he ought, next, calmly and correctly to verify the nature and extent of the conversions from Whigs to Radicals which are supposed to have taken place. Lastly, in the endeavour to turn adversity to account, he ought to learn, from a study of the facts

in all their bearings and results, to deduce and apply their specific moral. All of these three things Sir John Walsh may have done to his own satisfaction : there is none which he can have done to the satisfaction of any impartial person. An experiment of this kind is ascertained to be a receipt for making incipient Radicals. A King, false as Charles I. ; Tories as impracticable as the Cavaliers ; Churchmen as ignorant of the spirit of their age as Laud ; a House of Lords resolutely arrayed against the reforms which the country as resolutely demands, would easily complete the process. For, in truth, the maxim that the existing constitution, or any constitution whatever, can be only valuable as long as it works with the people, and not against them, is the maxim of every man endowed with those popular sympathies, which, far more than this opinion or that, are the staple elements that enter into the character of a Whig. What Jefferson says of the American Whig, is equally true of the Whig of the mother country—that he is not distinguished from a Tory so much by his creed as by his nature. In the healing course that public affairs have happily taken, the danger of such a crisis is diminishing every day. In the absence of gross provocations, or blind mismanagement, we have no fear of the democratic instincts which Sir John speaks of ;—of an abstract preference of a republic over a mixed form of government ;—still less of a popular opinion spreading that, under the circumstances of England, a republic would work better than a monarchy ;—least of all that any English republican conceives at present that the difference would make up for the convulsion through which alone he is well aware that he must fight his way up to his *idolum specûs*. These are, according to present appearances, the idle alarms of women, or of men more easily frightened than any woman. Among the ways by which the alarms might be realized, however, we will mention one. Give us another penal dissolution ; and with a kingdom for a stage, we might see re-enacted before our eyes the drama which we all have read in Clarendon—the excitement and the resolve to which the English nation may be roused by the tentative cashiering of a popular House of Commons.

So much for Sir John Walsh's facts :—now for his opinions. He gives it as his opinion, that the Administrations of Lord Grey and of Lord Melbourne are as far apart, (notwithstanding their nominal identity of persons), as Conservative and Radical—by Radical meaning Republican. In this we think that he is fooled by appearances. But had he used the word, Radical, in a gentler sense, there might be something to be said for a mistake, which he would be committing in better company than usual. That the public also, and especially the Irish pub-

lic, see a considerable difference between the two Administrations, we readily admit. Nor is it a sufficient answer to the public to say, that the difference is more apparent than real, since this is one of the cases where apparent differences impede the successful conduct of affairs as much as real ones. 'The truth is, that Lord Grey's Administration did not do itself justice.' It had two defects—the undue influence allowed to Lord Stanley, and a false policy in the principle upon which its measures were prepared. Lord Stanley's great talents in debate could not compensate for a hundredth part of the mischief which he did the government, by want of judgment, want of feeling, and want of temper. With regard to the second point, the spirit of the Administration was necessarily judged of more by its measures than by its declarations. Yet almost every measure was brought forward maimed of its fair proportions. Its authors had shorn it of its strength, in order to mitigate their adversaries in the House of Lords. From both these sources of weakness Lord Melbourne is relieved. The external character of his government accordingly is changed. It is more vigorous; it appears more honest. This results from no alteration in its policy. It follows from the simple fact, that they have now for the first time allowed their actions to correspond with their principles and wishes.

The other opinion advanced by Sir John Walsh, namely, that Whigs and Radicals are become identical, is of a more general nature. It has no better confirmation, that we know of, than such arguments as its inventor can suggest. His invention carries him no farther than to roundly aver, that it is an axiom in politics, that any party, which depends on another for support, must, as a necessary consequence, adopt all its principles. Assuming that this fallacy is honestly believed, it may be a comfort to its dupe to know that the fallacy is grounded on a similar error to that by which the principles of mechanics were supposed to disprove the possibility of a balance of power in a mixed constitution. The fallacy proceeds on a confused analogy between the moral and the material world. According to Sir John Walsh's axiom, not only Canning, but Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington, have been at one time or another, Whigs. All in their turn have leaned on them for support. Sir John apparently wishes to consider the Conservative party as essentially *Canningite*. Though boasting that Toryism *qua* Toryism was his first love, yet when he challenges, as among its attributes, a kindly disposition towards reform, he does not venture to carry the date of its propensities of this kind higher than Canning's return to office in 1822. The policy promoted by Canning's section, in

Lord Liverpool's Cabinet, from 1822, and the formation of Canning's Cabinet in 1827, *depended entirely on the favour of the Whigs*. This being the case, we should like to know what answer Sir John Walsh would give to an accuser who should have denied to Canning the character of Conservative? In the Duke of Wellington's administration, the same question recurs during the vital struggle which issued in Roman Catholic emancipation. Nevertheless, every body knows that (except during their short reluctant coalition; in Canning's distress, in 1827) the Whigs had no power whatever, as a party, over the Government. Their aid was taken on the particular subjects where a coincidence of opinion happened otherwise to exist; and there it ended. But to take the last short-lived Government of Sir Robert Peel: It could not have contrived to crawl even into the Gazette, had it not been for an active alliance with the ultra Tories. Who then were the persons every where loudest in declaiming against the injustice of looking to any thing but *measures*? The Government was no Orange Government, though it lived from day to day on the *votes of Orangemen*. Nor was that all. Persons the most obnoxious to Reformers in Church and State held the highest offices. We were still to wait for *measures*. Even the former opinions and measures of the Minister himself were to be no ground of rational inference by which mankind could properly presume to judge on the course he would now pursue. Sir Robert Peel is too sensible a man, and too well aware of the *argumentum ad hominem*, to give his countenance to the doctrine circulated by the runners of his party—a doctrine so certain to recoil. But we disdain to leave the objection with only this (however decisive) answer. The support of several of those whom Sir John Walsh would call Radicals is grounded on conformity of opinions, and similarity of character; and, in these cases, what is yet but temporary support may in time ripen into permanent alliance. Many, both in and out of Parliament, called Radicals by themselves and others, are very reasonable persons, who ask for nothing but straight-forward conduct, and a security for good government. Among the unreasonable also there is a handsome sprinkling, who, with a little encouragement, are fully capable of learning reason. On this argument, therefore, we take the liberty of telling Sir John Walsh, in the first place, that if Sir Robert Peel could have Orange lords in his government without being an Orangeman, Lord Melbourne may be backed by O'Connell without being a Repealer; and, in the next place, that if the present Government should proceed quietly in its present course, there is infi-

nately less chance of the Whigs becoming Radicals than of the Radicals becoming Whigs.

'Conservatism,' we are told, 'is, in fact, the embodied resistance of the most strongly constituted, of the most firmly compacted, social and political system that ever existed upon earth, to the action of the most powerful agent of decomposition that can be applied to human institutions.' An attempt to divide a nation against itself on this fictitious issue,—to proclaim that 'those who are not with us are against us,'—to marshal the two divisions of his fellow-countrymen in adverse ranks of uncompromising hostility,—may, in the eyes of Sir John Walsh, be a very patriotic and philosophical proceeding; but a picture of England so distorted can be nothing but an extravagant caricature. The colouring given to the two parties is of course in perfect keeping with the truth of the design. The Conservatives are all patterns of political wisdom in their respective ways. But Sir John Walsh has some difficulty in getting his statement into a form which will satisfy the different sections of which his parliamentary friends consist, at present. For himself, he takes us back to the opinions and feelings of his childhood, when he learned to disbelieve in the existence of *gross abuses* under the administration of Mr Pitt or Lord Castlereagh. While the main body of the Conservatives adhere to the opinions they always have maintained, at the same time, he is quite aware that the system of the old Tory governments must be so far given up, that he declares that to speak of Tory and Conservative as synonymous is an act of great injustice. Here is a pretty nest of inconsistencies and marvels, when the hatching season comes! The Conservatives, he adds, 'are no reluctant, tardy, insincere converts to the cause of practical reform.' Yet it is instructive to observe the dates and the limitations. 'The great body of the Conservatives in the empire would have supported as heartily all Sir Robert Peel's proposed measures of last session *ten years ago* as they would now.' This coincides with a period which he elsewhere states as that when preceding administrations recognised the policy of practical *improvements in details*, &c. 'ever since Mr Canning's entrance into the Cabinet in 1822.' After the way in which Canning was treated by the Tory party (hunted to the death), the use of his name on these occasions is somewhat more than bold. A little further on, he brings down the period of conversion still nearer to the current year. The passage is remarkable for its peculiar tenderness of expression. 'Before the Bill of 1832 passed, before that great question was decided, it was a natural, a prudent, and a defensible policy in

'many, to *tolerate certain defects*, to acquiesce in imperfections to 'a certain limited extent, rather than to run the risk of disturbing a complicated system, or of introducing a spirit of change, 'which might sweep away the excellencies as well as the 'abuses.' The scale seems to be this;—*Gross* abuses might have the privilege of Tory protection up to the time of Pitt—abuses, as low down as four years ago. But now a change is suddenly come over the spirit of their dream. In 1836, they have discovered 'that certain *measures of practical reform* are absolutely 'required, as much by the universal demand of the nation as 'by their own perfect reasonableness, justice, and expediency.' A manly statement of the truth would have been infinitely wiser than all this shuffling. The Tories have had their day,—and a longer one than any harmony between their opinions and the opinions of the body of the people at all entitled them to have. It is some time since, that the extent to which they 'tempered their desire of practical ameliorations' disqualified them for the necessities of the period at which the country had arrived. They would have been dispossessed from the administration of affairs much sooner, but for the religious bigotry in which, up to a recent time, the Tories and the nation unluckily agreed. The nation forgave them every thing, rather than see a Roman Catholic in Parliament. The bill for Roman Catholic emancipation became law. The revulsion was immediate. So well do the Tories know it, that, in adopting the title of Conservatives, they have paid the homage which even hypocrisy is said to pay to virtue. It is impossible to imagine stronger proof of the odium into which Toryism had fallen, than the agreement, which has been almost universal, to disown and drop the very name! Now, we make no question but that there are many excellent men among the Conservatives;—some, too (but not enough to leaven the entire party), who are satisfied that considerable reforms can no longer be withheld. A vast distance separates leaders, like Sir Robert Inglis and Mr Hume. But the most reforming of the Tory members, and the least reforming of the Whigs, may, at the present moment, very nearly meet in their positive opinions. It does not follow, however, from this approximation, that in our actual political situation liberal Tories are not capable of doing the country better service on the Opposition benches than in office. The Tories have committed themselves too lately, and too far. The same measures could scarcely be the same in the *spirit* with which they would be proposed in the Cabinet—certainly not the same in the *spirit* with which they would be accepted and relied upon throughout the country, as if they proceeded from the Whigs. The one are

unwilling, the others are willing reformers. 'The one yield to the age, the others go alongst with it. The one are suspected as converts at the eleventh hour; the others are confided in as ancient friends who have stood the heat and burden of the day. Sir Robert Peel stated it to be amongst his recent qualifications for office, that, in the reforms which he might introduce, he could command what the Whigs could not command,—the confidence of the House of Lords. The qualification of the Whigs is precisely the reverse. They command what Sir Robert Peel (notwithstanding an official life of very creditable recantations—we mean what we say) cannot yet possibly command,—the confidence of the People. When that period shall have come, the whole nature of the question will have changed. But, without personal confidence, a popular government never can produce its proper fruits.

Sir John Walsh, we doubt not, has been exceedingly applauded for the ingenious dilemma which he appeared to have constructed. If he could once get the Whigs wedged into it, one of two things, it was supposed, must necessarily take place. They must either admit their identity with the Radicals, or deny it. In the first case, they lose the moderate Whigs; in the second, they lose the Radicals. In either way, the popular Government would be broken up. This expectation was consistent with the poor idea which the *historian* had conceived of the simple-mindedness of his adversaries. Before Parliament met, some superficial appearances helped to delude the sanguine with anticipations of success. But the combined parties have acted more wisely and more honestly; and the public, it is plain, understands and approves their conduct. What can be more irrational in itself, and more wicked towards the public, than the proposition which the Whigs were called upon to adopt, at the peril of Sir John's displeasure? Individuals are not to co-operate in the support of measures which they agree in thinking essential to the public welfare, because there are certain other subjects on which they disagree! Surely it will be soon enough to differ when the points of difference arise. The obstinacy and negligence of Tory mal-administration have accumulated an overwhelming arrear of matters pressing for legislation. Upon many of these, considerable diversity of opinion must be constantly springing up, among independent men, who, nevertheless, on general politics, act most cordially and consistently together. Instead of affecting to reproach the Whigs and Radicals for the connexion which at present subsists between them, the leading Tories are well aware, that it is a connexion perfectly honourable in itself, and founded on common views of the necessities of the

public service. At the same time, they know that it probably never would have taken place but for their own conduct,—even during the recent years, when they boast, nevertheless, of having been sincere reformers. They had the cards in their hand, and the union of parties solely depended upon the suit they should choose to lead. The Whigs, instead of nourishing a venomous alienation from the Tories, gave them, on the contrary, year after year, every chance. On what occasion did they ever withhold the encouragement of their cheers, when the slightest glimpse of amendment was perceived? Their moderation is acknowledged by Sir John Walsh; but the only return which they get for it is contempt. The truth is, that during the reign of George IV. a liberal minority had begun to gather strength, under the auspices of Canning, Huskisson, and Grant, the present Lord Glenelg, in the Cabinet of Lord Liverpool. The Whigs supported it against the veterans of misgovernment with a zeal and a success which earned them at the time the name of ‘his Majesty’s Opposition.’ In assisting the development of liberal principles, they had their reward. Assuredly it was all the reward they ever got. In 1827, when Canning became Prime Minister, and was bitterly opposed by the greater portion of his late Tory colleagues (the Reformers of to-day), he continued to find his most earnest supporters among the Whigs. When the wheel turned round, and the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were once more in office, they found themselves compelled to act upon the statesmanlike necessity of granting the Roman Catholics relief. Sir Robert Peel had privately recorded his testimony to that necessity five years before. It is a pity that he forgot the necessity when Canning was Prime Minister. But let that pass. The Roman Catholic claims were conceded. During that fearful struggle, Sir Robert Peel can hardly have forgotten how faithfully the Whigs supported the tottering administration of their political opponents. They not only countenanced the acceptance of the office of Attorney-General by Sir James Scarlett, but directly advised it, as a proof of their sympathy and co-operation. Is this like party animosity? Does bare and rotten policy colour its working with artifices such as these? Yet Sir John Walsh declares that ‘The habit of opposition to all whom, by any political pedigree, they could fancy the legitimate successors of Mr Pitt, had become an instinct, and no success appeared to them complete which did not include a triumph over these early foes!’ On the other hand, during so many successive years, and especially on and after this last occasion, what was the temper in which their advances were received? After using them as a person caught

in the rain, uses a hackney-coach, they were dismissed with as few thanks and as little ceremony. Supposing any jealousy, as above complained of, to exist at present, at whose door is it to be laid? What, on the summary dissolution of the alliance, could the Whigs possibly conclude, but that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel felt an insurmountable disinclination to the persons of their late allies; or that they were conscious of differences of political opinion, so irreconcilable and complete, that a coalition (however naturally and honourably it might under the circumstances have been brought about) could nevertheless only terminate in a speedy and offensive rupture? If we look to the quarters from which Sir Robert Peel recruited for the members of his recent Government, it is evident that he is impressed with the same conviction still. We are sorry to believe that he was right; since the coalition between liberal Whigs and moderate Tories, which we had once thought not only probable, but desirable, is apparently becoming less reasonable and less likely every day. What was the only honourable and useful course left open to the Whigs? The public will determine. It is evident, in the mean while, that the outward union between the Whigs and Radicals, which the manœuvres of the Tories so powerfully assisted, in the first instance, to produce, is now maintained and nourished by inward causes of deeper growth. Diversities of opinion on important subjects undoubtedly exist; but of these it has been the policy of common enemies to exaggerate the extent and nature. It is acknowledged, that at the present moment, if the Radicals differ from the Whigs in some respects, the Tories differ from them in many more. Sooner or later these relative distances may again vary. But it is far too uncertain yet to prophesy with whom the changes will begin. From our reliance in what we think the truth, we trust that in time Tories, as well as Radicals, may be both induced to approximate to the intermediate party as a common centre. We hate the tactics which would perpetuate antipathies and errors. If Conservatism is, indeed, that half-way house from ancient Toryism which it professes to be, we shall heartily welcome our new boarders when they have taken courage to travel the remaining stage.

A wise statesman, and a just historian, ought to see further into things than the whipper-in for a party, or than the teller of the divisions of the night. Yet, what can be expected from a political writer who seems to have neither name nor notion for *public opinion*, but that it is the *pressure from without*—the factitious creation of newspapers and petition-mongers? On the contrary, before meddling in politics, or putting pen to paper, he ought

carefully to have studied, first, the general tendency (movement if he pleases) of the present times all over Europe—especially in England; and next, the circumstantial modifications and difficulties arising out of our peculiar condition. New classes have sprung up—new wealth—new interests—new opinions. More blood is created in the social system; and unless the vessels are enlarged they will burst. The tendency is, to break down exclusions and popularise establishments;—to amend, where necessary, the organic anatomy of institutions, but, in all cases, to breathe into them a deeper nationality, from the awakened consciousness of a more communicative and more responsible national existence. There are, at the same time, many distinctions peculiar to England. Our ancient habit of respecting prescription more than reason; the importance (where so much has to be done) of gradual adaptation, in order that the new additions, instead of remaining foreign excrescences, may be thoroughly incorporated into the general system; the power, the violence, the alarms of the party opposed to every even the most inevitable changes—these things must none of them be overlooked. We are at present precisely in that transition state when every thing depends on the skill and discretion—the charity and the temper with which the transition may be made. It is infinitely better to obtain quietly, by instalments, a part only of what it is in the nature of things we must obtain at last, than to insist upon the whole at once, at the price of national convulsion. The interests of truth require that we should *reason* for the whole; yet there is no inconsistency in accepting a part, out of consideration for the interests of peace. Standing on the vantage ground of general causes, we can afford to tell the Conservatives, as the young applicant answered the old Cardinal, who threatened him that he should get nothing whilst he lived: ‘Please your excellency I can wait.’

Mankind cannot be managed as mere machines. Their feelings and opinions must be taken into account. In questions of government, few axioms can be laid down as expressions of abstract right. And, certainly, none of the questions now at issue between the several parties engaged in our domestic politics can be so considered. They all relate to points, the decision of which ought to depend, not on any positive notion of a theoretical right or wrong applicable to the case,—nor even on an historical reference to the practice of our ancestors, and the mechanism of the government, as an antiquarian might describe it. They should be tried by the great characteristics of the English constitution—stability and progress; by the actual state of England; by the wants and sentiments of the governed. The wants and sentiments of a nation are things which no legislator at any time

ought, and which, when a certain stage of civilisation has been reached, no legislator in his senses is able to despise. Sir John Walsh speaks with great contempt of the will and opinion of the majority, and of the Radicals, for adopting it as their guide. Now, public opinion, derived from the will of the majority, is amongst the first and greatest elements in rational politics. The end of government is the happiness of the governed. To a great extent, it is as true of political happiness as of happiness of other kinds, that if persons are to be made happy, it must be after their own way. The mark of the beast impressed, it seems, on the present times is this. In estimating the power of public opinion in public affairs, the English people have taken one of the two sides of a question which has divided mankind in all ages. Admitting, that the political supremacy of the will of the majority is carried, both in fact and in argument, to an extent beyond what formerly existed, the proper practical question is—not whether a state of society where the will of the minority was supreme has been, or would be, a more desirable condition, but—whether the Movement (for we have no objection to the word) is the natural growth and development of society, or the destructive eruption of a volcano? In the one case it has to be aided—in the other to be subdued. We submit, that there is nothing volcanic, or even premature, in the nature of public opinion as formed at present, or in the line in which it moves. We see only a society in rapid progress. The aristocracy have, in comparison, been standing still. Upon which Sir John Walsh comes forward, and calls the advance made by the rest of society—mutability! So little does he know the Radical party, that he abuses them for having no fixed opinions. Now, it is one of their faults that they are far too dogmatical in their *principles*. Again, so little does he know of the re-action of human nature, and of the policy of that arch innovator time, that he seriously proposes that a sort of Thirty-Nine Articles should be prepared for the Radical members (leaders, he admits, they have none), and that they should be obliged to depose both to the particulars and the perpetuity of their faith! From the moment that the body of a people are sufficiently concentrated, raised, and educated, to take an interest and a part in politics, the extent to which their opinion becomes a power in the state, can only be a question of *degree*. Whether it is brought to bear a little slower or a little faster on the springs of Government, will depend on circumstances more or less accidental. As the middle classes advance to the position which their relative influence assigns them, whether they blend silently and harmoniously with the upper ranks into one people, or break off into discordant

antagonist divisions, will also depend on the kind of reception they experience. But, supposing every thing in point of circumstances, and of temper, to be as favourable as possible, another condition is necessary, if all the advantages of the transition are to be secured. All parties ought to be fully aware of the nature of the transition which is taking place; and accordingly of the nature of the problem to be solved. On the accession of Charles I., Selden and Clarendon were as likely as any men in the kingdom, by their station, intelligence, and moderation, to have understood the change in their contemporary society; and to have seen what were the corresponding changes in the bearings of English institutions, which the changes in society required. It is easy to be wise after the fact. Guizot, in his admirable History, has clearly shown from how much misery England would have been spared, if the contemporary generation had but possessed the knowledge which the retrospect affords us. May we be wiser now; and avoid the perils and the ignominy of a useless struggle! The men of 1688 acted for their own æra: we must act for ours. It is to be the fool of names not to see that, after the King's negative was dropped, and the House of Lords was leading the House of Commons, the English constitution (though it preserved the form of a mixed monarchy) was in fact a popular aristocracy discreetly masked. Sir Robert Peel has told, and truly told, his hosts at the City of London Tavern, that at the present day, the government of this country *lies in the House of Commons;—and that the life and death of administrations must be determined there.* It follows from this statement, that, under the same outward mask, the English constitution is now become an aristocratical Republic. There is no need to be frightened at the word. The approved machinery remains the same, and, as long as it is found useful, will continue to remain. The real substantial change—that in the wealth, intelligence, and influence of the people—has preceded the fact which Sir Robert Peel was one of the first of English statesmen *openly* to proclaim. It is this really important change which has made England the marvel of the world. The monarchy of the upper classes has made a calm and quiet end. The monarchy of the middle classes has begun in prosperity and peace.

Of questions at present outstanding, those which require to be settled first and most, are questions which a Whig government could alone settle,—honourably to itself, satisfactorily to the parties, usefully to the state. In its progress towards enlarging the basis of our institutions, and towards accommodating the policy and spirit of the general administration of affairs to the character

which properly belongs to our contemporary civilisation, it has erred, if at all, on the right side—that of a prudent caution against excess. The Tories, accordingly, have been afforded an opportunity for cavilling at inconsistencies, where particular measures have not gone the length which strict logic, and popular expectations required. Looking at the necessity of adapting our legislative institutions to the times we live in, we believe that the reform in the House of Commons has saved the country from a revolution. With respect to the House of Lords, many politicians now object (as many always and every where have objected) to an hereditary legislative assembly. Mr Baines' able Letters on this subject, boldly addressed to the popular readers of the *Leeds Mercury*, are, however, a strong proof, that the abolition of the House of Lords is no essential part of the Radical Creed, at present. There are limits, it is true, to human patience. But popular prepossessions are even yet so decisive in their favour, that, as far as politicians can or need look into futurity, it may safely be affirmed, that the only public exhibitions of which the Peers have any reason to be afraid, are those which are made in their own House! The duration of Parliament, the amount of Qualification, and vote by Ballot, are another set of political questions on which there is no such thing as absolute truth. In the shape of general propositions we can get no further than an average of probabilities, and an inclination of opinion. The circumstances of the case must in every instance determine the propriety of their application. They may become of more importance in times to come than they are at present. Among the other institutions in which the public have a deep interest, are the Municipal corporations, the Church, the Universities. In all the reforms which the Government has either introduced or contemplated in those bodies, it has had but one object—that of making the institutions more really useful, and enabling them to accomplish, at the present day, the several purposes for which they were originally designed. If the English Church, and the English Universities (for the first insists upon keeping the last bound hand and foot as its exclusive seminaries) refuse to be reformed, the consequences of such folly, we once more repeat, must not be imputed to the reformers.

The impossibility that any government but a Whig government, constructed and acting like the present, could adequately perform the first duty for which all governments exist, if true of England, is a truth still more glaring in the case of Ireland. No other government could keep the peace there, and administer, with the least prospect of success, the medicinal measures which are absolutely necessary for the relief and restoration of that

distempered country. The fate of successive administrations proves that this consideration is felt to be conclusive. Irish politics are the paramount question at present. They are to England what Greek politics were to Turkey, up to the battle of Navarino. While the Irish people are demanding less than they are entitled to, the per centage upon their demands, which Sir John Walsh agrees to grant them, is a great deal more than his Orange partners would ever allow him actually to discharge. It has been asked, if Roman Catholics and Protestants live together peaceably in other countries, what is to prevent them from doing so in Ireland? Sir John Walsh answers, that they have many reasons for hating each other, on grounds quite independent of difference in religion. In what happy valley is the person supposed to dwell, who can forget that there are *other causes* for Irish discontent besides religious ones? Of these causes, there is not one, perhaps, which will not require its specific remedy; but, for races whom misgovernment has kept distinct, it will be necessary to add a government, which, acknowledging no distinctions, will, by means of equal laws, equally administered, mould and melt these races into one. It is a wretched excuse for real bigotry to pretend that this may not be done in Ireland, even now, as it has been done in other countries long ago. All that is wanted, is to set about it by proper means and in a proper spirit. Has the difference in religion got mixed up with the other causes of alienation? The necessity of dealing with the religious part of the case (as far as Government can deal with it, that is ecclesiastically), becomes, in this point of view, a duty more immediately binding on the conscience of the state. The great body of the people cannot honestly nor safely be left ecclesiastical aliens in their own land. Many grave considerations may affect the time, and nature, and extent of the practical arrangements. But Sir John Walsh says, that unless the integrity of the Anglo-Irish Church is rigidly maintained, the Protestants will consider themselves sacrificed to implacable enemies. Had we doubted before with which of the contending parties the merits lay, a declaration of this kind is all the evidence which an impartial tribunal could desire. If a political engine is wanted in Ireland, for the political security of Protestants, it must be taken in some other form than that of an excessive Protestant Establishment. Used as an Orange society, it most assuredly will fail them. If a barrier against the increase of Catholicism is wanted, this is more than legislative masonry can construct. At all events, whatever might have been done in this way, by the Protestant Establishment, in case it had been looked after in time, the period is gone by. The steed is stolen. Sir

John Walsh conceives that there is a natural connexion between Catholicism and poverty. Then, the Catholic religion is naturally the religion of the poor. And to whom was it that Christ came more especially to preach? No political party at the present day has stated, that 'the numbers professing the two religions' are the sole test of their comparative claims, in a new distribution of church property, half so strongly as it is put by Paley. Church property is the national fund for religious instruction, in its most extensive sense. The Protestant minister has been receiving it hitherto in Ireland, as the representative of the state. He is the religious instructor whom the state has appointed to teach the people. The principal land-owners are Protestant. The body of the people are Roman Catholic. Now, who want the help of state instruction most? The rich man who can buy his own? or the poor man who can but ill afford to pay for it? It is idle to talk of misappropriation. The real misappropriation is here. Sir John Walsh argues, like Lord Stanley, for the maintenance of Protestant ministers in parishes where no Protestant parishioner is to be found! They are wanted, he says, as 'out-posts and videttes to the church of England.' Rather awkward words these for the church militant of Ireland, with its writs of rebellion, and tithe collected under arms! Is this what is meant by the 'certain degree of partiality confined to proper limits,' which is due from a Protestant government to the Protestant faith? (On the other hand, Lord Melbourne's Government has, in our opinion, offered the Protestant church of Ireland terms too favourable. They are terms only to be justified by the *choice of difficulties*, through which, in the real business of life, statesmen have to pick their way. The preference shown to Protestantism, in the exclusive advantages reserved by the Irish church bill to the Irish church, is a preference beyond what is consistent with the real interests of Protestantism—with a view to conversion—or with the real interests of religion—with a view to the best mode in which the fund for religious instruction can be applied; or with the true policy of the nation, if invidious distinctions are to be reduced within manageable bounds, and an irritating question set at rest for ever. We concede to Sir John Walsh, that there is nothing unreasonable in defending any thing which is reasonable. But there is an opposite habit which is a very foolish one;—that of defending every thing which is established, whether right or wrong. In public life, as in private, the first advice to be given to a friend asking for our countenance, would be, 'put yourself in 'the right, and we will then see what can be done.' But the monster church has the modesty to propose that it shall retain all its monstrosities, and yet claim to be defended just the same as if

it had renounced them all. Mr G. Knight will tell them that this can never be.

To conclude : The no-papery press has been attempting to get up an O'Connell cry. The attempt has ignominiously failed. The great characteristic of our age is the fading away of the power of individuals before the immensity of general causes. Individuals can only be politically powerful as far as they represent a power from without, independent of themselves. The cheer with which we welcome them, breaks forth from the expectation, that they will put into a more brilliant and effective form the opinions which we already entertain. Sir John Walsh alludes with no small degree of scorn to the apparent want of object in the English popular party ; and to the absence of a master spirit amongst them. Accordingly, the alarm bell which he has volunteered on ringing, is a warning to the English people against itself. Do they deserve the contemptuous lecture which he has condescended to bestow on them ? If they do, they are not worthy of the name of nation. They are as paltry an aggregation of individuals as ever stumbled together by accident upon the same corner of the earth. And who are they that are treated with this indignity ? A people who, by their industry, their intelligence, their virtue, have made a small and distant island one of the beacons of the world ;— a people, whose sense and honesty, whose caution, humanity, and capability of self-devotion have been eminently manifest on all occasions ;— a people at no period of their history more remarkable than in the most recent times. The heart of England was never sounder. As her middle classes have risen into power, she has proportionably risen in her title to the esteem of others and of herself. Instead of being exhausted or broken by the most memorable of recorded wars, where victory was threatened her as only another form of ruin, by what vigorous and successful efforts has she acquired, in peace, a more imperishable renown ! In the purifying her domestic policy from abuses, she has given proofs of a vitality and a courage,—of an intellectual and moral energy, a straight forwardness and an endurance beyond what any other nation has ever shown ; for her difficulties were greater than any other nation was ever called upon to meet. We need only mention, within the space of a few short years—the restoration of a degraded currency, under the burden of a vast public and private debt—a corrupted legislative body, triumphantly reformed on the principles of liberty and order :—at home, the labouring classes raised up again from alms and pauperism to juster views of the rights of society and personal independence—in our foreign possessions, slavery (that traditional blot on human na-

ture) done away by the public redemption of nearly a million of human beings, as the national expiation of a national offence. In these severe and noble sacrifices the middle and lower classes of the English people come in for their full share both of the cost and of the glory. These are among the titles of the present generation to self-government and self-respect. And on what grounds are they to be now stultified by Sir John Walsh, as a people of unsound mind, and incapable of managing their affairs? For nothing that we can see but this: They have preferred, for England, a government of known reformers to carry on reforms; and, for Ireland, the only government which could possibly offer that unhappy country an approach to justice, and a chance for peace.

NOTE to the Article on the study of Mathematics, in No. 126.

It is contrary to our practice to publish any answers, or complaints, that may be made by authors who are dissatisfied with our criticisms; but we are induced to make an exception of the following letter from Mr Whewell. He complains that we have not fairly stated the purport of his recent publication on the Study of Mathematics. The nature of the charge, and the great respectability of the gentleman by whom it is made, render it impossible for us to be altogether silent in regard to it; and, therefore, we reprint his letter (which has already appeared both in the Newspapers, and in the second edition of his Pamphlet), with a few Notes in vindication of ourselves.

“ To the Editor of the Edinburgh Review.

“ CAMBRIDGE, Jan. 23d, 1836.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

*“ I was gratified to find that a little pamphlet which I recently published, as ‘ Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics,’ had excited so much notice as to give it a place at the head of an article in the *Edinburgh Review*—and in regard to the manner in which the Reviewer has spoken of me, I have certainly no reason to be dissatisfied; nor am I at all disposed to complain of the way in which he has urged his own opinions. But I think the article is likely to give rise to a misapprehension, which ought to be corrected; and for that purpose I trouble you with this letter.*

“ I wrote my pamphlet in order to enforce certain views re-

specting the conduct of our mathematical examinations at Cambridge. The question on which I threw out a few 'Thoughts' was, *what kind of mathematics is most beneficial as a part of a liberal education.* That this was the question to which I was trying to give some answer I stated in a passage (quoted by the Reviewer) at page 8 of the pamphlet. 'The previous *seven* pages, in which, among other matter, I had said a few words on the question, whether mathematics *in general*, or logic is the better mental discipline, were obviously only an introduction to the discussion of certain propositions, which, as the Reviewer observes, 'occupy the remainder of the pamphlet.'¹

"It was therefore with no slight surprise that I looked at the magnificent manner in which the Reviewer has spoken of the small portion of these seven small pages which refers to the more general question. He calls it 'a treatise (a *Treatise*!) apparently on the very point'² (p. 410), 'a vindication of mathematical study'³ (p. 411); and having thus made me work at a task of his own devising, he repeatedly expresses great disappointment that I have executed it so ill;—that 'so little is said on the general argument.' I should have thought that this circumstance might have helped him to perceive that it was not *my* general argument.

"I see nothing but the convenient and blameless practice of Reviews in making the title of my book the occasion of publishing an Essay on a subject only slightly connected with mine; but it appears to me that to attempt to gain a victory by representing a page or two of my 'Thoughts' as containing all that can be said by an able, earnest, official advocate on the other side, is not a reasonable treatment of the question. The writer proclaims that he means to give 'no quarter to my reasonings;' but this proceeding looks rather like making an unexpected attack on a point when he thinks himself well prepared, on the arbitrary pretext that the truce has been broken by the adversary.⁴

"I should have no disinclination, on a convenient occasion, to discuss the very important and interesting question which is the subject of the Review. I cannot, however, look forward with confidence to the prospect of my being able to take it up for a considerable period; and shall probably leave the Reviewer in possession of his self-chosen field of battle for several months, it may be years. But if I should return to the subject, I should wish to know, as definitely as is possible, what are the questions at issue between us;⁵ and I would therefore beg from the Reviewer information on the following points.

"The Works which form our examples of Mathematical reasoning are well known; I wish to know also what works of

‘Practical Logic’ on other subjects (p. 413) the Reviewer is willing to propose as rival instruments of education.”

“I wish to have some distinct account of the nature of that ‘Philosophy’ which is by the Reviewer put in contrast to Mathematical study (p. 422); and if possible to have some work or works pointed out, in which this Philosophy is supposed to be presented in such a way as to make it fit to be a cardinal point of education.

“I may remark also, that all the Reviewer’s arguments, and, I believe, the judgments of all his ‘cloud of witnesses,’ are founded upon the nature and processes of pure mathematics only;—on a consideration of the study of the mere properties of space and number. My suggestion of the means of increasing the utility of mathematical studies was directed mainly to this point;—that we should avoid confining ourselves to pure mathematics;—that we should resort to departments in which we have to deal with other grounds of necessary truth, as well as the intuitions of space and time: so far, therefore, the Reviewer and I have a common aim, and I notice this with the more pleasure, since we have so far a better prospect of understanding each other in any future discussion.”

“I will not now trespass further on your patience. In order to remind my Cambridge readers of the state of the question I shall probably place before them something to the same effect as what I have now written.

“Believe me, my dear Sir,

“Yours very faithfully,

“W. WHEWELL.”

NOTES to the above Letter.

¹ We of course willingly admit whatever Mr Whewell says was *his intention* in writing his pamphlet; but we must be allowed to maintain that, as written, our view of its purport (in recommendation and defence of mathematics in general as a mean of liberal education) is the view which every reader, looking either at the title of the treatise, or at the distribution and conduct of its argument, must necessarily adopt. The title is ‘*Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics as a part of a Liberal Education.*’ The pamphlet opens with a statement of the two counter opinions in regard to the study of mathematics as a mental discipline;—the one holding it to be highly beneficial, the other highly detrimental. Mr Whewell then proceeds,—‘Any view of this subject which would show us how far and under what circumstances *each* of these

‘opinions is true, would probably help us to see how we must regulate our studies so as to make them most beneficial,’ &c. It is in this belief that the few reflections which follow have been written.’ The plan of the work being thus laid down, the author goes on to accomplish the *first part* of his undertaking, by endeavouring to show, that the *former opinion* is absolutely true; inasmuch as the study of mathematics is conducive, even more than logic, to the cultivation of the reasoning faculty. This being done, he passes to the *second part*, and endeavours to show that the *latter opinion* is conditionally true, inasmuch as certain modes of teaching the science, to which Mr Whewell is opposed, are given up as worthy of all condemnation. These two parts are, *ex facie libri*, co-ordinate; nay, so far is the first part, though occupying a smaller portion of the pamphlet, from being ‘obviously only an introduction’ to the second, that, whatever were the *intentions* of the writer, if the two be not allowed to be co-ordinate, the reader must, from the tenor of the writing, hold the second to be co-relative to the first. For it is only on the ground of the first part—only on the supposition of the general argument being conclusive, that the second part, or special argument, is allowed by the pamphlet subordinately to emerge. The following are the words of transition from the one head to the other:—‘*Supposing*, then, that we wish to consider mathematics as an element of education, and as a means of forming logical habits better than logic itself, it becomes an important question, how far this study, *thus recommended*, is justly chargeable with evil consequences, such as have been already mentioned.’ Then follows the rest of the passage (p. 8) referred to by Mr Whewell and quoted by the Review; in which, however, there is not to be found a single word of a different tendency.

² We must be allowed to observe that we did not. That expression was used by us in speaking of the *whole work*, and in speaking of it as yet known *only from the advertisement of its title*. What is Mr Whewell’s notion of a *treatise*?

³ If the first division of the pamphlet be not a ‘vindication of mathematical study as a principal mean in the cultivation of the reasoning faculty’ (for that is our full expression), what is it? We said that it was too short; and that it took notice of none of the objections to the study in general as disqualifying the mind for observation and common reasoning. We cannot, therefore, justly be accused of allowing it to be supposed, far less of holding it out, to be other than what it actually is. How then can Mr Whewell assert, as he afterwards does, that we ‘attempted to gain a victory by representing a page or two of his “Thoughts”

‘as containing all that can be said by an able, earnest, official ‘advocate?’ But though the general argument was, as we stated, brief and only confirmatory, were we not warranted, on that very ground, in supposing that Mr Whewell regarded it as of itself sufficiently strong—as of itself decisive? Because it is shown to be illogical, it does not cease to exist.

‘The expression quoted was, *in its connexion*, manifestly only one of personal civility to Mr Whewell. Of all meanings, assuredly the one here put upon is about the last it could reasonably bear. We were too conscious of the unavoidable haste in which the article and its authorities were thrown together, with sole reference to Mr Whewell’s treatise, to dream of pluming ourselves on our preparation for attack. On this ground we must even found an excuse for one error at least, incurred in our too absolute assertion touching Bacon, in the text and relative note at p. 450. As to *truce*, *pretext*, and *adversary*, we comprehend nothing.

‘The one general thesis we maintained was, that the study of the mathematical sciences are, for reasons assigned, undeserving of *special* encouragement, *as a mean of mental cultivation*; and that the university of Cambridge, in so far as its system of education bestows not only a *special*, but a *paramount*, not to say an exclusive, encouragement on these sciences, violates every principle of academical policy.

‘We objected not to the works in which mathematics are studied in Cambridge; but to the *disproportioned encouragement which that university accords to the study of mathematics altogether*; and we argued for the restoration of philosophy proper, to its old and legitimate pre-eminence, and not for the introduction of any *particular books* in which that philosophy may be best presented. This may form the subject of ulterior discussion. But we shall certainly not perplex the present question by a compliance with Mr Whewell’s misplaced request.

‘Our objections, and those of the authorities we adduced, are directed against the mathematical sciences in general. Mathematics can be applied to objects of experience only in so far as these are *mensurable*; that is, in so far as they come, or are supposed to come, under the categories of extension and number. Applied mathematics are, therefore, equally limited and equally unimproving as pure. The sciences, indeed, with which mathematics are thus associated may afford a more profitable exercise of mind; but this is only in so far as they *supply the matter of observation, and probable reasoning, and therefore before this matter is hypothetically subjected to mathematical demonstration*. Were there in the physical sciences, as Mr Whewell supposes, other

grounds of necessary truth than the intuitions of space and time, the demonstrations deduced from these would be equally monotonous, equally easy, and equally unimproving as the mathematical. But that Mr Whewell confounds empirical with pure knowledge, is shown by the very example he adduces at p. 33 of his pamphlet. The solution of that requires nothing but experience and the logical analysis of thought.

NOTE to the Article on 'Orange Associations.'

WE are sorry to find that in our Article on this subject, contained in the Number published in January last, we had been so far misled by the evidence of one of the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary Committee on 'Orange Lodges,' as to state (p. 493) that a Mr Hamilton, a Lieutenant of Yeomanry, who fled from justice, after being charged with a murder, was, on his return, and without being tried, made a Justice of the Peace in the county of Tyrone, where the murder was committed. As the witness alluded to has publicly admitted the inaccuracy of this part of his evidence, we feel ourselves called upon to correct our misstatement; and to add, that the Mr Hamilton in question neither is, nor ever was, a Justice of the Peace in that county. These facts are fully established by a Letter written by the Earl of Caledon, Lord Lieutenant of the county, to Viscount Morpeth, and which appeared in the Irish Newspapers subsequently to the publication of our Article.

We believe we were mistaken also in stating (p. 521) that Lord Enniskillen held office in Ireland during the short administration of Sir Robert Peel; neither his Lordship nor any of his family having been then in office.

No. CXXVIII. will be published in July.

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JULY, 1836.

N^o. CXXVIII.

ART. I.—*Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River, and along the Shores of the Arctic Ocean, in the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835.* By CAPTAIN BACK, R.N., Commander of the Expedition. Illustrated by a Map and Plates. London: 1836.

Now that Captain Ross and his adventurous companions are enjoying the comforts of an English home, it is not easy to recall the feelings of public sympathy under which Captain Back undertook the expedition from which he has returned. There was in Captain Ross's adventure something so personal in its origin, so generous in its equipment, and so like self-immolation in its risks, that he was followed to the scene of peril by a national anxiety never before extended to any scientific expedition. As a forlorn hope commissioned to scale the ice-built fortress of a north-west passage whose outworks had scarcely been reached, and whose inner strength was unknown, Captain Ross and his party were every where regarded as a self-devoted band, marshalled not for British only, but for European interests.

When three years had successively passed away without any tidings of the expedition, the thrill of fear which originated in the warm affections of relatives and friends, was soon propagated among all classes, and the general anxiety was still farther roused by the distressing, though groundless rumour, that Captain Ross and his companions had perished. Mr George Ross, the brother of the captain, and the father of Captain James Clarke Ross, na-

turally felt the most intense solicitude respecting two such near relations; and it was through his unceasing exertions that an expedition was organized for ascertaining the fate of our countrymen. At his instigation, we believe, Dr Richardson offered his services to Government to conduct such an expedition; and Captain Back having heard, while in Italy, a vague rumour of the loss of Captain Ross's party, hastened to England to proffer his services in the same good cause.

On Captain Back's arrival in London he found that Mr Ross had prepared a petition to the King, imploring his Majesty's sanction to the immediate despatch of an expedition for ascertaining the fate of his son and brother; and during the interval which necessarily elapsed before an answer could be given, Captain Back organized the plan of the expedition, which he communicated to the Geographical Society on the 21st of August. The petition of Mr Ross having been referred by his Majesty to Lord Goderich, this nobleman recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to grant the sum of £2000 in aid of the expenses of the expedition, provided that it was commanded by Captain Back;—it being understood that the Hudson's Bay Company would furnish the supplies and canoes free of charge, and that the remainder of the expense, which was estimated at £3000, would be contributed by Captain Ross's friends.

The offer of conducting the expedition having been formally made to him by Mr Ross, Captain Back eagerly accepted of it,—well aware, from his hard-earned experience in the journeys of Franklin and Richardson, of the risks and privations to which he would be exposed.

The other £3000 which was required in addition to the contributions of the Treasury was speedily raised by the liberal subscriptions which humanity can at all times command from the sympathy of our countrymen. The Hudson's Bay Company not only directed the necessary preparations to be immediately made for it by their agents in America, and placed at the disposal of the expedition 120 bags of pemmican, two boats, and two canoes, but they took the expedition under their immediate protection by issuing a commission under their seal to Captain Back as its commander.

In conformity with his instructions, Captain Back left Liverpool on the 17th February, 1833, accompanied by Mr R. King as surgeon and naturalist, and three men, two of whom had served under Franklin. After a passage of thirty-five days they reached New York, where persons of all classes vied with each other in their politeness and hospitality to the travellers. The usual forms of the Customhouse were dispensed with. The proprietors of

the Ohio steam-boat offered the use of that fine vessel to convey them to Albany, and such were the feelings with which the Americans greeted this expedition of humanity, that upwards of a thousand well-dressed persons, with the British consul at their head, cheered the steam-boat as it started from the wharf.

On the 9th of April Captain Back reached Montreal, where the principal inhabitants rivalled each other in administering to the comforts of the travellers: But even these acts of kindness had their disadvantages. The universal expression of public sympathy suddenly inspired two of his three men with apprehensions of unusual danger, and it was only by despatching them instantly to a distant post of the company that Captain Back was able to frustrate their design of quitting his service. To add to this vexation, an alarming fire broke out in the hotel where he resided, but though most of the property in the house was consumed, yet, owing to the greater part of his baggage having been removed, he only lost his barometer, which, unfortunately, was his only available one, and which it was impossible to supply.

Having procured the voluntary services of four artillerymen of the 6th battalion, and hired a sufficient number of *voyageurs* at La Chine, Captain Back quitted that place amid the firing of musketry and the most enthusiastic cheers of the officers and inhabitants. A dense crowd followed him down the canal, and in a few minutes the expedition directed the stems of their vessels into the noble stream of the St Lawrence, amid the long and loudly expressed adieus of their countrymen.

Turning off to the right, Captain Back entered the Ottawa, which for some distance below their junction rolls on its brown waters unmixed with the pure stream of the St Lawrence. Leaving the Ottawa, he entered on the left a deep and black stream, so overhung by sombre rocks and withered trees, and so bleak and lifeless, that it seemed the very abode of melancholy and despair, and recalled to Captain Back a painting representing Sadak in search of the waters of oblivion. This river carried them to Lake Nipising, from which they descended to Lake Huron by the Rivière des Français, and reached the Sault de Ste. Marie at the head of the Lake, and the extreme point to which civilisation has yet extended. Before leaving the Sault, Captain Back waited on the officers of the American garrison, accompanied by the gentlemen of the Company, and he experienced a reception in unison, as he says, with the strong feeling of interest which had been manifested for them throughout the state of New York. Not satisfied with ordinary courtesies, the commanding officer, Captain Baxly, sent to the expedition prepared venison,

tongues, sweet corn, and many other dainties, which, though as Captain Back remarks, they were most welcome on their own account, were still more valuable from the feeling which had prompted the present.*

After crossing the northern extremity of Lake Superior, the expedition arrived at Fort William on the 20th May. On the 31st they crossed the Lac de la Pluie. On the 6th June they reached Fort Alexander, at the southern extremity of Lake Winnipeg, where they remained till the 11th of June; and on the 17th they reached the depot, called Norway House, situated on the Jack River, where they met with the most cordial reception.

Having completed his equipments, Captain Back left Norway House on the 28th June with 16 persons, viz. two steersmen, three carpenters, four artillerymen, two fishermen, one interpreter, and several *voyageurs*, to whom eight other persons were subsequently added. After passing the Grand Rapid minutely described by Sir J. Franklin, and *poling* up several lesser rapids, they reached the Cedar Lake, the well-known "Lac Bourbon," where the savage barbarity of the Indians had annihilated for ever the pious labours of the earlier missionaries. On the right bank of the river Sashkashawan they were surprised with the sight of a *large farm-house, with barns and fenced enclosures, within which eight or ten fine cows, and three or four horses were grazing*, belonging to a freeman of the name of Turner, who was out of the way.

On the 5th July Captain Back reached Pine Island lake, on the 17th Isle à la Crosse, and keeping to the left of Clear Lake, they entered Buffalo Lake, where they were greeted with one of those violent thunder-storms which seldom fail to terrify those who navigate it. On the 21st July, Captain Back reached Portage la Loche, where the traveller comes suddenly on the spot from which a most picturesque and beautiful view bursts upon the eye. 'A thousand feet below,' says he, 'the silvan landscape lay spread before us to the extent of thirty-six miles, in all the wild luxuriance of its summer clothing. Even the most jaded of the party, as he broke from the gloom of the wood on this enchanting scene, seemed to forget his weariness, and halted involuntarily with his burden to gaze for a moment with a sort of wondering admiration on a spectacle so novel and magnificent.'

* Another instance of American generosity deserves to be mentioned. Mr De Witt Bloodgood having heard at Albany that Captain Ross had suffered a loss of property, particularly his instruments, by the fire at Montreal, generously offered to do any thing in his power 'by way of replacing any articles at his own expense.'

Upon his arrival at Pine Portage on the 23d July, Captain Back met with Mr A. R. M'Leod, of the Hudson Bay Company's service, and though this gentleman had been long indisposed, and was then on his way to Canada for the re-establishment of his health, yet no sooner did he see the circular of Mr Simpson,* and learn the humane object of the mission, than he removed all apprehensions from Captain Back's mind, by declaring his sympathies for our long absent countrymen, and his gallant determination to sacrifice his own plans, and accompany the expedition.

From Fort Chipewyan, where the expedition arrived on the 29th July, they went to the Salt River, where they met, on the 4th of August, with part of a tribe of Slave Lake Indians. Soon after this a larger party appeared, of which Captain Back gives the following interesting description :—

‘ Shortly afterwards, we met a whole fleet of canoes, whose approach was notified by loud and discordant sounds—a horrible concert of voices of all ages, utterly indescribable. Their chief was an intelligent looking old man, called by the traders, “le camarade de Mandeville ;” and from his extensive knowledge of the country to the northward and eastward of Great Slave Lake, there was every reason to expect considerable information, if it could only be wormed out of him. The *tout ensemble* of these “people” was wild and grotesque in the extreme. One canoe in particular fixed my attention ; it was small even for a canoe ; and how eight men, women, and children contrived to stow away their legs, in a space not more than large enough for three Europeans, would have been a puzzling problem to one unacquainted with the suppleness of an Indian's unbandaged limbs. There, however, they were, in a temperature of 66°, packed heads and tails like Yarmouth herrings—half naked—their hair in elf-locks, long and matted—filthy beyond description—and all squalling together. To complete the picture, their dogs, scarce one degree below them, formed a sort of body guard, on each side of the river ; and as the canoe glided away with the current, all the animals together, human and canine, set up a shrill and horrible yell.

‘ By sunset I got well up the stream ; but not having been there for thirteen years, and my crew being no better acquainted with the locality than myself, we took a wrong channel, and encamped. The following morning the route was regained ; and on arriving at the proper spot, we filled our five large bags with pure and white salt, in the short space of half an hour. There were no mounds like those seen in 1820 ; but just at the foot of the hill which bounds the prairie in that quarter, there were three springs, varying in diameter from four to twelve feet, and

* Requesting one of the three Company's officers at Red River settlement to accompany Captain Back, and promising the officer that did so early promotion to a chief factorship.

producing hillocks of salt, from fourteen to thirty inches in height. The streams were dry, but the surface of the clayey soil was covered, to the extent of a few hundred yards towards the plain, with a white crust of saline particles.

From the chief of this tribe, le camarade de Mandeville, Captain Back received the important intelligence, which was confirmed by a half-bred Indian, that there were beyond the Great Slave Lake two large rivers, the Thlew-ee-choh, and the T̄ch-lon, which maintained nearly a parallel direction E.N.E. to the sea, into which they fell by mouths not far distant. The superiority of the T̄ch-lon was strongly insisted upon, and the Thlew-ee-choh was represented as narrow, shoally, and dangerous, full of rapids and perilous cascades, and destitute even of wood for fuel. Perplexed with this information, which was not satisfactory, Captain Back pursued his voyage down Slave River, and on the 8th of August he reached the Great Slave Lake, and was received at Fort Resolution by Mr Mac-Donnell, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

At this station Captain Back again endeavoured to acquire correct information respecting the two rivers already mentioned; but though he was discouraged by all the Indians from following his projected route down the Thlew-ee-choh, yet, with his wonted sagacity, he relied on the accuracy of his original opinion, supported by the observations of Black Meat, an old Indian warrior whom he had known in 1820, and he accordingly resolved to descend the Thlew-ee-choh.

For this purpose, he divided his crew into two parties, one of which, consisting of five, was to be left as an escort to Mr McLeod, to establish their winter-quarters at Fort Reliance, and, with the other, consisting of his English servant, one Canadian, two half-breeds, and two Indians, Captain Back set sail in his old canoe on the 11th of August. The navigation of the Great Slave Lake did not present many objects of interest. The drift wood, which occurred in such piles from the Slave to the Mackenzie river, and to a great distance along the east and west shores of the lake, was no longer seen, and the water, in place of being turbid and yellow, was of a pellucid green colour. The country to the left became gradually less rugged, but the scenery to the right increased in grandeur and boldness; and, to use Captain Back's strong expression, 'never, either in Alp or Apennine, had he seen a picture of such rugged wildness.' The rocks, rising perpendicularly 1200 feet high, were rent, as if by some violent convulsion, into deep chasms and rugged fissures, inaccessible to the nimblest animal. 'A few withered pines, grey with age, juttied their shrivelled arms from the extreme ridge of the abyss, on one of

‘ which a majestic fishing eagle was seated, and there, unscared by our cries, reigned in solitary state the monarch of the rocky wilderness.’ Towards the east end of the lake they came upon a new river, whose steep and rocky bed was considered as the only practicable route to the high lands, from which the waters take an opposite course. This stream was called Hoar-Frost River, and near its mouth was a magnificent and highly picturesque waterfall (Beverley’s Fall, which is represented in a fine engraving on stone), the commencement of a series of appalling cascades and rapids, characteristic of the river. Captain Back was obliged to have his canoe, as well as its lading, carried over a slippery and uneven acclivity, but no sooner had his exhausted men enjoyed ‘ a few hundred yards paddling’ along a smooth pool, than they came in sight of fresh clouds of spray from a third and a fourth fall, too dangerous to approach. Here they had no alternative but to bear their canoe and baggage over rugged ridges, fallen trees, rivulets, and moss-covered swamps, till they emerged into an open space, barren and desolate, where ‘crag was piled upon crag, to the height of two thousand feet from the base,’ and where the course of the contracted river, now far beneath them, was rendered visible by *an uninterrupted line of foam*. The toil with which this portage was surmounted was intolerable, and was greatly exaggerated by the combined attack of myriads of sand-flies and mosquitoes, which made their faces stream with blood. Captain Back has repeatedly recurred to this source of annoyance, of which we shall endeavour to give the reader some idea. At Fort Alexander Mr King was attacked with such severity by mosquitoes, and his features so changed in the morning, that he could scarcely be recognised. At another time, the face of the steersman was so swollen that he could scarcely see.

‘ There is certainly no form of wretchedness, among those to which the chequered life of a *voyageur* is exposed, at once so great and so humiliating, as the torture inflicted by these puny blood-suckers. To avoid them is impossible: and as for defending himself, though for a time he may go on crushing by thousands, he cannot long maintain the unequal conflict; so that at last, subdued by pain and fatigue, he throws himself in despair with his face to the earth, and, half suffocated in his blanket, groans away a few hours of sleepless rest. * * * *

‘ But how can I possibly give an idea of the torment we endured from the sand-flies? As we dived into the confined and suffocating chasms, or waded through the close swamps, they rose in clouds, actually darkening the air: to see or to speak was equally difficult, for they rushed at every undefended part, and fixed their poisonous fangs in an instant. Our faces streamed with blood, as if leeches had been applied; and there was a burning and irritating pain, followed by immediate inflammation, and producing giddiness, which almost drove us

mad. Whenever we halted, which the nature of the country compelled us to do often, the men, even Indians, threw themselves on their faces, and moaned with pain and agony. My arms being less encumbered, I defended myself in some degree by waving a branch in each hand; but even with this, and the aid of a veil and stout leather gloves, I did not escape without severe punishment. For the time, I thought the tiny plagues worse even than mosquitoes.

While speaking on this subject, I am reminded of a remark of Maufelly, which, as indicative of the keen observation of the tribe, and illustrating the humanity of the excellent individual to whom it alludes, I may be pardoned for introducing here.—It was the custom of Sir John Franklin never to kill a fly; and though teased by them beyond expression, especially when engaged in taking observations, he would quietly desist from his work, and patiently blow the half-gorged intruders from his hands—"the world was wide enough for both." This was jocosely remarked upon at the time by Akaitcho and the four or five Indians who accompanied him; but the impression, it seems, had sunk deep, for on Maufelly's seeing me fill my tent with smoke, and then throw open the front and beat the sides all round with leafy branches, to drive out the stupefied pests before I went to rest, he could not refrain from expressing his surprise that I should be so unlike the old chief, who would not destroy so much as a single mosquito.'

After surmounting sunken rocks and fresh rapids, which damaged the canoe, and carrying their whole *materiel* over three distinct falls, rising like huge steps to the height of forty-five feet, they completed the last ascent of this turbulent though romantically beautiful river, diversified in endless succession with all the finest elements of the picturesque.

After repairing the canoe, the travellers entered (20th August) upon a different scene, an amphitheatre of gently rising hills, embraced a calm sheet of water, which was called Cook's Lake; and on the 22d they reached another lake of considerable size, to which Captain Back gave the name of Walmsley. At the east end of this lake they found a chain of small lakes, which led them to a river barred by fifteen portages, which, in place of annoying him as before, Captain Back regarded as the ladder by which he was to mount to the dividing ridge of land, 'the attainment of that goal being all which, at that late season, he could hope to accomplish.' A succession of lakes and difficult portages, where their frail canoes were injured, took Captain Back to an open space of water, where he saw some sand-hills to the north-west, which led him to conclude that he was not far from the summit of land. Other four rapids, with an aggregate fall of from sixteen to twenty feet, were the only obstacles to the navigation of a river which opened on a magnificent lake, which received the name of Clinton-Colden Lake, connected by a

narrow portage with a splendid sheet of water about sixty miles long, and twenty-five broad, which was called Lake Aylmer, and which forms the summit level of the country. This was nearly the termination of Captain Back's journey for the season. Here, on the 29th August, he discovered the existence and the source of the Thlew-ee-choh, the object of his most eager desire, and the reward of all his toils.

'Becoming anxious about the men, I took my gun, and, following a N.N.W. direction, went out to look for them. Having passed a small sheet of water, between the rivulet, or channel, previously mentioned, and Lake Aylmer, I ascended a hill, from the top of which I discerned, to my great delight, a rapid, evidently connected with the stream which flowed through the narrow channel from the lake. With a quickened step I proceeded to trace its course, and, in doing so, was further gratified at being obliged to wade through the sedgy waters of springs. Crossing two rivulets, whose lively ripples ran due north into the rapid, the thought occurred to me, that these feeders might be tributaries to the Thlew-ee-choh; and, yielding to that pleasing emotion, which discovers, in the first bound of their transport, may be pardoned for indulging, I threw myself down on the bank, and drank a hearty draught of the limpid water. From a height a mile forward, the line of stream could be distinctly traced into an open space, which, as it contracted, inclined to the north; and this, with the appearance of two plovers, exactly resembling the noisy plover (*Charadrius vociferus*) about Fort Enterprise, convinced me that I stood on part of the continuous height of land which extends hither from the borders of the Copper Mine River. The men not making their appearance, I raised a dense smoke, by firing the moss, to apprise them of my situation; and returned to the tent, passing, on my way, a white wolf, which was sneaking towards a deer. A smoke seen to rise from behind the sand-hills announced, shortly afterwards, the approach of the men; and at a late hour, the Indian first, and afterwards the others, came in. De Charloit groaned under the weight of a musk-ox's head and horns, while his companions were more usefully laden with the spoils of some good fat deer.

'They had fallen on the river the second day, and described it as being large enough for boats. Returning along its banks by a wide lake, and two tributary streams as large as itself, they ascertained that it was really the same stream, the source of which I had thus accidentally discovered in the Sand-hill Lake, close to us; which was now distinguished by the name of Sussex Lake, after His Royal Highness the Vice-Patron of the expedition. I had reserved a little grog for this occasion, and need hardly say with what cheerfulness it was shared among the crew, whose welcome tidings had verified the notion of Dr Richardson and myself, and thus placed beyond doubt the existence of the Thlew-ee-choh.'

Embarking on the Thlew-ee-choh, Captain Back followed a small lake until it ended in a rapid choked by immense boulders.

ders, over which the canoe was lifted. The stream again widened into what may be called a lake, and received the tribute of Icy river from the Westward, whose banks were cased with ponderous ice. After passing a curious conical island, whose sides consisted of clean stones, piled up twenty feet, a narrow conducted them to Musk-ox Lake, about six miles long. Here commenced a series of rapids, which the canoe was too weak to run, and too rickety to be lifted over; and as the month of August had closed, Captain Back resolved to return southward to his winter quarters at Fort-Reliance. He retraced his steps by Lakes Aylmer and Clinton-Colden; but after descending the rapids, which he encountered on the 23d of August, he struck southward into Artillery Lake, about forty miles long, and twelve broad, which discharges itself by a rapid river—the Ah-hel-dessy, we presume*—into the eastern end of Slave Lake, near Fort-Reliance. The canoe was now in such a battered state, that they were unable to descend the foaming rapids of the Ah-hel-dessy; and as there was a shorter cut by land to Fort-Reliance, they left the canoe and some other things *en cache*, and each man loaded with a weight of 120 lbs., began to pick his way over broken rocks and intersecting gullies. Under this load the mosquitoes and sand-flies attacked them with the most unrelenting hostility, and their route became almost perilous, from the confused masses of granitic debris, and the narrow shelves of perpendicular rocks, over which their path lay. But the toils of this steep and weary track were amply compensated when, upon reaching the summit of the mountain, they saw the western sun shedding his golden rays on Artillery Lake in the far horizon, and another lake at the extreme south.

‘It was a sight altogether novel to me; I had seen nothing in the Old World at all resembling it. There was not the stern beauty of Alpine scenery, and still less the fair variety of hill and dale, forest and glade, which makes the charm of a European landscape. There was nothing to catch or detain the lingering eye, which wandered on, without a check, over endless lines of round backed rocks, whose sides were rent into indescribably eccentric forms. It was like a stormy ocean suddenly petrified. Except a few tawny and pale green lichens, there was nothing to relieve the horror of the scene; for the fire had scathed it, and the grey and black stems of the mountain pine, which lay prostrate in mournful confusion, seemed like the blackened corpses of departed vegetation. It was a picture of “hideous ruin and combustion.”’

* This river, though often mentioned, does not appear in Captain Back's map.

On the 7th September Captain Back arrived at Fort Reliance with his motley group of swollen faces and tattered garments. He was warmly received by Mr M'Leod, and was delighted to see the newly erected framework of his winter habitation, which his friend had constructed since the 22d of August, with the assistance of only four men. The site of it formed the extremity of M'Leod's bay; and, covered with shrubs and trees, it resembled a park more than an American forest. Mr King arrived on the 16th September, and as it was desirable to complete their establishment with the least possible delay, the men were divided into parties, and regular tasks assigned them; one party felled trees, another squared them into beams; some sawed them into planks, while others chipped the shapeless granite, or filled the boat with sand and grass as a substitute for mortar. In a few days the framework of the house and observatory was completed, but owing to the smallness of the trees, and the distance from which they were brought, the filling up of the walls was a slow operation, which was not completed till the 5th of November.

The winter which Captain Back spent at Fort Reliance was one of severe suffering and privation. A combination of unfavourable circumstances occasioned an early scarcity of food. Although several hundreds of deer and musk-oxen were seen in groups, yet, owing to the mildness of the season, and the abundance of the reindeer lichen on which they feed, they remained at a distance in the barren lands; and owing also to the manner in which they were harassed when they did appear, it was impossible to get within gunshot of them. The fishery, too, on which they had placed great reliance, had failed. The few fishes that were caught were indifferent, and it was found that the trout had devoured the spawn of the white fish. From these causes Captain Back was reluctantly driven to his sea stock of pemmican before September was over; and though the men were divided into parties, and sent to a specified part of the lake to obtain subsistence, yet their success was so partial that Captain Back was compelled, in the beginning of November, to reduce the daily rations, and stop the usual allowance to the dogs, which were thus so reduced as to be barely able to crawl.

Had Captain Back to have provided only for his own party, his duties would have been less severe, and his anxieties less painful; but the sick, the aged, and the starving Indians thronged to the house of the white man, when their own kindred were unwilling or unable to relieve them. Infirm old men, women, and children were left at his door, and though on such an emergency as the present, it was necessary to prevent the repetition of the practice, yet the unfortunate applicants never went away without food and

assistance. The following case is an example of the appeals which were too frequently made to the humanity of our countrymen :—

‘ A fire being seen on the opposite side of the bay, a canoe was despatched to see who had made it ; and soon returned, not with a good load of meat, as we had hoped, but with a poor old woman, bent double by age and infirmities, and rendered absolutely frightful by famine and disease. The ills that “ flesh is heir to ” had been prodigally heaped on her, and a more hideous figure Dante himself has not conceived.

‘ Clad in deer skins, her eyes all but closed, her hair matted and filthy, her skin shrivelled, and feebly supporting, with the aid of a stick held by both hands, a trunk which was literally horizontal, she presented, if such an expression may be pardoned, the shocking and unnatural appearance of a human brute. It was a humiliating spectacle, and one which I would not willingly see again. Poor wretch ! Her tale was soon told : old and decrepit, she had come to be considered as a burden even by her own sex. Past services and toils were forgotten, and in their figurative style, they coldly told her, that “ though she appeared to “ live she was already dead,” and must be abandoned to her fate. “ There “ is a new fort,” said they ; “ go there ; the whites are great medicine “ men, and may have power to save you.” This was a month before ; since which time she had crawled and hobbled along the rocks, the scanty supply of berries which she found upon them just enabling her to live. Another day or two must have ended her sufferings.’

This unhappy being, whom Captain Back afterwards describes ‘ as exhibiting a form and variety of human wretchedness which ‘ he had never witnessed,’ and as creating, by her appearance, ‘ an involuntary shuddering, crawling on her hands and knees, ‘ stationed herself, along with others, singly or in groups, by all ‘ the men at their meals, envying every mouthful, and imploring ‘ the servants even for the scrapings of the kettles.’

When the river and the borders of the lake were frozen, the scarcity of food increased, but the hopes of the party were brightened by the accidental arrival of two young hunters, who, unable to find their way back to the chief Akaitcho, exchanged for tobacco the fresh meat of some deer which they had slain. When this supply was exhausted, and the fort surrounded with women and children screeching for food, Captain Back's old friend Akaitcho appeared with a little meat, which quieted the uproar. He wore round his neck the silver medal which Sir John Franklin had presented to him at Fort Enterprise, and promised that the travellers should not want as long as he had any thing to send to the fort.

Although Captain Back made every exertion to procure fish and other food, wherever there was any probability of finding it, and diminished his party as much as possible, yet before December

had closed, famine had universally assailed the Indians, and threatened the travellers with destruction. Forty of the choicest hunters among the Chipewyans had perished from actual want, many others had not been heard of, and the miserable survivors had experienced, both from the rigours of the climate and the want of food, the severest hardships.

‘The interpreter came from one of the fishing stations with an account of the loss of some nets, and the inadequacy of their means of support. They seldom took more than thirteen small fish in a day, and the Indians, now reduced to a state of great weakness, crowded round them for a portion of what they could ill afford. It was the same with us; for those who happened to be within a moderate distance fell back on the Fort, as the only chance of prolonging their existence; and we freely imparted the utmost we could spare. In vain did we endeavour to revive their drooping spirits, and excite them to action; the scourge was too heavy, and their exertions were entirely paralysed. No sooner had one party closed the door, than another, still more languid and distressed, feebly opened it, and confirmed by their half-famished looks and sunken eyes their heart-rending tale of suffering. They spoke little, but crowded in silence round the fire, as if eager to enjoy the only comfort remaining to them. A handful of mouldy pounded meat, which had been originally reserved for our dogs, was the most liberal allowance we could make to each; and this meal, unpalatable and unwholesome as it was, together with the customary presentation of the friendly pipe, was sufficient to efface for a moment the recollection of their sorrows, and even to light up their faces with a smile of hope. “We know,” they said, “that you are as much distressed as ourselves, and “you are very good.” Afflicting as it was to behold such scenes of suffering, it was at the same time gratifying to observe the resignation with which they were met. There were no impious upbraidings of Providence, nor any of those revolting acts, too frequent within late years, which have cast a darker shade over the character of the savage Indian. While the party thus scantily relieved were expressing their gratitude, one of their companions arrived, and after a short pause announced that a child was dying for want of food, close at hand. The father instantly jumped up; and having been supplied with some pemmican, for we had no other meat, hurried away, and happily arrived in time to save its life.’

Captain Back's anxiety respecting the fate of the main body of the Indians under Akaitcho became so great that Mr M'Leod most humanely volunteered to search for them, and to encourage them and stimulate them to exertion by his presence; and as if it were the reward of this act of kindness, one of Captain Back's Indians, who had been with Akaitcho, arrived after Mr M'Leod's departure with a small quantity of half-dried meat which he had *dragged eight days' march*. This welcome messenger brought the agreeable tidings that the deer were numerous,

and that meat had been put *en cache* for his use. These flattering prospects, however, were darkened by the return of the fishing party, who, during the last fortnight, had not been able to procure as much as supported them, and the starving Indians continued to flock to the white man's door.

Our hall was in a manner filled with invalids and other stupidly dejected beings, who, seated round the fire, occupied themselves in roasting and devouring small bits of their reindeer garments, which, even when entire, afforded them a very insufficient protection against a temperature of 102° *below the freezing point*. The father torpid and despairing—the mother, with a hollow and sepulchral wail, vainly endeavouring to soothe the infant, which with unceasing moan clung to her shrivelled and exhausted breast—the passive child gazing vacantly around; such was one of the many groups that surrounded us. But not a murmur escaped from the men. When the weather was a little milder, we took them into the store, and showing them our remaining provision, represented the necessity of their making an effort to reach Akaitcho, where their own relations would supply them plentifully: for, trifling as was the pittance dealt out to them by us, yet it contributed to the diminution of our stock, and it was evident that by strict economy alone we could get through the season at all. With the apathy so strikingly characteristic of the inert and callous savage, to whom life itself is a thing scarce worth preserving, some declared they could not, and others that they would not go. This obstinacy compelled me to reduce their allowance, a measure of necessary rigour, which ultimately drove the stronger away, and left us more means to nourish and support the weaker. Mr King was unremitting in his care of those who required medical aid; and often did I share my own plate with the children, whose helpless state and piteous cries were peculiarly distressing. Compassion for the full-grown may or may not be felt; but that heart must be cased in steel which is insensible to the cry of a child for food. I have no reserve in declaring the pleasure which it gave me to watch the emotions of those unfortunate little ones, as each received its spoonful of pemmican from my hand.

Captain Back and Mr King were themselves reduced to half-a-pound each of pemmican a-day, though the labouring men required a pound and three quarters. Under this diminution of food these men, particularly the artillerymen, remained cheerful and in good spirits, and Captain Back endeavoured to foster this feeling of contentment by general kindness, by a regular observance of the Sabbath (when the service was read in English and in French), and by the establishment of evening schools for their improvement. This scanty supply of food was rendered less tolerable by the extraordinary rigour of the season. Captain Back has already mentioned a cold of 102° *below the freezing point*, or 70° *below zero*, which occurred about the end of December, when he made some interesting experiments on the congelation of various fluids,

which we shall afterwards detail. The mean temperature of January, 1834, was so low as 39° below zero, and the first week of February was still more severe. This excessive cold drove every living thing from the fort, and even the few white partridges which had cheered them disappeared. On the 4th February, the thermometer stood at 60° , which, with a fresh breeze, was almost intolerable. The temperature could not be raised above 12° in a room where eight large logs of dry wood were burning in the fire-place. Ink and paint congealed. The sextant cases, and boxes of seasoned wood, which were principally of fir, split; the skin of the hands became dry and cracked, opening into unsightly and smarting gashes; and on one occasion, after Captain Back had washed his face within three feet of the fire, his hair became clotted with ice before he had time to dry it.

The Society of Fort Reliance received a gratifying variation by the arrival on the 9th February of Mr M'Leod, who had preceded a party of men laden with meat. His face was frostbitten in seven places, and all the Indians, to the number of fourteen, were similarly lacerated. The latter compared the sensation of handling their guns to that of touching red-hot iron; and so sharp was the pain, that they wrapped round the triggers leathern thongs to keep their fingers from the steel. Under such circumstances, as Captain Back remarks, 'the forest was no longer a shelter, nor the land a support, famine with her gaunt and bony arm pursued them at every turn, and strewed them lifeless on the cold bosom of the snow.' Nine had already fallen victims, and others were preserved from a similar fate by the humane interposition of Mr M'Leod. The following recital of cruelty and hunger was given by Mr Charles, the chief factor of the Chipewyan district, and affords an example of those frightful atrocities with which savage life is occasionally marked.

'A Cree Indian came to the Fort in November, 1832, after a temporary absence, and gave a plausible account of severe calamities which had befallen him in the preceding winter. After describing the horrors of starvation in the desolate forest, he said that, worn out at length by hunger and cold, his wife, the mother of his children, sunk into a lethargy and died; his daughter soon followed; and two sons, just springing into manhood, who promised to be the support of his old age—alas! they also perished; lastly, their younger children, though tended by him with unwearied solicitude, and fed for a time on the parings of their leather garments, sunk under their sufferings, and slept with their brethren. "What could I do?" exclaimed the man, with a frenzied look that almost startled the hearers,—“could I look up to the Great Spirit?—could I remain to behold my strength laid prostrate? No! no! One child was yet spared.—I fled for succour. But, oh! the woods were silent,—how silent!—I am here.”

'The boy alluded to was about eleven years of age, and at the close, as during the recital, kept his eyes vacantly fixed on the blazing fire near which he was seated, seeming unconscious that the narration was ended, and still listening, as if waiting for some dreadful story not yet told. His father spoke, and he started; then, having given him a live ember to light his half-emptied pipe, he relapsed into his steadfast gaze of vacancy.

'Not a word, not a gesture, had escaped the attentive ears and sparkling eyes of some men of his tribe who arrived just as he began to speak. Never was man more patiently listened to; his grief, or the long pauses which counterfeited it, were not once interrupted, except by his own wailings: but when he had concluded, a kind of hollow muttering arose from the grouped Indians; and the spokesman of their number began a speech, at first in a subdued tone, and then, gradually elevating his voice with the energy of one strongly excited, he finished by denouncing him as a murderer and a cannibal. The accused hesitated a few seconds, mechanically whiffing at his exhausted pipe,—and then, with the most stoical indifference, calmly denied the charge.

'But from that instant his spirits fell; and the anxious and painful expression of his countenance, whenever his son was absent for a moment, betrayed the consciousness of guilt. He could not longer look his fellow-man in the face.

'Those who had roused this inward storm kept aloof, as from a poisonous reptile; and, having obtained the trifling articles which they wanted from the store, returned to their hunting.

'The wretched man lingered about the Fort for some time, and at length, accompanied by his boy, sulkily left it.

'But by a strange infatuation (such are the mysterious ways of Providence), instead of seeking some lonely place where he might have hid his guilt, and lived unmolested, he went to the lodges of the very persons whom he had most cause to avoid,—the men who had branded him as a murderer and cannibal.

'He sought their hospitality, and was admitted; but an instinctive loathing, not unmixed with apprehension, induced them to request his departure. After a slight hesitation, he not only refused, but, assuming a tone of defiance, uttered such threats that the endurance of the Indians was exhausted, and they shot him on the spot.

'More than one gun having been fired, the boy was also wounded in the arm; and, thinking to mitigate their rage, he fled behind a tree, and offered to confess all he knew, if they would only spare his life. His wish was granted, and then was told the most sickening tale of deliberate cannibalism ever heard. The monster had, in truth, murdered his wife and children, and fed upon their reeking carcases! That the one boy was spared was owing, not to pity or affection, but to the accident of their having arrived at the Fort when they did. Another twenty-four hours would have sealed his doom also.'

During this frightful period of suffering, old Akaitcho showed himself the faithful friend of the White Man. At the dawn of every day he was equipped for the hunt, and by his personal

exertions, as well as by the force of his example, he at least mitigated the distress which he could not wholly relieve. When importuned by his tribe to consider their sufferings in preference to those of the strangers, he is reported to have said, 'But the Great Chief (Captain Back) trusts to us, and it is better that ten Indians should perish than that one white man should suffer through our negligence and breach of faith.' Maufelly, another Indian chief, who had been some months absent, arrived with the glad tidings that he had five deer killed for them, and within a couple of days' walk; and this unexpected supply furnished our travellers with the first steak of fresh meat which they had tasted for three months. A short time after, a party of Captain Back's own people arrived, after fourteen days' travelling, with a small quantity of half dried meat, in their journey for which they had been three entire days without food; and the camarade de Mandeville likewise appeared at the Fort with two sledges of dried meat, which he and an Indian youth had dragged from their lodges, five days' journey distant. Mr McLeod also sent a farther supply of food, partly obtained from Akaitcho, but accompanied with the distressing information, 'That he and his family were surrounded by difficulties, privations, and death, six more natives of either sex having sunk under the horrors of starvation.'

About the 20th of April the prospects of Captain Back began to brighten. Two glossy black ravens were the first feathered visitors that welcomed the approach of spring. Even their sharp croaking had music in its discord, and their acts of petty larceny, scarcely rebuked by the injured party, made them members of the living community in the desert. An unfortunate Iroquois, however, who did not know that the ravens had joined the expedition, could not resist the temptation of shooting them both at a single shot. Captain Back was seriously annoyed at this act of cruelty against the companions of his solitude, but it was luckily the harbinger of good tidings from England.

On the 25th of April, the anniversary of their departure from La Chine, our travellers were recounting the acts of kindness which were there shown them, when a sharp and loud knock at the door preceded a messenger with a packet from England, announcing the return of Captain Ross and his party.

'To me the intelligence was peculiarly gratifying, not only as verifying my previously expressed opinions, but as demonstrating the wisdom as well as the humanity of the course pursued by the promoters of our expedition, who had thereby rescued the British nation from an imputation of indifference which it was far indeed from meriting. In the fulness of our hearts, we assembled together, and humbly offered up our thanks to that merciful Providence, which in the beautiful language of

Scripture hath said, " Mine own will I bring, again, as I did sometime " from the deeps of the sea." The thought of so wonderful a preservation overpowered for a time the common occurrences of life. We had but just sat down to breakfast ; but our appetite was gone, and the day was passed in a feverish state of excitement. Seldom, indeed, did my friend Mr King or I indulge in a libation, but on this joyful occasion economy was forgotten ; a treat was given to the men, and for ourselves the social sympathies were quickened by a generous bowl of punch.'

This unlooked-for information necessarily occasioned a change in Captain Back's plans. Having provisions for ten persons for three months, he resolved to proceed on his voyage of discovery with one boat in place of two, and to select the best men for his crew ; the rest of the party being left under the charge of Mr M'Leod to bring from Fort Resolution the stores provided by the Hudson's Bay Company, and with instructions to meet Captain Back on the Thlew-ee-choh by the middle of September, to afford him any assistance that unforeseen misfortunes might render necessary.

In furtherance of this plan, the people dragged the pemmican and baggage to Artillery Lake, where the carpenters had finished the boat for the expedition ; and on the 7th June, Captain Back and Mr King left Fort Reliance. During the dreary winter that had closed, scenes of human misery and appalling death had never ceased to agitate them. Famine and cold, and mental cares of every kind had been their daily companions ; but these calamities were now almost forgotten in the exciting prospects of future discovery, and amid the hopes and fears which still hung round their adventurous mission.

On the 10th of June the boat was fairly launched on Artillery Lake ; and pursuing nearly the same track which they had taken the preceding year by Lake Clinton Colden, they reached Lake Aylmer on the 24th of June, which they crossed on the ice the following day. On the 27th, they reached the portage of the Thlew-ee-choh, where they met Mr M'Leod and his party, who had preceded them, depositing *caches* of meat in their progress ; and on the 28th, the boat was carried over the short portage which divides the waters that run to the south from those that run to the north, and fairly launched on the Thlew-ee-choh, which they had every reason to believe would conduct them to the Arctic sea. On the 8th July, Mr M'Leod and his party returned southward, and Captain Back and his nine companions* set out on their arduous journey.

* Mr King, two Highlanders, two half-breeds, one Orkney-man, and three artillerymen, two of whom were English.

It is not easy to convey to our readers a correct idea of the daily obstructions and dangers which Captain Back encountered in his descent of the 'Thlew-ee-choh, continually interrupted in its course by rapids, cascades, and cataracts, of all forms and magnitudes. At one time, in descending a long rapid, the boat was only saved by all hands jumping into the breakers, and keeping her stern up the stream, till she was cleared from a rock that had brought her up. At another time, when they came to 'a long and appalling rapid,' hemmed in by a wall of ice, and the current flying with the force and velocity of a torrent, the boat was lightened of her cargo, and Captain Back stationed himself on a high rock, feeling, 'with an anxious heart,' that, in running the rapid, one crash would prove fatal to the expedition: Away the boat went with the speed of an arrow, and in a moment the foam and rocks hid it from his view. A wild shriek at the same instant sounded in his ear, and seeing Mr King, who was a hundred yards before him, make a sign with his gun, and then run forwards, he advanced with inconceivable agitation, but found to his inexpressible delight that it was the triumphant shout of the crew, who had landed safely in a small bay below.

At Lake Beechey, which they passed on the 12th, the river turned like a syphon from a north-easterly to a south-easterly direction. They were now within a degree of the confluence of *Back's River* with Bathurst's Inlet, and this sudden change in the course of the 'Thlew-ee-choh could not fail, as it did, to disappoint and perplex Captain Back, all whose calculations were founded on its pursuing a southerly course, either into Back's River or into the Polar Sea. This violent and continued dip to the south indicated a termination in Chesterfield Inlet, or even Wager Bay, either of which would have rendered all his labours abortive. He had no alternative, however, but to follow the current, and in a few days he had the happiness of seeing the stream gradually assuming a more polar direction.

After passing 'an awful series of cascades,' nearly two miles in length, and making a descent in all of about 60 feet, and shooting a dangerous spout in the river, the expedition advanced more rapidly than usual. On the 16th, they found Baillie's River as large as the Thames at Westminster; and on the 19th, they entered Lake Pelly, of such immense extent, and having so many deep bays without any current, that they experienced the greatest difficulty in finding its junction with the river. On the 19th and 20th, they navigated a large lake called Lake Garry. This lake was almost united to another, viz. Lake Macdougall, a lake of great extent, with numerous islands and deep bays, where they tried for a long time in vain to find its exit. At last, the

sound of a fall indicated the direction of it, and after threading a zigzag passage through a barrier of ice, they found the whole force of the water in a contracted channel, gliding smoothly, but irresistibly, towards two stupendous gneiss rocks, from 500 to 800 feet high, rising like islands on each side, and forming the commencement of a succession of the most terrific falls and cascades, whose foaming and boiling impetuosity, sometimes swallowing within 'their yawning and cavernous sides' huge masses of ice, and again tossing their splintered fragments high into the air, produced an evident impression on the countenances of the men. The empty boat, however, was lowered, though often within an inch of destruction, by means of double lines fixed to the bow and stern, held by the most careful of the men on shore. At the last fall it was necessary to take her out of the water; and with the assistance of Captain Back and Mr King, she was with great difficulty carried below it.

In descending another rapid (Escape Rapid), on the 25th July, the rush and whirl of the rapid were so great, that the boat and men were twice in the most imminent danger of perishing by being plunged into one of the gulfs, where, in the space of a few yards, the river had the triple character of a fall, a rapid, and an eddy; and the crew owed their safety solely to an unintentional disobedience of the steersman's directions.

On the 28th of July, while surveying a rapid, Captain Back accidentally encountered a party of about thirty-five Esquimaux, 'whom they had so long and ardently wished to get a sight of.' When he evinced an intention to land, they ran towards the boat, brandished their spears, uttered loud yells, and made violent gesticulations, motioning to them not to land.

'As the boat grounded they formed into a semicircle, about twenty-five paces distant; and with the same yelling of some unintelligible word, and the alternate elevation and depression of both extended arms, apparently continued in the highest state of excitement: until, landing alone, and without visible weapon, I walked deliberately up to them, and, imitating their own action of throwing up my hands, called out *Tima*—peace. In an instant their spears were flung upon the ground; and, putting their hands on their breasts, they also called out *Tima*, with much more doubtless greatly to the purpose, but to me of course utterly unintelligible. However, I interpreted it into friendship; and, on that supposition, I endeavoured to make them comprehend that we were not Indians, but *Kabloonds*—Europeans—come to benefit, not to injure them; and as they did not, like their neighbours to the north, go through the ceremony of rubbing noses by way of salutation, I adopted the John Bull fashion of shaking each of them heartily by the hand. Then putting their breasts, according to their own manner, I conveyed to them, as well as I could, that the white men and the Esquimaux were very good friends.

'All this seemed to give great satisfaction, which was certainly not diminished by a present to each of two new shining buttons. These, some fish-hooks, and other trifles of a like kind, were the only articles which I had brought for this purpose, being strongly opposed to the customary donation of knives, hatchets, and other sharp instruments, which may be so easily turned to use against the party presenting them. They expressed much astonishment at seeing me constantly refer to a small vocabulary, with which Mr Lewis, of the Company's service, had been kind enough to provide me; and were waggish enough to laugh at my patchwork discourse of mispronounced and misapplied words, and scarcely more intelligible signs. Whilst we were thus engaged, some old men, half blind, came tottering up with their spears, accompanied by two equally old women, carrying short and rudely fashioned iron knives, which, like the sword of the redoubted Hudibras, would do to toast or strike withal; but, perceiving the uplifted hands of their friends, the men threw their spears on the ground.'

To this extract we cannot avoid adding the following excellent method of sitting for a picture, where equal advantage is given to nature and art.

"The only lady whose portrait was sketched was so flattered at being selected for the distinction, that in her fear lest I should not sufficiently see every grace of her good-tempered countenance, she intently watched my eye; and, according to her notion of the part I was pencilling, protruded it, or turned it, so as to leave me no excuse for not delineating it in the full proportion of its beauty. Thus, seeing me look at her head, she immediately bent it down; stared portentously when I sketched her eyes; puffed out her cheeks when their turn arrived; and, finally, perceiving that I was touching in the mouth, *opened it to the full extent of her jaws, and thrust out the whole length of her tongue.*'

From this good-natured tribe Captain Back received some useful geographical information. After he had sketched the river near them, one of them drew on paper with a pencil the coast line from its mouth, which he said they would reach the following day; and after prolonging it thence a little to the northward, he gave it an extraordinary bend to the southward. When it was found that the boat could not be taken over the rapid, and that the crew were unable to carry it over the long and embarrassing portage, the Esquimaux cheerfully assisted them, and enabled Captain Back to reach the Polar Sea.

On the afternoon of the 29th July, Captain Back came within view of the majestic headland of Princess Victoria, which forms the entrance of the Thlew-ee-choh into the Polar Sea, after a violent and tortuous course of 530 geographical miles, interrupted by no fewer than eighty-three falls, cascades, and rapids.

Although the main object of the expedition had been anticipated, yet Captain Back was naturally desirous to survey as much of the coast as possible, and procure all the geographical information in his power. As the whole of the estuary was blocked up with ice, he sent out exploring parties to examine carefully the nature and trending of the land. One of these, on the 5th of August, found the land so swampy, that at each step they sank to the calf of the leg, and were prevented from going deeper only by the frozen earth and ice which at that depth supported them. On the 10th of August, the impossibility of advancing among the heavy masses of ice wedged against the shore, without wading, and lifting the boat over the shoals, disheartened the men, who, being benumbed in their limbs, began to murmur at their hard and unprofitable exertions. The want of fire added to their misery : they were not able to cook the deer which they killed ; they could not even boil a little water to make tea, and for nearly eight days they had enjoyed only one hot meal. The fern and rein-deer moss was so soaked with wet, that it would not burn ; and those who were sent in search of it sometimes returned at night from a distance of ten miles without obtaining a particle of it. On one of these occasions they fell in with *a piece of drift wood, nine feet long, and nine inches in diameter*, which not only afforded them a warm meal, but, in Captain Back's opinion, became an ' incontrovertible proof ' of the set of a current from the westward along the coast to his left, and convinced him that they had arrived at the main line of the land. This opinion was confirmed by the discovery of other pieces of drift wood, and of the vertebrae and ribs of a whale ; and Captain Back became doubly anxious to reach the coast, which was so near them ; but the ice was wedged up in perpendicular pieces, ' like a vast area of large upright ' slabs, or a magnificent Stonehenge,' so that they could not stir in any direction. All that he could do, therefore, was to send out an exploring party, who reported that with hard labour they had succeeded in following the land for fifteen miles, and had gained a green hill about eighty feet high (Mount Barrow), from which they descried a line of coast to the west, running due north and south, the most northern extremity of which was called Point Richardson,—the most remote point seen by the Expedition.

The illness of two of the leading men, and the increasing uneasiness of others, together with the rapid packing of the seaward body of ice, which threatened to detain them altogether if they waited any longer for a clear channel, induced Captain Back, on the 14th August, to have the boat dragged across the

ice to their former station on the 9th, the crew having gone back four miles for the baggage; and when this arduous task was performed, they were obliged to burn their water kegs, in order to get a kettle of hot cocoa.

Every favourable change in the movements of the ice that indicated the possibility of a permanent opening, revived in Captain Back the wish which he had hoped to realize of dividing his party, leaving four to protect the boat and baggage, while the rest, with himself and Mr King, should attempt a journey by land to Point Turnagain. The want, however, of fuel and water, and even of solid land upon which to tread, and the recollection of the hazards which they had yet to encounter in ascending the Thlew-ec-choh, compelled the Expedition to unfurl the British flag, on the 16th of August, to salute it with three cheers in honour of his most gracious Majesty, and give to this portion of America the name of William IV.'s Land.

The homeward journey of Captain Back was marked by greater difficulties, though fewer dangers, than those which they had encountered in their descent of the river. Where the boat shot the cascades, or was towed down the rapids, at the risk often of their lives, it had now to be carried; and as the weather had become colder and more stormy, the severity of this labour was greatly increased. On the 21st August they again saw the Esquimaux, who declined to come near them, though presents of different kinds, ribbons, awls, hooks, and beads, were held out, and left for their use. At Lake Garry, on the 25th, they suddenly came upon another party of sixty or seventy, occupying twelve tents. The children howled and cried, and the men hallooed and forbid their approach. Captain Back, however, advanced with the usual demonstrations of friendship; but as they all retired precipitately to their tents, he turned back, and continued his journey. The conjuror of the tribe, in order to ensure the departure of the strangers, charmed them away, which he did by imitating a bear, and growling and walking on his hands and knees.

On the 17th September, Captain Back reached the first portage of the Thlew-ec-choh, where he had the happiness of meeting Mr McLeod, who, with four men and two Indians, had been waiting several days at Sandhill bay. In a few days they navigated the three lakes which discharge themselves near Fort Reliance into the Great Slave Lake, and on descending the Ah-hel-dessy, they discovered a splendid waterfall, about twelve miles from Fort Reliance. As this fall seems to be one of the finest in the world, we must extract Captain Back's interesting description of it. Having been unable to get their boat over

the portage of Anderson's falls, they were obliged to leave it, and each of the crew being laden with 75 lbs. of baggage, they were marching to the Fort across the mountains, then covered with snow four inches deep, when by the accidental appearance of spray in the distance, they were led to the discovery of this remarkable waterfall.

'We had not proceeded more than six or seven miles, when observing the spray rising from another fall, we were induced to visit it, and were well consoled for having left the boat where she was. From the only point at which the greater part of it was visible, we could distinguish the river coming sharp round a rock, and falling into an upper basin almost concealed by intervening rocks; whence it broke in one vast sheet into a chasm between four and five hundred feet deep, yet in appearance so narrow that we fancied we could almost step across it. Out of this the spray rose in misty columns several hundred feet above our heads; but as it was impossible to see the main fall from the side on which we were, in the following spring I paid a second visit to it, approaching from the western bank. The road to it, which I then traversed in snow shoes, was fatiguing in the extreme, and scarcely less dangerous; for, to say nothing of the steep ascents, fissures in the rocks, and deep snow in the valleys, we had sometimes to creep along the narrow shelves of precipices slippery with the frozen mist that fell on them. But it was a sight which well repaid any risk. My first impression was of a strong resemblance to an iceberg in Smeerenberg harbour, Spitzbergen. The whole face of the rocks forming the chasm was entirely coated with blue, green, and white ice, in thousands of pendent icicles; and there were, moreover, caverns, fissures, and overhanging ledges in all imaginable varieties of form, so curious and beautiful as to surpass any thing of which I had ever heard or read. The immediate approaches were extremely hazardous, nor could we obtain a perfect view of the lower fall, in consequence of the projection of the western cliffs. At the lowest position which we were able to attain, we were still more than a hundred feet above the level of the bed of the river beneath; and this, instead of being narrow enough to step across, as it had seemed from the opposite heights, was found to be at least two hundred feet wide.

'The colour of the water varied from a very light to a very dark green; and the spray, which spread a dimness above, was thrown up in clouds of light grey. Niagara, Wilberforce's Falls in Hood's River, the falls of Kakabikka near Lake Superior, the Swiss or Italian falls,—although they may each "charm the eye with dread," are not to be compared to this for splendour of effect. It was the most imposing spectacle I had ever witnessed; and, as its berg-like appearance brought to mind associations of another scene, I bestowed upon it the name of our celebrated navigator, Sir Edward Parry, and called it Parry's Falls.'

On the forenoon of the 27th September, our travellers reached Fort Reliance, after an absence of nearly four months. Here they spent the winter in their cheerless dwelling of wood and

mud, which had suffered severely during their absence. As there was not food for the whole party, all, except six, went with Mr M'Leod to the fisheries. The Indians brought them provisions from time to time, and Akaitcho with his followers did not fail to add his contribution. The winter was spent in tolerable comfort. Captain Back registered his observations and constructed his chart. An hour every other night was devoted to the instruction of the men, and divine service was read every Sunday, which was always held sacred as a day of rest. Although the weather was at first severe, yet after January it became so unusually mild, that Captain Back was able to leave Fort Reliance on the 21st of March; and having taken leave of Mr M'Leod at the fisheries, went to Fort Resolution, and from thence to Fort Chipewyan, where he arrived on the 10th of April, and was hospitably entertained by Mr E. Smith, the chief factor. Leaving this fort on the 28th May, he reached Norway haven on the 24th June. At Sault Ste. Marie, where he arrived about the end of July, he was hospitably received by the American commandant, Major Codd, who welcomed him with a salute of eleven guns, and on the 8th September he reached Liverpool, after a passage from New York of twenty-two days, and an absence from England of two years and nearly seven months.

The extracts which we have given from Captain Back's narrative must have already convinced our readers of its great literary merit. As a composition, it is superior to every similar work. The tale of suffering and toil, monotonous as the strain must be, is modestly and clearly told. The style of the work is simple and elegant, the observations and reasonings judicious and sound, and every page breathes a spirit of truth, piety, and philanthropy.

Before giving our readers an account of the scientific results obtained by Captain Back, we must remind them that it was an expedition of humanity rather than of science, and that objects, decidedly of a secondary nature, could not be pursued as they would have been under other circumstances. This apology is made in reference to the meteorological observations, which are very imperfect. In so far as they go, however, they have been conducted with regularity and judgment. Captain Back registered the indications of the thermometer 15 times in 24 hours; he measured also the force of the wind, and noted the prevailing winds and weather. As the table, however, gives us only the mean temperature of *seven* continuous months in 1833-4, and only *five* in 1834-5, we cannot deduce from them the mean temperature of the year for Fort Reliance. The following is an abstract of the whole meteorological observations :—

	Mean Temp.		Mean Temp.
1833. November,	+ 14°.82	1834. November,	+ 12°.00
December,	— 1 .71	December,	— 32 .43
1834. January,	— 33 .39	1835. January,	— 16 .62
February,	— 14 .37	February,	— 23 .32
March,	— 6 .14	March,	— 14 .79
April,	+ 8 .23		
May,	+ 36 .03		

From these observations we cannot deduce with any degree of truth the mean temperature of a single year, unless indeed we compare the temperatures of the seven months in 1833-4 with the temperatures of the same months observed in some other arctic parallel, and presume that in both cases they bear the same relation to the mean temperature of the two places. This indeed would be a tolerable guess at the truth; but the preceding table enables us to show how great the error is likely to prove, even if the two localities were placed in the same isothermal line, and had the same character of climate. The mean temperature, for example, of the first *five* months of 1833-4 is $-8^{\circ} 16$, whereas the mean temperature of the same months in 1834-5 is so low as $-15^{\circ} 02$, making a difference of no less than about 7° , which clearly shows how little we could trust to a mean temperature computed in the manner above mentioned.*

The greatest degree of cold registered by Captain Back was -70° , which happened on the 17th January, 1834. The ink froze in the pen $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from a large fire. In Captain Back's room the temperature was -8° , and the smoke of a wax candle in the observatory at a temperature of -34° rose in a sooty black column. The following interesting experiments were made on the effect and intensity of the cold.

' With the thermometer at 62 minus, a square six-ounce bottle of sulphuric ether with a ground stopper, was taken out of the medicine chest, exactly in the same state as it had been packed at Apothecaries' Hall, viz. with the stopper down, and exposed immediately below the registering thermometer on the snow. In fifteen minutes, the interior upper surface of the sides of the bottle was coated with ice, and a thick efflorescent sediment covered the bottom, while the ether generally appeared viscous and opaque. After having remained an hour, during which the temperature rose to 60° minus, it had scarcely changed, or, perhaps, as Mr King agreed with me in thinking, it was more opaque. The bottle was then carefully brought into the house, and placed on a

* The mean annual temperature might have been obtained by leaving one or two persons at Fort-Reliance for the purpose of making observations during Captain Back's absence.

table, within four feet and a half of the fire; and though so near, and with a temperature of 32° plus, it did not recover its former clearness or purity under forty-two minutes.

'A bottle of nitric ether, similar in dimensions to the sulphuric, was not changed in the same time; but after two hours' exposure it also became viscid, the temperature in the mean time having varied from 60 to 56 minus. A fluid drachm and a half of sulphuric ether was put into an ounce and a half bottle with a glass stopper; and when it had become viscous the stopper was withdrawn, and a lighted paper applied to the mouth, when it ignited with an explosion and an escape of gas. On repeating the experiment, the ignition did not take place until the light was brought into contact with the liquid; but it was accompanied by a similar explosion.

'A small bottle of pyroligneous acid froze in less than 30 minutes, at a temperature of 57° minus; as did also the same quantity of 1 part of rectified spirit and 2 of water, 1 part of the same and 1 of water. Leeward Island rum became thick in a few minutes, but did not freeze.

'A mixture of 2 parts pure spirit and 1 water froze into ice in three hours, with a temperature from 65° and 61° minus. Another mixture of 4 parts spirit and 1 water became viscid in the same time.

'A bottle of nitric ether having been out all night was thick, and the bubbles of air rose slowly and with difficulty; the mean temperature at 6 A.M., January 17th, being 70° minus!

'A surface of 4 inches of mercury, exposed in a common saucer, became solid in two hours, with a temperature of 57° minus.'

The most valuable of Captain Back's scientific observations are those which he has made on the dip and variation of the needle, and on the influence of the aurora borealis in drawing the needle out of the magnetic meridian. The engravings, seven in number, which he has given of this meteor, possess, in our opinion, a peculiar interest, and we trust that future observers will study to delineate with accuracy the more definite forms, as well as the casual changes of this interesting phenomenon. It would be desirable also to record the colours of the more brilliant coruscations, and mark the positions, the colours, and the movements of these luminous beams in reference to the deviations which are simultaneously produced on the magnetic needle. The hypothesis recently published by Sir David Brewster, that terrestrial magnetism resides in ferruginous matter disseminated through the Earth's atmosphere, and that the aurora borealis is nothing more than this ferruginous matter, and other metallic vapours heated and rendered luminous by electrical action, gives a new interest to the whole of this class of atmospheric phenomena. The following is the substance of Captain Back's observations on the influence of auroras on the magnetic needle:—

‘ The observations on this phenomenon were made, without interruption, during six months in the years 1833-34, and five months in the years 1834-35; but as their entire insertion would occupy too much space here, I have selected chiefly the instances possessing the greatest interest from the effect produced by them on the needle, and from the brilliancy and eccentric motions of the coruscations. That the needle was constantly affected by the appearance of the aurora, seems evident from the facts thus stated; and on one occasion, indeed, this effect exceeded eight degrees.

‘ Brilliant and active coruscations of the aurora borealis, when seen through a hazy atmosphere, and exhibiting the prismatic colours, almost invariably affected the needle. On the contrary, a very bright aurora, though attended by motion, and even tinged with a dullish red or yellow, in a clear blue sky, seldom produced any sensible change, beyond, at the most, a tremulous motion.

‘ A dense haze or fog, in conjunction with an active aurora, seemed uniformly favourable to the disturbance of the needle; and a low temperature was favourable to brilliant and active coruscations. On no occasion, during two winters, was any sound heard to accompany the motions.

‘ The aurora was frequently seen at twilight, and as often to the eastward as to the westward. Clouds, also, were often perceived in the daytime, in form and disposition very much resembling the aurora.’

We cannot look at the map of Captain Back's discoveries without being gratified with the important additions which he has made to our geographical knowledge. He has filled up the great blank which lay in our maps between Bathurst Inlet, the Great Slave Lake, and Hudson's Bay, and united his survey with an extensive estuary of the Polar sea. The prosecution of discovery, therefore, in these regions has thus been greatly facilitated; and it remains only to complete the examination of a small portion of coast, which may be effected by two or three expeditions, in order to establish by actual observation what Captain Beaufort considers as beyond a doubt, that ‘ there is an open, and at times, ‘ a navigable sea passage between the straits of Davis and Behring.’ Whatever opinion may have been entertained respecting the scientific advantages which these expeditions have produced, it would now be a national disgrace to allow the completion of our great arctic survey to be effected by any foreign power. The improved resources of England cannot be better employed than in the promotion of discoveries by which these very resources may be enlarged, and the national wealth and reputation simultaneously extended.

Great as the reputation must be which a government may derive from its achievements in general and local legislation, yet

that fame is more permanent which is founded on deeds in which all nations and all ages have a common interest. We have but one arctic zone to survey, and two principal *foci* of cold and of magnetism to which all the phenomena of terrestrial physics bear a close relation; and that nation will ever hold a high place among the intellectual communities of the globe which shall complete that survey, and establish those physical relations. But there is another ground on which we hail every new expedition of discovery to the uncivilized regions of the frozen zone; and we confess it is one which has derived much force from the careful perusal of Captain Back's volume. Although no schools have been established by our northern travellers, and no missionaries planted on the 'Barren Lands,' yet lessons of humanity have been taught, and moral and religious impressions conveyed to many a cruel heart. Every line of march, indeed, which a civilized being traces through a savage land is a rocket or light which, however rapid be its course, still leaves a few of its sparks behind. The very presents left among the Indians and the Esquimaux are so many atoms of gold which must finally enhance the rude matrix of the savage mind, while the acts of humanity and justice which were continually exhibited by Captain Back and his predecessors, and the services of religion which were regularly offered up to the Great Spirit before whom the savage bends, will some time or other perform their due part in the process of civilisation. We were much struck with the impression made upon the Indians by the trivial act of mercy which habitually prevented Captain Franklin from killing the mosquitoes which annoyed him. Akaitcho and several Indians who frequently witnessed this deed of forbearance, had pondered upon it for years, while Maufelly, another Indian chief, could not refrain from expressing his surprise that Captain Back (when smoking the insects in his tent) 'should be so unlike the *Old Chief*, who 'would not destroy so much as a single mosquito!'

The work of education and religious instruction has indeed already commenced under the most favourable auspices at Sault Ste. Marie, where the Rev. W. M'Murray is actively engaged in the tuition of the Indians.

'In the short space of two years, this exemplary man has received into his fold no fewer than two hundred converts; and has established a school, attended, not unfrequently, by fifty scholars. By the liberality of the government, a school-house was then in the course of erection for the use of the mission; and the appointment of a schoolmaster was in contemplation. Houses were also building for the accommodation of at least twenty Indian families, who were to be instructed in agriculture, for which they were said to have manifested a decided inclination. Nor

has Mr M'Murray confined his exertions to his own immediate neighbourhood, some of the more zealous members of his congregation having been despatched along the northern shores of Lake Superior to visit their brethren about Michipicoton, who were anxiously seeking for instruction. A translation into Chippewa of the catechism and part of the common prayer of the church, executed by Mr M'Murray, and printed by direction of the committee at Toronto, has been supplied for the use of the scholars and the mission generally; but the finances of the society are unequal to the excellent work they have in hand even at Sault Ste. Marie alone. "Incalculable good," says the worthy missionary, "might be done in these northern regions, were the attention of the Christian world once engaged in behalf of the benighted inhabitants. There is work, I might safely say, for a hundred missionaries." Could not some means be adopted for aiding, by subscription or otherwise, the benevolent views of this zealous friend of the human race? I have spent many years of my life among Indians, and may be excused for feeling a more than common interest for their welfare. Nor, in dismissing this subject, can I forbear from quoting a part of the fourth annual report of the society, &c. at Toronto, for the year ending October, 1834:—"It is by no means a circumstance of the least interest connected with the mission at the Sault Ste. Marie that it promises, at some future period, to be the centre from which the light of Divine truth will radiate to all the heathen tribes of that remote region; to a portion of whom *native speakers*, proceeding from the mission at the Sault, have already carried such a knowledge of Christianity—by no means inconsiderable—as they have themselves acquired under its instruction."

With these impressions we are glad to learn that Captain Back is about to embark immediately on board the *Terror* to carry into effect Sir John Franklin's plan of sending a party to Wager River, which is only about forty miles from Prince Regent's Inlet. One half of the party, with a boat carrying eight persons, and two months' provisions, is to survey the coast to the west of Point Richardson onwards to Point Turnagain, while another boat, similarly manned and provisioned, is to trace the east shore of Prince Regent's Inlet up to the Strait of the Hecla and Fury. This plan was recommended to the Colonial Office and the Admiralty by the Geographical Society, and we have no doubt that the liberality of the Government who readily adopted it, will be rewarded with a rich harvest of discovery.

ART. II.—*The Greek Pastoral Poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus ; done into English.* By M. J. CHAPMAN, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo. London: 1836.

THE Doric Greeks, highly as some of their branches have been extolled by ancient and modern pens, were not an amiable race. To most of the declamations of philosopher-historians and historian-philosophers in their favour, history itself gives the lie. If it be true, for example, that Sparta exhibited Doric principles in intense operation, who would desire a better proof of their bad working? There the curse of slavery weighed, upon six-sevenths of the population, more heavily than in any other part of Greece. There the unspeakable atrocity of Helot-massacre, whether annual or occasional, threw a dark shade over the national fame, not to be relieved by the tricky colouring of ingenious partisanship. There the dearth of original genius was so great, that it is hard to understand how such foreign poets as Aleman and Tyrtæus obtained a welcome, or how, in certain provinces of the fine arts, room was found for the lessons of strangers.

And a review of other states, within or without the Peloponnese, connected by blood or institutions with the lords of Laconia, will not help the Dorian cause, in a fair estimate of general character. Look over the muster-roll of the peninsular confederacy, inscribed on Jupiter's footstool at Olympia, wherein Corinth and Sicyon head the list of Sparta's dependents. Or extend your survey so as to take in Argos, Crete, Syracuse, and other settlements of the same family. What signal policy, what shining deeds, do their chronicles present, to match the lustre of the Ionic and Athenian annals? Any glory they did acquire, was at periods when their *Dorism* was weakest.

Thus, with regard to literature. For the low standard of native intellectual productions among the Spartans, the stern, proud, and reserved temper of unmixed oligarchy has, no doubt, to answer. But where the Dorian theory of government came into domestic collision with different principles, as at Argos, Rhodes, and Syracuse—or where, with a Doric constitution, the people were Æolian, as at Thebes—the innate powers of the Greek mind successfully struggled for developement and utterance. Still it is remarkable that, even under these circumstances, their developement was complete and their utterance impressive, only in the mould, and with the tones, least adverse to the original bent of Dorian policy. It may be very true, for instance, that *Tragedy*, in its first rude outline, was a Doric invention;

but Tragedy could be perfected nowhere save at Athens, freed by efforts her race alone was capable of making, and delighting, after she had driven out her tyrants and repelled her invaders, to gloat over the imaged sufferings of chiefs and kings. Whereas the *Triumphal Ode*, devoted to the exaltation of splendid persons and illustrious lines, reached its acmé at Thebes; and the *Epicurman Comedy*, the *Mime*, and the *Idyl*, flourished in full force at Syracuse. These were all constructed on a Doric basis. Their political allusions—when such were introduced—had no leaning to the side of democracy.

Pindar, the great Theban master of triumphal song, was at heart an aristocrat. He lived and breathed in an atmosphere of nobility. He was the most finished of poets, because any defect—any negligence—would have seemed to derogate from his own honour. He would have died a smiling martyr for Doric institutions. But Æolian blood danced in his veins; and his fine ear was touched with Homeric harmonies. Hence his mighty spirit rushed abroad on the wings of an irrepressible energy. And hence, too, in the technical departments of his art, he scrupled not to court variety. Neither the Dorian music nor the Dorian dialect were allowed to predominate in his compositions. His language is drawn chiefly from the treasury of Homer—an author with whom he could sympathise the more readily, because the heroic world, as depicted in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was essentially chivalrous—amid a few faint traces of popular forms—and made little account of little men.

Two centuries after Pindar, his variations of dialect, and some of his other attributes, were imitated by the Syracusan THEOCRITUS. The differences between these poets have been almost universally observed: few or none have noticed their resemblance. The most careless glance could detect a difference of powers—not in favour of Theocritus. The most perfunctory examination could discover a difference in nearly all the externals of poetry. And with regard to dialect, though it is plain that Epic and Doric Greek are blended by both, scholars were not slow to indicate that, in Pindar, the Epic language, as basis, is sparingly mixed with Doric properties, while, in Theocritus, the Doric analogies are both carried further, and stand in the relation of basis to the Epic embellishments associated with them. It should, however, have been indicated likewise, that Theocritus indulges in Dorism most largely when he paints the scenes of low or of rustic life. A Dorian by birth, spending much of his time in a Doric city, and portraying Doric manners, a highly mimetic writer might well say for himself, not less than for some of his female characters:—

‘ And this too know—we were in times foregone
 Corinthians, sir, as was Bellerophon :
 We speak the good old Greek of Pelops’ isle ;
Dorians, I guess, may Dorian talk the while. *

But, treating of other themes, Theocritus uses a kind of Greek as Homeric as Pindar’s—or more so. His twelfth and twenty-fifth Idyls are pure Epic in their diction.

Nor is this the sole respect in which we venture to assert that Theocritus studied Pindar, and attained to his likeness. For proof, we appeal to the sixteenth Idyl, in honour of Hiero the Second and the Graces, which even German critics leave unquestioned. We appeal to the seventeenth, in praise of Ptolemy Philadelphus, reckoned spurious by Reiske, Warton, Ahlwardt, Manso, and Eichstadt:—to the twenty-second, a hymn in celebration of the Dioscuri, condemned by Eichstadt:—and above all, to the twenty-fourth, the *Infant Hercules*, the legitimacy of which is denied by Valekeniër, Reiske, Manso, and Frederick Schlegel, and defended by Eichstadt, Warton, and Jacobs. It is necessary to premise, as part of our argument, that the sceptical opinions here alluded to, more particularly those of the German scholars, will weigh less than nothing in fair scales. They have no body—no solidity. Who cares, for instance, to be told that such and such Idyls *do not savour of the style of Theocritus*? Do we not believe that Æschylus wrote *Prometheus Bound*, as well as the *Suppliants*? That the *Medea* and the *Cyclops* were by one and the same Euripides? That the *Jolly Beggars* and the *Cottar’s Saturday Night*, were by one and the same Burns?

Now, having run over the conclusion of Pindar’s first Nemean Ode, compare with it some passages of the *Infant Hercules*. Mark how Theocritus describes the attack of the serpents:—

————— ‘ Vex’d Hera’s wily spite,
 With many threats of her revengful ire,
 To eat the infant Hercules outright,
 Sent to the chamber-door two monsters dire,
 Each bristling horribly with his dark-gleaming spire.

‘ They their blood-gorging bellies on the ground
 Uncoiling rolled; their eyes shot baleful flame,
 And evermore they spat their poison round;
 But when, quick brandishing with evil aim
 Their forked tongues, they to the children came,
 They both awoke: (what can escape Jove’s eye?)

* Adoniazusæ, v. 91.—*Chapman’s Translation.*

Light in the chamber shone ; and who can blame
Or wonder that Iphicles did out cry,
Screaming, when he did their remorseless teeth espy ?

‘ He kicked aside the woollen coverlet,
Struggling to flee ; but Hercules compest,
Relaxing not the gripe his hand did get,
With a firm grasp, the throat of either pest,
Where is their poison, which e’en gods detest.
The boy, that in the birth was long confined,
Who ne’er was known to cry, though at the breast
A suckling yet, they with their coils entwined :
Infolding him, they strain’d their own release to find,

‘ Till wearied in their spines, they loos’d their fold.
Alcmena heard the noise, and woke in fear :—
Amphitryon, up ! for me strange fear doth hold—
Up ! up ! don’t wait for sandals ; don’t you hear
Iphicles screaming ? see ! the walls appear
Distinctly shining in the dead of night,
As though ’twere dawn, there is some danger near ;
I’m sure there is, dear man ! He then outright
Did leap from off the bed to hush his wife’s affright.

‘ And hastily his costly sword he sought,
Suspended near his cedar-bed it hung,
With one hand rais’d the sheath, of lotus wrought,
While with the other he the belt unswung.
The room was filled with night again : he sprung,
And for his household, breathing slumber deep,
He loudly called ; his voice loud echoing rung :
“ Ho ! from the hearth bring lights ! quick ! do not creep !
Fling wide the doors—awake ! this is no time for sleep.”

‘ They hastened all with lights at his command ;
And when they saw (their eyes they well might doubt)
A serpent clutched in either tender hand
Of suckling Hercules, they gave a shout,
And clapped their hands : he instantly held out
The serpents to Amphitryon, and wild
With child-like exultation leap’d about,
And laid them at his father’s feet and smil’d—
Laid down those monsters grim, in sleep of death now mild.*

* *Chapman’s Translation*, p. 200. We should have quoted from the beginning, had the exquisite *lullaby* of Alcmena (v. 7)—

εὐδὲτ’ ἰμέα βρέφεια γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον,
εὐδὲτ’ ἰμέα ψυχὰ, δ’ ὕ ἀδελφῶ, εὐσοα τέκνα,
ὄλβιοι ἐνδύζοισθε, καὶ ὄλβιοι αἰῶ ἴκοισθε—

been adequately rendered. In the extract given above, we object to the

Listen next to the words of Tiresias the seer :

‘ The Achæan women, while they spin, I wis,
Alcmena’s name to latest eye shall sing ;
And famous shalt thou be in Argolis ;
For this thy son to star-paved heaven shall spring ;
All that contend with the broad-breasted king,
Or man or beast, shall yield the victory.
Twelve labours wrought, him Destiny shall bring
To Jove’s own house, but all of him can die
On the Trachinian pyre shall perish utterly.’

In this copy—for such it is—Theocritus has missed one or two of the grand strokes in the original. The Alcmena of Pindar’s ode is more picturesque, when she leaps *robust* from her couch—*ἀπεπλος ὀρούσασ’ ἀπὸ στρωμνᾶς*—besides being a better mother, when she strives to *beat off* the fury of the monsters—*ἄμυνεν ὕβριν κνωδάλων*—and the *troubled joy* of Amphytrion, at beholding the prowess of his boy, was beyond the reach of the Sicilian poet—*ἔστα δὲ θάμβει δυσφώραν τερπνῶν τε μυχθείς*. Yet the portion of the Idyl we have quoted is on the whole a close, pointed, and successful piece of imitation—with just the differences to be naturally looked for. The style of Theocritus—writing in hexameter—is of course more epic than Pindar’s. He commences his poem in the true narrative vein—‘ *once upon a time* ’—

‘ *Ἡρακλῆα δεκάμηνον ἰόντ’ ἀποχ’ ἃ Μιδεῶντις κ. τ. λ.*

that is, in a manner quite unlike the *fragment* of a Heracleid—which some have imagined this Idyl to be—but exactly suitable to an independent heroic tale; and the minute painting and smooth transitions of epic verse are sustained throughout.

The whole of the hymn in honour of the Dioscuri would yield another example of similitude, and difference. For the sake of the ring—alas how ‘ fallen from its high estate ’—we will extract the set-to between Pollux and Amycus, *champion* of Bebrycia; a favourite morsel, we should suppose, with the late Mr Windham.

23d line, ‘ *Infolding him, they strained their own release to find,*’ that it is exactly opposite to the sense of the original. Again, ‘ *woke in fear*’ loses the force of *ἐπίγρητο πρᾶτα*—so expressive of *maternal watchfulness* :—*δέος ἀνηρόν* is scarcely ‘ *strange fear* ’—*ἀριγνᾶτο τελαμῶνος*—the warrior *straining* after his belt—is stronger than ‘ *he the belt unswung* :’—and *αὐτὸς αὐτί, ‘ your master calls,*’ is something better than ‘ *this is no time for sleep.*’

* Chapman, p. 203.

'This will afford us, moreover, an admirable specimen of Mr Chapman's vigour and fidelity* as a translator.

Round First.

' With gauntlets both
Armed their strong hands ; their wrists and arms they bound
With the long thongs ; with one another wroth,
Each breathing blood and death, they stood up nothing loth.

' First, each contended which should get the sun
Of his antagonist ; but much in sleight
That huge man, Pollux ! was by thee outdone ;
And Amycus was dazzled with the light ;
But raging, rushed straightforward to the fight,
Aiming fierce blows ; but wary Pollux met him,
Striking the chin of his vast opposite,
Who fiercer battled, for the blow did fret him,
And leaning forward, tried unto the ground to get him.

Shouted the Bebryces ; and, for they feared
The man like Tityus might their friend down-weigh
In the scant place, the heroes Pollux cheered :
But shifting here and there, Jove's son made play,
And struck out right and left, but kept away
From the fierce rush of Neptune's son uncouth,
Who, drunk with blows, reel'd in the hot affray,
Out-spitting purple blood ; the princely youth
Shouted, when they beheld his batter'd jaws and mouth.

' His eyes were nearly closed from the contusion
Of his swoln face ; the prince amaz'd him more
With many feints, and seeing his confusion,
Mid-front he struck a heavy blow and sore,
And to the bone his forehead gashing tore ;
Instant he fell, and at his length he lay
On the green leaves ; but fiercely as before,
On his uprising, they renewed the fray,
Aiming terrific blows, as with intent to slay.'

* With the exception of v. 96.

ἔσχετο δ' ὀρμῆς
παῖδα Ποσειδάωνος, ὑπερφιάλον περ ἔόντα

improperly rendered,

—— ' but kept away
From the fierce rush of Neptune's son uncouth.'

Theocritus says precisely the contrary. Pollux meets and checks the rush of Amycus.

Round Second.

• But the Bebrycian champion strove to place
 His blows upon the broad breast of his foe,
 Who ceaselessly disfigured all his face :
 His flesh with sweating shrunk, that he did show,
 From huge, but small ; but larger seemed to grow .
 The limbs of Pollux, and of fresher hue,
 The more he toiled ; Muse ! for 'tis thine to know,
 And mine to give interpretation true,
 Tell how the son of Zeus that mighty bulk o'erthrew.

• Aiming at something great, the big Bebrycian
 The left of Pollux with his left hand caught,
 Obliquely leaning out from his position,
 And from his flank his huge right hand he brought,
 And had he hit him would have surely wrought
 Pollux much damage ; but escape he found,
 Stooping his head, and smote him, quick as thought,
 On the left temple ; from the gaping wound
 A bubbling gush of gore out-spurred on the ground.

• Right on his mouth his left hand then he dashed ;
 Rattled his teeth ; and with a quicker hail
 Of blows he smote him, till his cheeks he smashed :
 Stretched out he lay ; his senses all did fail,
 Save that he owned the other did prevail
 By holding up his hands : nor thou didst claim
 The forfeit, Pollux, taking of him bail
 Of a great oath in his own father's name,
 Strangers to harm no more with word or deed of shame.'

The affair, you see, is over in two rounds. But there is no playing booty. It is a fair stand-up fight—and how well fought by the Greek Chicken ! How he stops ! How he puts in his deadly facers ! What hitting right and left ! What terrible punishment ! And could Pierce Egan himself desire a more graphic sketch ? Could Theocritus be surpassed by the most scientific reporter that ever started in chaise and four for Moulsey-Hurst ? Here, again, is all the epic copiousness of detail, while the subject and no little of the spirit are Pindaric.

From the sixteenth and seventeenth Idyls, had we space for them, ample evidence might be brought to show that their author sometimes endeavoured even to mould himself after the more peculiar features of the mighty Theban—his abruptness—his love of grandeur—his piety—and his minstrel-pride. Pindar did not speak more loftily of rich men's truest glory—transcending all their power and wealth—than thus :

• No pleasure had been theirs these things about,
 When once their sweet souls they had emptied out

Into the broad raft of drear Acheron;
 But they, sad with the thoughts of life forgone,
 Had lain—their treasures left and memory hid—
 Long ages lain the wretched dead amid,
 Had not the glorious Cæian breathed the fire
 Of his quick spirit to the stringed lyre,
 And would not let them altogether die,
 But made them famous to posterity.*

Yet there is something—besides the generally epic tone of his narrative—to distinguish the art and the mental character of Theocritus, in his most ambitious imitations, from those of Pindar. Theocritus was a determined lover of the country. Rural scenery, persons, manners, and adventures, lay nearest his heart. Allusions to one or all of these must find their way into every strain. Are virgins chanting the bridal song of Helen? Then must they exclaim;

‘O fair and lovely girl! a matron now—
 Where meadow-flowers in dewy brightness grow,
 We’ll hie with early dawn, and fondly pull
 Sweets to twine garlands for our beautiful;
 Remembering Helen with our fond regrets,
 As for the absent ewe her suckling frets.
 Of lotuses we’ll hang thee many a wreath
 Upon the shady plane, and drop beneath
 Oil from the silver pyx; and on the bark,
 In Doric, shall be graved for all to mark,
 “To me pay honour—I am Helen’s tree.”
 Hail, bride! high-wedded bridegroom, hail to thee!†

The infant Hercules cannot be dismissed without our being told:

‘His morning meal, roast meat and Dorian bread—
 No ploughman would a larger loaf desire;
 His evening meal (the day already sped)
 Was very light, nor such as needed fire.

He always wore, bare to his knees, a plain attire’‡

That is, it may be presumed, he sported a philabeg. And, when the adult ‘lion-slayer’ visits the stalls of Augeias, with what gust the poet revels in a description of pastoral opulence and occupations!

‘The sun his steeds
 Turned to the west, bringing the close of day.

* Idyl xvi. 40. *Chapman’s Translation.* † Idyl xviii. 38. *Ibid.*

‡ Idyl xxiv. 135. *Ibid.*

The herds and flocks, returning from the mead,
 Came to the stables where they nightly lay.
 The kine in long succession trod the way,
 Innumerable; as watery clouds on high,
 By south or west wind driven in dense array,
 One on another press, and forward fly,
 Numberless, without end, along the thickened sky;

‘ So many upon so many impels the wind;
 Others on others drive their crests to twine:
 So many herds so many pressed behind;
 The plain, the ways, were filled in breadth and line,
 The fields were straitened with the lowing kine.
 The sheep were folded soon; the cattle, too,
 That inward, as they walk, their knees incline,
 Were all installed, a multitude to view:
 No man stood idle by for want of work to do.

‘ Some to the kine their wooden shoes applied,
 And bound with thongs; while some in station near
 To milk them took their proper place beside:
 One to the dams let go their younglings dear,
 Mad for the warm milk; while another there
 The milk-pail held, the curds to cheese one turned:
 Meanwhile Augeias went by every where,
 And with his own eyes for himself he learned,
 What revenue for him his cattle-keepers earned.’*

Doubtless it was this predilection that made Theocritus, among his other merits, so powerful a writer of *BUCOLIC* poetry. That was, indeed, a province of the art, as our extracts have already manifested, to which he by no means confined himself. Nay, of thirty Idyls passing under his name, eleven † only (if you include the *Polyphemus*) are really bucolic. Mr Chapman complies too much with popular practice, in classing as ‘ Pastoral Poets’ Theocritus, so far from being such exclusively, and Bion and Mochus, who are not such at all. Still, as Theocritus is one of the very few who have succeeded in bucolic composition, and since he gained for it, by his genius, a place in the literature of civilized Greece, we are tempted to introduce him in his Arcadian costume, by offering some general observations on the Greek pastorals.

* Idyl xxv. 85. *Chapman’s Translation.* The word *στυβόρο* (v. 97), here translated ‘*straitened*,’ seems to refer rather to the *noise* than the *number* of the cattle.

† To wit, those numbered 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 20, 27. The tenth (*the Reapers*) is *rustic*, but not *pastoral*.

It is quite possible, we apprehend, to do this, without inditing an elaborate diatribe on the shepherd-state, as a supposed gradation in the progress of man. Grave historians may trace, if they please, the rise and growth of human society—according to their own fancy. Profound speculators may delineate, as confidently as if they had lived, tablets in hand, on the margin of all epochs, the regular march of our species from stage first—the *Brutal*—when, ‘if not monkeys with tails, we were little better than apes ‘without them,’* to stage last—the *Commercial*—to which, it seems, ‘Great Britain, in particular, is indebted for its being ‘able to boast, at this moment, of containing the most liberal, generous, ingenious, enterprising, brave, learned, worthy, and happy ‘people; as well as, beyond example or competition, the best ‘hunters, breeders, and feeders of cattle, gardeners, agriculturists, ‘and merchants, that are, or ever were, in the world.’† They may describe—even Addison does so—the condition of shepherds as a ‘rural scene of perfect ease and tranquillity, where innocence, ‘simplicity, and joy abound.’ We would merely protest against the hypothesis that Theocritus knew any thing of such an age of gold. His pastoral characters differ, in some points, from *our* herds and gillies. They pipe and sing freely, because pipe and song did actually prevail—and prevail now—in the countries he describes. But they are not more *idealized* than the canons of all poetry indispensably require. In his fourth Idyl Battus calls Corydon a thief and a scoundrel. In the fifth, Comatus and Lacon reciprocate imputations of petty larceny, poverty, cowardice, and bad singing. The third exhibits a desperate goatherd, proposing to make himself meat for wolves. In the twentieth, Eunice testifies scorn by thrice spitting on her breast, and her rejected swain delicately retorts:

—————‘Mayst thou ne’er uncover
Thyself, self-worshipt Beauty! to a lover
In town or country; but, vain poppet! ever
Sleep by thyself—despite thy best endeavour.’‡

And in the twenty-seventh, Daphnis and the daughter of Menalcas are very clever, very amorous, and very spirited—but a kirk-session, we fear, would not pronounce them absolutely *innocent*.

Further—it will not be requisite to look about for all the in-

* Enquiry into the Origin, &c. of Pastoral Poetry. Edin. 1808.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Idyl xx. 44. Mr Chapman, as his version shows, applies these lines to *Eunice* (as Casaubon does), not to *Venus*.

dications of bucolic song from the days of Abel to those of Allan Ramsay. Sheep, no doubt, and goats, and kine, were chanted of before the flood. The lives of the post-diluvian patriarchs, from Abraham to Joseph, supplied a series of exquisite subjects, once perhaps the burthen of amœbaean lays. David, a 'bold, ardent, young shepherd at Bethlehem,' performed, we are assured, 'pastoral love-ditties to the harp;' and the first poem of this kind on record, 'is that of his no less poetical and still more 'amorous son.'* From Solomon our readers will perceive how easy a transition we might make, through the *Song of Songs*, to the fancied imitations of it by Theocritus. Thence to Virgil and the eclogues of ancient Italy. Thence to Boccacio, Sannazaro, Beccari, Tasso, Guarini, and the bucolics and bucolic dramas of modern Italy. Thence—with a side-glance at Arabia and the Moallakat—to Garcilaso de la Vega, Miranda, Montemayor, Lobo, and the pastorals of Spain and Portugal. Thence to Spenser and his English followers; and so to the 'household words' of our own Gentle Shepherd.

Even the Greek pastoral poetry, taken alone, might seduce a fluent pen into excursive discussion. There is one subtle question as to its inventor. Was it Pan himself—'horny-hoofed' Pan? Was it Stesichorus? Was it Diomus? Was it Daphnis—no creature of poetic dreams, but a real being of as good flesh and blood as his *biographers*, Dorville, Heyne, Hardion, and the rest of them? Each of these propositions has been in turn maintained in the affirmative. Athenæus, however, if we recollect aright, qualifies the *invention* of Diomus as a mere *improvement*, in so far as he combined bucolic verse with pipe-music and a sort of dance.

Athenæus was aware how hard it is to substantiate claims of absolute invention in any specific branch of poetry. The first germ of every branch is scarcely to be traced; the growth of all is gradual. Our belief is that pastoral song—though rude and utterly subordinate to the heroic minstrelsy—was not unknown to Homer. Pan, indeed, belongs not to his mythology. Nor is his shepherd-Cyclops, like the Polyphemus of later authors, of a poetical turn. But mark the characteristic *syrinx* of his herdsmen in the second picture on the shield of Achilles.† Mark, too, that the *flock-tending* Paris is a votary of the muses.‡

In Homer's age there was as yet no Dorian monopoly of eclogues. Nevertheless, granting that Theocritus himself had an Ionic tutor §—not less renowned than the Cretan Lycidas or

* Enquiry, &c.

† Il. Σ. 526.

‡ Il. Γ. 54.

§ Asclepiades of Samos. Idyl vii. 39.

the Coan Philetas—it is plain that Greek bucolic poetry not only rose and prospered as an *art* in Dorian hands, but borrowed its strongest features from Dorian life and habits. Its downright simplicity, its air of unsophisticated nature, its broad buffoonery, were copied from the real manners—not of slaves, not of citizens—but of the rural subjects in the Doric states; and travellers tell us that the Sicilian swains continue very much as Theocritus left them. Between these swains in ancient times and the boors of Laconia there was an evident similarity of usages. On the one hand, ‘when Xerxes had overrun Greece, and the Spartan women could not perform the customary rites of Diana Caryatis, the shepherds came from the mountains and sang pastoral hymns to the goddess.’* On the other hand, Epicharmus mentions the songs of Italian and Sicilian shepherds. And ‘their origin,’ says Müller, ‘appears not to have been independent of one another, for both in Laconia and Sicily the name Tityrus was used for the leading goat or ram of the flock.’ He is afraid to go further; but we cannot help recognising, in these points of resemblance, proofs of consanguinity. Pelasgian blood spread wide enough to account for the relationship.

Again, a species of mimetic poetry, which imprinted much of its own stamp on the regular bucolic Idyls, was of Dorian lineage, although the sole complete specimen, now extant, is from an Attic pen. This was the Satyric drama.

The choral personages, who figured in Satyric plays, were familiar to the natives of Laconia. Their *Deimalea*, according to the *onomasticon* of Pollux, was danced by Sileni and Satyrs waltzing in a circle. Severe things have been alleged against these rural deities. Erudite men have proved, to their own satisfaction, that Pan, Faunus, Satyrus, Sylvanus, Silenus, were neither more nor less than the Devil. The cloven heel was not to be mistaken by adepts in diabolical distinctions. Hence German interpreters have called the Satyrs of Isaiah,† *Feldteufel* and *Feldgeist*. The Dutch call them plain *Duyvelen*. But their primitive character was rather pastoral than satanic, and the root of their designation, in Arabic, means only *a goat*.‡ Arion, a Methymnæan by birth, but dwelling and composing among Dorians, first introduced them into the Cyclian choruses; Thespis, ninety years afterwards, into the primary form of the Satyric drama. Thus the dramatists took, from the crude productions of

* Müller's Dorians, ii. 357, and the authorities there quoted.

† Chap. xiii. 21.

‡ We identify *Satar* with *σάτυρος*, and, in spite of Müller, with *τίτυρος* also.

the Bucolic muse, a lesson they were destined to repay with interest to her riper progeny.

The Satyric drama, in its whole compass, would open up a wide field, not exhausted by Isaac Casaubon, or any of his followers. Its *two* kinds should be carefully distinguished. The *first*, or *Thespian* species, differed from the earlier attempts of its author in nothing but bestowing the shape of Satyrs on the members of the chorus :

Carinine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit.

There was still but one actor, and of course no scenic dialogue. But after Æschylus, improving on the serious plots of Phrynichus, had brought a second actor on the stage, that is, had created scenic dialogue, Pratinas of Phlius—a *Dorian* city—blended this improvement with the main element of the Satyric drama, and thus became the father of its *second* species. So far, and no further, Pratinas may claim the title of inventor.*

In its first estate, the Satyric drama—as belonging to the very rudiments of stage poetry—is mixed up with the history of Tragedy. Without a Thespis, there might never have been an Æschylus. In its second estate, it is mixed up with the history of Comedy. The principle of *parody*—so conspicuous an ingredient in the writings of the old Comic school—undoubtedly prevailed in the works of Pratinas. It is even mixed up with the history of the Modern Theatre, inasmuch as the absurd practice of tacking farces to the close of more sober exhibitions—as if to dismiss the audience

‘ With a smile on the lip and a tear in the eye ’—

resembles the classic anomaly—which Æschylus, we dare say, often chafed at—of adding a satyric play to a tragic trilogy. Molière, who revived the fashion of farces on the Parisian boards, after it had been dropt by the company of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, was a great imitator of the ancients.

After Pratinas, the Athenians naturally became the chief masters of the Satyrico-dramatic style. It was equally natural, taking into account the Attic character, that in *their* hands it should not subside into the tamer form of the eclogue. Polyphemus and

* Müller, therefore (*Dorians*, ii. 380), is decidedly wrong in making Pratinas the absolute inventor of the Satyric drama. The mistakes of Bishop Blomfield (*Museum Criticum*, ii. 72), and of Herman, in his notes on Aristotle's Poetics, with regard to this same Pratinas, may induce us to return to the subject at some future opportunity.

his flocks, under the management of Aristophanes, beget merely some rude jesting between Carion and the chorus :

ΚΑΡ. Καὶ μὴν ἰγὰ βουλήσομαι, βριττανιὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα

κ. τ. λ.

' *Car.* Then on my boys, I'll share your joys—sing derry, hey down derry—

With Cyclops' step, with rub-a-dub, I'll caper it so merry !

So whisk it, frisk it, jolly flock, with bleatings shake the air, O !

And sound the lambkin's, kidling's strain,

Till startled echo *baa* again,

And cock your tails like wanton goats, and goat-like ye shall fare, O !

Chor. Then bleating we Cyclopan thee—sing derry, hey down derry—

Will catch full soon and change thy tune to doleful notes for merry !

With shepherd's scrip, and dewy herbs, and reeling ripe and randy, O !

You lead your fleecy company,

Or careless snore with fast-shut eye,

Then up we take a huge burnt stake, and twist it out so handy O ! *

But the Dorian muse reverted at last to her bucolic reed—while she was careful not to forget the good hints acquired in theatrical society. Theocritus, it is clear, never lost sight of the Satyric plays, and all cognate embodyings of the dramatic principle. Casaubon even talks in the same breath of him and Euripides.† His eye was often fixed on the *Cyclops* of the Attic poet. Thus, our classical readers will remember the chorus at v. 41 of the *Cyclops*, beginning :

παῖ δὲ μοι γυναικῶν μὴν πατίρων κ. τ. λ.

• Where—begot by noble sires,

Nurst by ewes of noble line—

Where, along the crags aspires

Thy wayward foot that strays from mine ?

Here no ruffling tempest blows,

Here the grassy herbage grows ;

Water from the eddying wave,

Here is cistern'd near the cave,

Where thy bleating lambs assail

Shepherds' ears with fruitless wail.

Fye ! the pastures here to flee,—

Slopes with dew-drops glistening !

Ho ! this stone shall tutor thee,

Horned wanderer, wanton thing !

Slink to thine accustom'd fold,

In the Cyclops' rocky hold ! &c. &c.

* Aristoph. *Plutus*, v. 290. *Sandford's Translation*.

† *De Satyrica Poesi*, lib. i. c. 2.

Compare with this the kindred spirit of several apostrophes to individual goats and ewes in the pastoral Idyls. In Idyl fourth, for example :

Σίτθ' ἂ Κυμαῖθα ποτὶ τὸν λόφον· οὐκ ἴστανούεις ; κ. τ. λ.

‘ Hist ! to the hill, Cymætha ! don’t you hear ?

If you don’t get away, by Pan ! I swear

I will so give it you ! now only look !

She comes again—I wish I had my crook !’ *

The ‘ Ἀγρωστήτης, ‘ Countryman,’ of Epicharmus, appears also, from what we can guess of its tenor, to have been often in the mind of Theocritus.

This dramatic tendency of his genius must have been one cause why Theocritus did not restrict his efforts to bucolic composition. The characters and actions of neatherds, shepherds, and goatherds, had not variety enough to satisfy his instinct. And the fact is, that pastoral topics will not sustain a great deal of poetry. No one of powerful imagination has ever lingered long amidst crooks and pipes, paddocks and milk-pails. The god of song was in *bondage* when he fed the flocks of Admetus.

If the term *Idyl* was used by Theocritus himself, it implied no limitation to his choice of themes. Whether interpreted a *little picture* or a *short poem*, in either sense it left him a free range. Hence, that diversity of styles as well as subjects, which has induced some scholars erroneously to regard his works as a mere anthology of contributions by several authors. It is more rational to say, that the style and dialect of Theocritus rise and fall with his argument and standard for the time being. His standard—as we have shown—was occasionally Pindar, with a dash of Homeric manner in the imitation. Sometimes Homer is more decidedly his model—as in *Hercules the Lion-Slayer*, that graphic piece of painting which Daves insanely ascribed to ‘ some paltry fellow, ignorant alike of the Greek ‘ tongue, and Greek prosody.’ What could be nearer Homer than the whole portrait of the mighty brute, and of the combat ?

‘ With his long tail he lashed himself ; and all

His neck was filled with wrath : the fiery glow

Of his vext mane up-bristled ; in a ball

He gathered up himself, till like a bow

His spine was arched : as when one, who doth know

Chariots to build, excelling in his art,

* Idyl iv. 46. *Chapman’s Translation.*

Having first heated in a fire-heat slow
 Bends for his wheel a fig-branch ; with a start
 The fissile wild-fig flies far from his hands apart.

‘ Collected for the spring, and mad to rend me,
 So leapt the lion from afar : I strove
 With skin-cloak, bow and quiver to defend me
 With one hand ; with the other I uphove
 My weighty club, and on his temple drove,
 But broke in pieces the rough olive wood
 On his hard shaggy head : he from above
 Fell ere he reached me, by the stroke subdued,
 And nodding with his head on trembling feet he stood.

‘ Darkness came over both his eyes : his brain
 Was shaken in the bone ; but when I spied
 The monster stunned and reeling from his pain,
 I cast my quiver and my bow aside,
 And to his neck my throttling hands applied,
 Before he could recover. I did bear me
 With vigour in the death-clutch, and astride
 His body from behind from scath did clear me,
 So that he could not or with jaw or talons tear me.

‘ His hind feet with my heels I pressed aground ;
 Of his pernicious throat my hands took care ;
 His sides were for my thighs a safe-guard found
 From his fore-feet : till breathless high in air
 I lifted him new sped to hell’s dark lair.’

Sappho’s most celebrated ode—for Theocritus took hints from all quarters—is copied in a passionate portion of the *Pharmacutria*,† one of Mr Chapman’s best versions. The mimes of Sophron, too—studied before him by Plato, and after him by Persius—have their racy tints reflected, in hues perhaps as vivid as their own, by more than one of the civic Idyls. We have scarcely room for another extract ; but it would be unjust to both original and translation not to give the liveliest part of the famous *Adoniazusæ* :

‘ Gorgo. Is Praxinoa at home ?

Prax.

Dear Gorgo, yes !

How late you are ! I wonder, I confess,

That you are come e’en now. Quick, brazen-front ! (*To Eunoe*).

A chair there—stupid ! lay a cushion on’t.

Gorgo. Thank you, ’tis very well.

* Idyl xxv. 242. *Chapman’s Translation.*

† Idyl ii. 103.

Prax. Be seated, pray.

Gorgo. My untamed soul ! what dangers on the way !
I scarce could get alive here : such a crowd !
So many soldiers with their trappings proud ! *
A weary way it is—you live so far.

Prax. The man, whose wits with sense are aye at war,
Bought at the world's end but to vex my soul
This dwelling—no ! this serpent's lurking-hole,
That we might not be neighbours : plague o' my life,
His only joy is quarrelling and strife.

Gorgo. Talk not of Dinon so before the boy ;
See ! how he looks at you !

Prax. My honey-joy !
My pretty dear ! 'tis not papa I mean.

Gorgo. Handsome papa ! the urchin, by the Queen,
Knows every word you say.

Prax. The other day—
For this in sooth of every thing we say—
The mighty man of inches went and brought me
Salt—which for nitre and ceruse he bought me.

Gorgo. And so my Diocleide—a brother wit,
A money-waster, lately thought it fit
To give seven goodly drachms for fleeces five—
Mere rottenness, but dog's hair, as I live,
The plucking of old scrips—a work to make.
But come, your cloak and gold-claspt kirtle take,
And let us speed to Ptolemy's rich hall,
To see the fine Adonian festival.

* * * * *

Prax. Eunon ! my cloak—you wanton ! quickly raise,
And place it near me—cats would softly sleep ;
And haste for water—how the jade does creep !
The water first—now, did you ever see ?
She brings the cloak first : well, then, give it me.
You wasteful slut, not too much—pour the water !
What ! have you wet my kirtle ! sorrow's daughter ?
Stop, now : I'm washed—gods love me : where's the key
Of the great chest ? be quick, and bring it me.

Gorgo. The gold-claspt, and full-skirted gown you wear
Becomes you vastly. May I ask, my dear,
How much in all it cost you from the loom ?

Prax. Don't mention it : I'm sure I did consume
More than two minæ on it : and I held on
The work with heart and soul.

* Hardly *specific* enough for

παντᾷ κρηπιδί, παντᾷ χλαμυδαφόροι ἀνδρῶς.

Gorg. But when done, well done !

Prax. Truly you're right. My parasol and cloak—
 Arranged it nicely, Cry until you choke,
 I will not take you, child ; horse bites, you know—
 Boo ! Boo ! no use to have you lame. Let's go.
 Play with the little man, my Phrygian ! call
 'The hound in ; lock the street-door of the hall.'

Behold these genuine gossips again, on the street and in the palace :

' *Gorgo.* Good mother, from the palace ? (*to an old woman.*)

Old W. Yes, my dear.

Gorg. Is it an easy thing to get in there ?

Old W. Th' Achæans got to Troy, there's no denying ;
 All things are done, as they did that—by trying.

Gorg. The old dame spoke oracles.

Prax. Our sex, as you know,
 Know all things—e'en how Zeus espoused his Juno.

Gorg. Praxinoa ! what a crowd about the gates !

Prax. Immense ! your hand ; and, Eunoa, hold your mate's ;
 Do you keep close, I say, to Eutycheis,
 And close to us, for fear the way you miss.
 Let us, together all, the entrance gain :
 Ah me ! my summer-cloak is rent in twain.

Pray, spare my cloak, heaven bless you, gentleman !

Stranger. 'Tis not with me—I will do what I can.

Prax. The crowd, like pigs, are thrusting.

Stranger.

Cheer thy heart,

'Tis well with us.

Prax. And for your friendly part.

This year and ever be it well with you !

A kind and tender man as e'er I knew.

See ! how our Eunoa is prest—push thro'—

Well done ! all in—as the gay bridegroom cried,
 And turned the key upon himself and bride.

Gorg. What rich, rare tapestry ! Look, and you'll swear
 The fingers of the goddesses were here.

Prax. August Athene ! who such work could do ?

Who spun the tissue, who the figures drew ?

How life-like are they, and they seem to move !

True living shapes they are, and not inwove !

How wise is man ! and there he lies outspread

In all his beauty on his silver bed,

Thrice-loved Adonis ! in his youth's fresh glow,

Loved even where the rueful stream doth flow.

A Stranger. Cease ye like turtles idly thus to babble :

They'll torture all of us with brogue and gabble.

Gorg. Who's you ? what's it to you, our tongues we use ?
 Rule your own roost, not dames of Syracuse !

Act these scenes as a fashionable *charade*, in any Christmas party at the present day, and every spectator will spell *womanhood*.

We are not aware of any 'exquisite reason' for clubbing Bion and Moschus with Theocritus. They were not *all* compatriots—for Bion at least was a native of Smyrna. They were not *all* contemporaries—for Moschus, according to the best evidence, was more than a hundred years after 'those other two.' Moschus, indeed, seems to salute Bion as his *master*;* but the argument drawn by Mr Chapman from that passage—even were the allusion more direct than it really is—would equally serve to annihilate thirteen centuries between Virgil and Dante. They were not men of kindred genius—for Bion and Moschus have neither the variety nor the vigour of Theocritus, and knew nothing of rustic life and conversation. It is amusing to hear Fontenelle speaking of Moschus as superior to Theocritus, and at the same time of Theocritus as not *pastoral enough*. This, from a native of France—where, in Addison's experience, 'the shepherds on the stage' were all embroidered, and acquitted themselves in a ball better 'than our English dancing-masters,'—where we have seen the actual shepherds of the Norman plains swaggering about in military great-coats, triangular cocked-hats on their heads, and crooks in their hands! Elegant both Bion and Moschus are, with all the polished show of elaborate contrivance. Fanciful are they, with all the overstrained ingenuity of the Alexandrine school. Pathos they have—but not passion, in the enlarged Greek sense of the original term. Tenderness, too, they have—melodious melting tenderness—but not to the exclusion of irrelevant conceits. They are no more like, or equal to Theocritus—except in a few of his most artificial passages—than Pope's Homer is like, or equal to Homer. Hence we think Mr Chapman—though he sometimes falls short of Theocritus—is always a match for *them*. Art is an apt and adequate interpreter of art. The quaint pathos of Bion's Lament for Adonis—the neatness of his Teacher Taught—the perfect grace of the *Runaway Love* of Moschus—the romantic beauty of his *Europa*—may be enjoyed as well in Chapman's English as in their Greek.

The version of Theocritus we have allowed to speak pretty largely for itself—the best way of recommending it. Of the pastoral Idyls, Mr Chapman is perhaps most happy in the ninth, and some portions of the first. The group of *boy and foxes* on the 'deep ivy-cup' of the latter must be cited—though the sometimes hypercritical taste of Longinus condemns such episodes :

* Idyl iii. 102,

‘ And near that old man with his sea-tanned hue,
 With purple grapes a vineyard shines to view.
 A little boy sits by the thorn-hedge trim,
 To watch the grapes—two foxes watching him :
 One thro’ the ranges of the vines proceeds,
 And on the hanging vintage slyly feeds ;
 The other plots and vows his scrip to search,
 And for his breakfast leave him—in the lurch.
 Mean while, he twines and to a rush sits well
 A locust trap with stalks of asphodel ;
 And twines away with such absorbing glee,
 Of scrip or vines he never thinks—not he !’ *

Mr Chapman’s faults are neither many nor monstrous. We don’t quarrel with the meagerness of his annotations—notwithstanding that he leaves undetermined the great question, earnestly dwelt on by Fabricius, whether the nose of Theocritus was snub or aquiline ? But his English,

‘ Though expletives their feeble aid *do* join,’

is not always so idiomatic as it might be, and the parity of his lines with the original is occasionally purchased, as in the case of Sotheby’s Homer, by too much denseness, abruptness, or obscurity. Now and then there is an absence of that *deictic* manner, so delightful in the nature poets of Greece. Now and then the sense is mistaken, or an inferior meaning is preferred to a superior.† To descend to smaller matters, we might point out a few false rhymes—such as *parilion*, *minion*—*Endymion*, *Iasion*—and a superfluity of compounds, as harsh as *rock-chip*, *muse-gift*, *shakespear*, and *foot-blow*. And why did so quick-eared a versifier not change his measure—in company with Theocritus—in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth Idyls ?

Mr Chapman will forgive these hints, and—as his book is sure to become a standard one—will perhaps think them worth attending to in his second edition.

* Idyl, i. 45.

† For examples of *obscurity*, we refer the learned reader to the version of Idyl xiii. 24 ; xvi. 9—of defective force in *deictic* or highly descriptive passages, to Idyl i. 1, 7, 112 ; vi. 13 ; viii. 55—for examples of misinterpretation, to some instances already specified, and to the beginning of Idyl x,—the remainder of which is rendered with great skill.

ART. III.—1. *The Works of William Cowper, Esq., comprising his Poems, Correspondence, and Translations. With a Life of the Author*, by the Editor, ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., L.L.D., Poet-Laureate, &c. Vols. I. II. III. and IV. Foolscap 8vo. London: 1835.

2. *The Works of William Cowper his Life and Letters by William Hayley Esq. now first completed by the introduction of Cowper's Private Correspondence.* Edited by the Rev. T. S. GRIMSHAW, A.M., Rector of Burton, Northamptonshire, and Vicar of Biddenham, Bedfordshire, Author of the Life of the Rev. Legh Richmond. 8 vols. Foolscap 8vo. London: 1835.

THE Life of William Cowper, the most 'popular poet of his generation, and the best of English letter-writers' (to give Dr Southey's short summary of his literary character), has been brought before the public in a great variety of forms. It has been viewed for a long time as a debateable topic between two different schools of religious opinion, and hence every incident of an history, presenting little of what in ordinary lives is called incident, has been canvassed with an eagerness and a minuteness of detail often very disproportioned to the importance of the subject. But a good memoir of Cowper, combining a sufficient estimate of his literary character, with as much notice of his personal and domestic circumstances as public curiosity requires, had certainly never appeared, up to this time. This was the deficiency which Dr Southey has undertaken to supply. Unfortunately, however, both for himself and the public, a quarrel between two houses of publishers has brought into the world a rival 'complete edition' of the Life and Works of Cowper, superintended by the Reverend Mr Grimshawe, a writer recommended by his connexion with what is called the evangelical world, and supposed to possess peculiar requisites for the undertaking, in consequence of his alliance with the family of Dr J. Johnson, Cowper's kinsman, and the faithful attendant of his last melancholy days. With the origin and merits of the quarrel we have nothing to do; but a short statement of its results may be acceptable to the reader, as furnishing him with some clue for ascertaining the relative merits of the two editions, considered merely as collections of the poet's literary remains.

Hayley's Life and Correspondence of Cowper, which appeared shortly after his decease, contained an interesting, but very imperfect sketch of his subject. Not to dwell here upon the fault which was found with it by some of Cowper's religious friends, as not presenting his character in that light in which they pre-

ferred to contemplate it, the mere literary reader could not be satisfied with a work in which so much of the materials before the writer are mutilated and suppressed, often without any easily assignable motive. Besides this, the partial view afforded by Hayley's narrative, and the letters contained in it, of Cowper's interior life, naturally awakened a curiosity for more information. There is something so peculiarly attractive in the tone and manner of his correspondence, that it forces us to take an interest in all the persons and things which it records; they take forcible possession of our thoughts, and we are anxious to obtain every possible memorial of them. Accordingly, many subsequent publications have brought to light additional fragments of Cowper's biography. The 'Private Correspondence' of Cowper with Mr Newton and others, was published by Dr J. Johnson in 1824. His Memoir of Himself (one of the most interesting, but melancholy pieces of biography ever published) was brought to light in 1816. We shall have hereafter occasion to revert to it more particularly. In 1825, a small volume, with the title of 'Poems, the Early Productions of W. Cowper, with Anecdotes of the Poet, collected from Letters of Lady Hesketh,' appeared. It contained the relics which had been for many years in the possession of his cousin Theodora Cowper, of whom we shall also have occasion to speak.

These are the principal contributions which have been made since Hayley's publications to the original biography of Cowper. The copyright of the 'Private Correspondence,' which it appears did not meet with a very extensive sale, is in the possession of Mr Grimshawe's publishers; and that gentleman, therefore, conceives that he is entitled to advertise himself in his preface as 'enabled to present, for the first time, a complete edition of the works of Cowper,' by incorporating the whole of them in his narrative of the poet's life. Dr Southey, on the other hand, has collected, from a great many sources, especially by the assistance of the descendants of Cowper's own immediate connexions, a variety of new documents and traditionary information. He has been enabled to add to Cowper's Correspondence many letters of, and to, Lady Hesketh, and neglected or suppressed portions of the poet's writing to Mr Unwin, Mr Bull, Clotworthy Rowley, and others. But while he is in possession of all this additional matter, of which Mr Grimshawe knows nothing, he is himself, on the other hand, unable to interfere with Mr Grimshawe's exclusive privilege of publishing, un mutilated, the Private Correspondence. He is therefore forced to content himself with keeping on the safe side of the law, and extracting from that Correspondence as much, in the way of detached portions, as he fairly may. Thus, '*delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi*;'—book-

sellers quarrel, and the public gets in consequence two incomplete editions of Cowper's Life and Works, instead of one perfect one.

Mr Grimshawe, whatever his merits may be in other respects, is secure of the suffrages and the custom of a large class of readers; for he has undertaken Cowper's history as an advocate of his peculiar religious views, and with the especial object of impugning the opinion of such as believe that those views, and the encouragement they received from his associates, assisted in undermining his mental health. In this point of view, however, Mr Grimshawe has added little or nothing to what had been done before by Dr Memes, Greatheed, and other memoir-writers and critics of the same school.* Notwithstanding their zealous pleadings, the controversy remains nearly where it was before; and those who have not been convinced by the eloquence and argument of former writers on the subject, will not derive much additional impression from the pages of Mr Grimshawe. In other respects, there is not much to be said in favour of his edition; his literary criticisms are nothing but a series of vapid eulogies. And, on all the obscure or controverted passages in Cowper's history, he writes with an air of dogmatism and personal knowledge, which would induce a reader unacquainted with the facts to suppose that he had been intimate with the whole circle of the poet's personal friends; whereas his only claims to attention, as far as we can perceive, rest on the fact of his connexion with Dr J. Johnson—who was himself a youth when Cowper was already an old man, and could have known nothing of his earlier life except by hearsay. The best feature in his memoir is, that he has in general left Cowper's inimitable letters to tell his history for themselves, and had the good taste to abstain from adding more than was necessary to connect and explain them.

Dr Southey has been so long and so often before the public in the character of a biographer, that it is needless for us to enter into any critical details with respect to the literary merits of his present work. There are few of our readers who are not familiar with the peculiar charm of his free and unaffected style of narrative composition, by which he has imparted grace, and almost succeeded in imparting interest, to so many of the most intract-

* Among these we must particularly cite Mr Thomas Taylor, whose life of Cowper, published in 1833, is especially written for the use of the religious world. It is probably new to many of our readers, and we therefore recur to it, as well as to the work of Mr Grimshawe, to illustrate parallel passages in that of Southey.

able subjects which ever writer took in hand. If the dullest and toughest of these subjects have been rendered readable and almost attractive by this quality alone, it may easily be supposed that a life so full of interest as that of Cowper, together with all the literary associations connected with his name, cannot fail of being highly agreeable in his hands. It is not easy to define the peculiar qualities of style by which he differs from, and surpasses almost all the pure writers of the present day. His diction has no redundance of rhetorical ornament; yet it is rather wanting in compression, and seldom has much of terseness or of point to recommend it; while the turn and manner of his sentences frequently betrays the practised bookmaker of the present day, who has been bred up in the easy but pernicious school of periodical writing. Without instituting a comparison between two styles so widely different in most respects, we should say that the hidden charm of his composition is of the same kind with that which imparts such an indescribable beauty to the letters of Cowper himself—its exceeding ease and naturalness,—qualities of which the very excellence consists in their not directly challenging observation, or inviting the notice of the critic. At the same time, those familiar with Southey's writings will not fail to recognise here many of his other characteristics—much prolixity and unnecessary minuteness, and pompous disquisitions respecting matters of very little importance. We are inclined also to think that he is here and there a little too polemically disposed, and that the interest of the memoir is unnecessarily interrupted by the author's occasional fencing with his rival Mr Grimshawe, and the rest of the evangelical school. But the temptation was no doubt irresistible. Dr Southey has been for many years waging a desultory war with all the sections of the school in question; and in the present instance, there is, as we have seen, a personal dispute between him and his opponents to increase the mutual hostility. Having thus, in the language of feudal law, *faida* as well as *guerra*, private as well as public quarrel with his literary antagonists, it could not be expected that he would refrain from making use of some of the occasions of skirmishing with which his subject presents him. And we are bound to add, that we have seldom thought his remarks severe or unfair in themselves, even if sometimes inopportunately introduced.

But we have another and a more general objection to the mode in which Dr Southey has executed the present memoir, although we do not expect the concurrence of all our readers in making it. He has, in our opinion, spun it out to far too great a length, by the assistance of much matter wholly irrelevant, and not in itself very interesting. He is not content with most laboriously collect-

ing and comparing every version of every little anecdote which tradition has preserved respecting Cowper himself, and the small world of private and retired personages in which he dwelt. He has still further augmented the mass of his work by inserting separate sketches of the lives of a number of literary men with whom Cowper was thrown into slight and casual society during the early London years of his life. He has introduced us afresh to Bonnell Thornton, Lloyd, Churchill, &c., not to mention Hayley, with whom the poet had certainly a little more connexion by the force of events, though nothing whatever in mode of life, character, or literary fame. It is the still unabated popularity of Boswell's Johnson which has given the tone to modern literary historians, and produced these 'omnibus' biographies, in which the interest of a personal narrative is overwhelmed in the mass of contingent matter. For, not to mention Boswell's own excellencies, which no author can attempt to rival who has not at once as much of peculiar talent and of peculiar absurdity as he, a memoir of Johnson is necessarily a repository of contemporary anecdote and criticism. Johnson lived in public; and his name seems to stand in a sort of corporate as well as individual character, representing a considerable section of London life and society for many years. But how can such a mode of writing be proper when applied to Cowper, whose little microcosm, during the greater part of his real, and all his literary life, was as scrupulously guarded and shut out from external intercourse as that of the veriest inhabitant of a cloister? It is this very seclusion, this close and unbroken community of a few hearts, described as it is in letters which the gayest and wittiest courtier who ever adorned a capital has never equalled in talent or in interest, which invests with such domestic sacredness the names of Unwin, Hesketh, Austen, and the rest of Cowper's small society. In his literary life, too, he was almost alone. Among all the names of contemporary authors there is not one with which he stands in the most distant degree of literary kindred, except that of Churchill alone, whom he greatly admired, and imitated to a considerable extent in his earlier poems. He was no great reader until the last few years of his life, and at no time a reader of poetry. Had he been so, he would scarcely have fulfilled his vocation, to break, by original strength of mind, through the fetters imposed on our versification by Pope and our other poets of the French school. Such an history as his not only required no adventitious attraction, but its peculiar charm is, to our minds, impaired when treated in this heterogeneous manner. Much as Dr Southey has since done for literature, we will venture to say that not one of his later productions has carried so far the fame of its author as the two

small but classical volumes which contain the life of Nelson. The subject, indeed, was one of surpassing interest; but does the author believe that that interest would have been enhanced had the hero been treated in the modern fashion, and his memoir swelled to three times its present size by original anecdotes of Lord Howe and Lord St Vincent, Napoleon Bonaparte, Romney the painter, and Lady Hamilton?

All these supplementary matters we must leave untouched; for it is not our present intention to enter into the literary portion of Cowper's history, or to discuss the merits of his works. We have been induced to make Dr Southey's first volume the subject of a separate notice, before he has proceeded with his edition beyond the publication of the *Life*, and a portion of the *Correspondence*, on account solely of the new insight which they give into the melancholy narrative of his private life;—a narrative which is not only valuable in itself, from the illustration which it gives of a very important chapter in mental philosophy, but also from the controversies to which it has given rise:—for the example of Cowper is still held out as an encouragement by some, and as a warning by others: his history still receives its colour according to the various views of those by whom his religious opinions are accepted or rejected, and will still provoke the same ever renewed discussion, as long as men differ not only in speculative belief, but in devotional temperament.

Without entering into the little that is known of Cowper's earliest years, we must cursorily notice a fact which is of the highest importance in estimating his character, but which has been often overlooked. His first attack of mental depression seems to have occurred about his twenty-first year; to have been attended, even at that careless and unreflecting age, by strong feelings of religious horror; and to have left him suddenly at the end of some months, in a manner which his excited imagination in after years regarded as supernatural. This singular event occurred after his probation in a solicitor's office, and about the time when he first established himself in chambers in the Temple. Shortly afterwards, his destiny was in some degree influenced by another circumstance, of which all mention was carefully suppressed in the earlier biographies of Cowper. This was the mutual attachment which sprung up between himself and his first-cousin, Theodora Jane, second daughter of Ashley Cowper, and sister of that Lady Hesketh whose name is imperishably associated with his. This feeling, which had grown insensibly in a familiar intercourse of some years,—(for his uncle's house had been kindly thrown open to him and his intimates, during his attendance in Mr Chapman the solicitor's office,—when, as he writes to Lady

Hesketh, ‘There was I, and the future Lord Chancellor (Thurlow)* constantly employed from morning till night, giggling ‘and making giggle, instead of studying the law’)—met with no encouragement from the lady’s family. Her father objected to an union between Cowper and his daughter, not merely on the score of insufficient income, but also from the near relationship of the parties. Perhaps a more substantial reason was found, but not openly avowed, in the predisposition to mental disturbance of which the former had already given too clear proof. However this may be, the intercourse between them was suddenly broken off, and, from the tone of the verses in which he alludes to the circumstance (they were preserved by Lady Hesketh), there can be no doubt that he felt it keenly and long. It is not, however, to be supposed that this disappointment was really one of the causes of Cowper’s madness. Mr Grimshawe, who labours hard to represent that misfortune as arising from sources entirely unconnected with religion, flatters himself that he has discovered in this early passion ‘one of the preparatory causes which depressed and weakened his mind,’ and speaks of it in a very exaggerated tone, as that which ‘formed the eventful era in his ‘early life, and clouded all his future prospects.’ There is nothing whatever in Cowper’s own correspondence, or the anecdotes we have of him from others, to warrant such an inference. ‘Melancholy madness,’ says Southey, with greater truth, ‘which ‘in women so often originates in love, or takes its type from it, ‘is seldom found to proceed from that passion or assume its character in men. Cowper’s morbid feelings, when he began to brood over them, were of a totally different kind; and there is ‘not the slightest allusion to this disappointment in his account ‘of his own mental sufferings.’ Besides this, it must not be forgotten that his disorder had already ‘taken the type’ in which it recurred through life—that of religious melancholy—before he had attained his twenty-first year. We add the rest of Southey’s account of his hero’s first and only love adventure:—

‘From that time Cowper and the cousin whom he had loved so dearly

* Cowper was much attached to Thurlow, and remembered him with pleasure, but the selfish lawyer completely forgot his friend until the latter had made himself a name, and even then paid him but reluctant attention. It is curious to observe in Cowper’s correspondence, how a proud and independent man, for such he undoubtedly was, could nevertheless be constantly attempting to win some token of recollection from his quondam associate, when become great, and much disappointed (although unwilling to confess it) at not succeeding.

never met again. Many years afterwards, when his intimacy with Lady Hesketh was renewed, he said to her, "I still look back to the memory of your sister, and regret her; but how strange it is, if we were to meet now we should not know each other!" The effect on Theodora was more durable. Neither time nor absence diminished her attachment to the object of her first and only love. The poems which, while their intercourse continued, he had transcribed for her as they were composed, she carefully preserved during many years, and then, for reasons known only to herself, sent them in a sealed packet to a lady, her particular friend, with directions not to be opened till after her decease. His death, perhaps, or the hopeless state into which he had sunk, rendered the sight of these relics too painful; and hoping that they might one day be incorporated (as they now are) with those works which will perpetuate her beloved cousin's name, she put it out of her own power to burn them in any darker mood of mind.

Many years afterwards, Cowper was highly gratified by the attentions of an anonymous correspondent, from whom he received not only much delicate praise and friendly encouragement, but presents most ingeniously selected, together with a still more substantial proof of friendship,—less gratifying perhaps to the poet's feelings, but very important, at that period, to his interests,—an annuity of £50 a-year. He thus speaks of the circumstance in a letter to Lady Hesketh,—one of those which have been published for the first time by Dr Southey. Its date is 1786.

'Anonymous is come again. May God bless him whoever he be, as I doubt not that he will! A certain person said on a certain occasion (and he never spake word that failed), "whoso giveth you a cup of cold water in my name shall by no means lose his reward." Therefore, anonymous as he chooses to be upon earth, his name, I trust, shall hereafter be found written in heaven. But when great princes, or characters much superior to great princes, choose to be incog. it is a sin against decency and good manners to seem to know them. I therefore know nothing of Anonymous, but that I love him heartily, and with most abundant cause. Had I opportunity I would send you his letter, though, yourself excepted, I would indulge none with a sight of it. To confide it to *your* hands will be no violation of the secrecy he has enjoined himself, and consequently me. But I can give you a short summary of its purport. After an introduction of a religious cast, which does great honour to himself, and in which he makes an humble comparison between himself and me, by far too much to my advantage, he proceeds to tell me, that being lately in company where my last work was mentioned, mention was also made of my intended publication. He informs me of the different sentiments of the company on that subject, and expresses his own in terms the most encouraging: but adds, that having left the company and shut himself up in his chamber, an apprehension there seized him lest, if perhaps the world should not enter into my view of the matter, and the work should come short of the success which I hope for,

the mortification might prove too much for my health: yet thinks that even in that case I may comfort myself by adverting to similar instances of a failure where the writer's genius would have insured success, if any thing could have insured it, and alludes in particular to the fate and fortune of the *Paradise Lost*. In the last place he gives his attention to my circumstances, takes the kindest notice of their narrowness, and makes me a present of an annuity of fifty pounds a-year, wishing that it were five hundred pounds. In a P. S. he tells me that a small parcel will set off by the Wellinborough coach on Tuesday next, which he hopes will arrive safe. I have given you the bones, but the benignity and affection which is the marrow of these bones, in so short an abridgement I could not give you.'

'I have no means,' adds the editor, 'of ascertaining who this benefactor was; though undoubtedly Lady Hesketh was, as Cowper supposed, in the secret. It was not Lady Hesketh herself, because, after her offer of assistance had been made and had been accepted, she would not have affected any mystery in bestowing it. Nor is it likely to have been her father. Handwritings may, like faces, be distinctly remembered for twenty years, but in the course of twenty years both undergo a great though gradual change; and it is more probable that Cowper should be mistaken when he thought he had detected his uncle's hand, than that the latter, choosing to remain unknown, should have given so direct a clue to the discovery. Could it be his daughter Theodora? Were it not that the comparison which the letter-writer drew between Cowper and himself, seems to be one which would have occurred only to a man, I should have no doubt that Theodora was the person; and, notwithstanding that obvious objection, am still inclined to think so; for the presents are what a woman would have chosen, and it is certain that her love was as constant as it was hopeless. Hers was a melancholy lot; but she had the consolation of knowing now wherefore, and how wisely her father had acted in forbidding a marriage which must have made her miserable indeed.'

We are inclined to be of the same opinion; if from no other reason, from the little touch of solicitude in the poet's health, so gently introduced, and so characteristic of a feminine correspondent. Miss Cowper died, at a great age, in 1824. It is somewhat singular—yet not unnatural, that during the latter years of her cousin's life, when the miseries of his afflicted age were so long alleviated, as far as alleviation was possible, by her sister Lady Hesketh's devoted attention, she should never have sought his company again. She could have been of no use, and so mournful a spectacle could only have recalled the acuteness of feelings of which the traces had evidently never been wholly obliterated.

Of the life which Cowper led during his residence in the Temple (from 1752 to 1763) we have but scanty records. We know that he associated with his friend Joseph Hill, Lloyd, Thornton, and

for some time with Churchill; but there is no proof, nor much probability that this intimacy, except with the first of these, extended beyond their occasional meetings at the half-literary and half-humorous society which they called the Nonsense Club. Every one who is acquainted with the habits of London life among young men, knows how little this may imply of actual association in pursuits and employments. He certainly paid little steady attention, either to his professional or any other source of study, and this was partly the consequence of a physical restlessness, incident perhaps to his nervous constitution, which, as he says, until he was more than thirty years old, rendered it almost essential to his comfort to be perpetually in motion. He appears to have been fond of society, and to have laid up, during these years of his life, all that store of keen and spirited remark on the ways of the world which afterwards surprised the public, when displayed in the poems of the recluse of Olney. But that his course of life was vicious, or even loose—still more, that he presented, what Mr Grimshawe is pleased to term ‘an unhappy compound of guilt and wretchedness,’ there is no probability whatever. All his self-accusations are of a vague and hyperbolical character, without any allusions from which such a result can be deduced, except by those in whose judgment morality and profligacy, belief and unbelief, are all placed on the same level, so long as the individual remains in an ‘unconverted’ state.

This short retrospect of Cowper’s early life is rendered necessary by the use which has been made of the strong expressions employed by himself concerning his former guilt and misery, in the short narrative of his own case which he wrote a little after his release from confinement in 1765. It may well be supposed, that such an authority is the last on which a reasonable enquirer into his history would rely; yet it has been used without doubt or hesitation by his religious biographers. The wild language of the enthusiast, rejoicing in his recent deliverance, alike from mental and from what he deemed spiritual bondage; for whom the recovery of his sanity, and the supposed conversion of his soul to God, had been, by a wonderful Providence, combined as it were in a single operation; is taken by them as the sober evidence of a religious man respecting his own state of mind. Mr Grimshawe speaks of the life from which Cowper was rescued as a ‘vortex of misery and ruin;’ and Mr Thomas Taylor (a more energetic writer) says, when speaking of the time immediately subsequent to his recovery, ‘His application to the study of the scriptures must at this time have been intense, for in the short space of twelve months he acquired comprehensive and scriptural views of the

‘ great plan of redemption ; ’ a passage which seems to imply, that he was as ignorant of scripture up to the time of his derangement, as if he had been literally a Pagan, until he became a ‘ methodist.’ If all the former tenor of Cowper’s life did not negative this supposition, it would be abundantly contradicted by the single fact of his *first* attack of derangement, and the religious turn which it took twelve years before ; clearly proving that his mind must have been much, however imperfectly, drawn at that period towards religious subjects. But when Cowper, in his narrative, speaks of ‘ that repository of self-righteousness and pharisaical lumber, the whole duty of man,’ we clearly perceive what degree of authority must be attached to the expressions of one who, at that period, regarded all thoughts of God and his service, except such as fell in with the prevailing notions of religion which had then hold on his mind, as mere dangerous delusion or canting hypocrisy.

But we must retrace our steps a little, to follow again the chronological order of the events of Cowper’s life. It was in 1763 that his mind was entirely laid prostrate by the second and most violent of his attacks of hypochondria. The immediate occasion of it, as all his readers know, was his appointment to the clerkship of the journals of the House of Lords. The more onerous but more valuable situation of reading clerk and clerk of the committees, he had already declined, from his unconquerable dread of public exhibition. But the anticipation of appearing at the bar of the House, even in the other inferior capacity, fairly overcame his spirit ; or, it may perhaps be more justly said, the incipient madness which already had possession of his brain, seized upon *that* as the engine wherewith to torment him. For some months he fell from depth to depth, moving about and exerting himself amidst all the unutterable misery of thick-coming delusions. He never went into the street, but he thought that the people stared and laughed at him, and held him in contempt. He fancied that ballads in the streets, and paragraphs in the newspapers, were directed at him ; in every book that he opened he found something which ‘ struck him to the heart ; ’ he met, or in his wandering mind believed that he had met, at taverns and places of public resort, unknown companions who reasoned with him on the lawfulness of self-murder ; and he actually made in his despair more than one resolute attempt at suicide. Finally, the crisis of insanity arrived. He describes it as ‘ a strange and ‘ horrible darkness which fell upon me. If it were possible that ‘ a heavy blow should light on the brain without touching the ‘ skull, such was the sensation I felt.’ His friend perceived the change, and at length took the step which apparently must

have suggested itself long before: he was placed in a private madhouse at St Alban's, under the care of Dr Cotton, where he remained until his complete recovery, and left it in June, 1765.

Over the details of this melancholy portion of Cowper's life, Hayley and his other biographers have in general drawn a veil. But in 1816 appeared the already mentioned 'Memoir of the early life of W. Cowper, Esq. written by himself, and never before published,' which contains Cowper's own narrative of the events of his insanity as they occurred, in reality or in imagination. The publication of this narrative was made the subject of some censure at the time, in which we cannot say that we concur. It is true that it contains the most harrowing, the most fearful, chronicle of the growth of the dark cloud of melancholy madness on the brain, until the sufferer was conducted through many stages of wretched consciousness to the less pitiable state of mental insensibility. All the pictures of insanity which have been drawn by the effort of mere imagination, including those of Shakspeare himself, are flat, tame, and powerless, beside the self-delineation of Cowper. But it offers in many respects matter for the investigation both of the natural and the moral philosopher, and such valuable lessons should not, in our opinion, be lost from a disinclination to expose painful and distressing details to the public eye. It throws, moreover, much additional light on the character of Cowper as a writer, and shows from what gloomy region in the stores of his own mind he drew that intensity of melancholy feeling, and power of vigorous expression, which sometimes contrast so strangely with the general ease and lightness of his manner, both as a poet and a correspondent. We are, besides, enemies on principle to over-cautious delicacy, and have less fear of the consequence of occasionally offering strong food to the mental taste of the public, than dislike of fastidious suppression.

But the case is somewhat different when this narrative is almost wholly reprinted, and its most highly coloured portions dwelt upon with particular attention, in a publication of so popular a nature as Dr Southey's is likely to be. In its separate shape, this memoir of Cowper was accessible only to those who took the trouble of searching for it. It was not likely to attract much of the attention of young or inexperienced readers, whose minds are in general most sensitive. It remained distinct from the other records of the poet, a curiosity in a literary and religious point of view, but known probably to very few among Cowper's innumerable admirers. Dr Southey has now drawn it from this state of comparative obscurity, and brought it into a conspicuous place, in an edition of Cowper's life and works, which will, no doubt, find its

way into the hands of the great bulk of his general readers. Among these a very large proportion will be young persons and females; for Cowper is a peculiar favourite with both, and his popularity as a poet, which was once universal, appears now to be chiefly confined to these classes. Is it considerate in Dr Southey to introduce a narrative at once so shocking and so mysteriously attractive, into the body of a memoir destined for such indiscriminate use? The glimpses which a madman's communications give of the secrets of his mental prison-house have a far more exciting and dangerous, because more real, interest, than those which ghost stories and narratives of dreams give of the imaginary world of phantoms. The peril in both cases is precisely of the same character: the mind, if not naturally strong, or having its sensibilities blunted by familiarity with such topics, is fascinated and overpowered by the contemplation of that which at the same time thrills it with sensations of horror; and this revulsion of feeling acts injuriously not only on the mind, but even on the physical frame. If there is any wisdom in the philosophy of the nursery, which considers the indulgence of a child's taste for the marvellous as prejudicial to it, it must be equally dangerous to allow such narratives as that of Cowper to form a common subject of reading for the young and the enthusiastic, especially if their minds are in any degree disposed to religious excitement.*

We are now arrived at delicate ground for Cowper's biographers: for the members of that particular class of Christians who adopt him as their pride and ornament, and those who entertain different sentiments, are fairly at issue in their interpretations of the phenomena of his insanity. The latter maintain that it was, if not occasioned, certainly developed and aggravated by his enthusiastic views of religion, and by the encouragement which these received from his friends. The others prefer regarding it as a mysterious dispensation of providence, produced by causes inscrutable to human sagacity, and wholly unconnected with the ordinary turn of his feelings and conduct. Those who say that 'religion drove Cowper mad,' use undoubtedly a loose and dangerous mode of expression, though hardly, we think, deserving such vehement contempt as is poured on them by Mr Taylor; who, after a long and glowing declamation, of which the purport

* Mr Grimshawe has also thought it necessary to republish the memoir, but has placed it, we think, with rather better taste, as a supplement at the end of his life, and not introduced it into the body of the narrative.

is, that no contemplation of religious truth can be too intense, and that 'real religion can never produce mental disorganization 'in the remotest degree,' cites with approbation the words of another writer,—'If, then, any persons still resolutely maintain 'that Cowper's religion made him mad, what can be said in reply 'but that they are certainly themselves, as respects right reason, 'insane, and, it is to be feared, belong to that class which will 'ever remain incurable'! Mr Taylor, however, has elsewhere furnished a sufficient qualification of these extravagant assertions of his own. 'That unjust views of the character of God, and of 'the nature of his Gospel,' he says, 'may occasionally have 'been the predisposing causes of great and severe depression, we 'are not disposed to deny.' Now Cowper was a zealous Calvinist: so, we suppose, is Mr Taylor: but it is clear, from his own showing, that Christians of every class who are convinced that Calvinism conveys 'unjust views of the character of God 'and the nature of his Gospel,' may, if they please, believe, without irreverence or impiety, that those views contributed to Cowper's derangement.

But this question, like many other questions which excite vehement heats of controversy, does in fact require little more than a verbal distinction to solve it. Cowper's mind was undoubtedly predisposed to hypochondria, from some mystery of its original organization. It so happened that the particular form assumed by his complaint was the desperate belief in his eternal rejection;—a mode of insanity not very common, we believe, among educated persons, although how fearfully frequent it is among the uneducated, every one who knows any thing of the statistics of insanity is well aware. Had religious ideas been less prevalent in Cowper's mind than they probably were, even in early life (notwithstanding his own morbid description of his condition prior to 1763), some other phantom would have been conjured up instead of this, the original propensity remaining the same.

But if we are therefore precluded from calling Cowper's disease 'religious madness,' then, following the same strictness of phraseology, we ought seldom or never to speak of the madness of love or the madness of sorrow; for, in a great majority of cases, the origin of insanity itself is in a diseased organization, and the particular subject of the delusion, from which we denominate the complaint, is an accident only and not a cause. The cases in which a mind otherwise healthy is perverted into insanity by actual stress of thought upon the brain, and in which, therefore, we are strictly justified in calling the subject-matter of the patient's thoughts the cause of his insanity, are comparatively few. We do not say, because we have no evidence to warrant the

assertion, that Cowper's was one of these; but it is mere enthusiasm to assert that such a case can never have originated in true religion, and that much intense meditation on this, as well as on any other exciting and engrossing topic, may not sometimes have overwrought even the soundest mental disposition.

We are surprised that Mr James Montgomery, for whose opinions generally we cannot but entertain respect, even when obliged to dissent from them (if he is really the author of an article in the 'Eclectic Review' ascribed to him by Mr Grimshawe), should argue on this subject in what we are forced to term a sophistical manner, which shows how desirous he and his friends are to escape by any loophole from the conclusion that religion had something to do with Cowper's mental sufferings. 'With regard to Cowper's malady,' says he, 'there scarcely needs any other proof that it was not occasioned by his religion than this, that the error on which he stumbled was in direct contradiction to his creed. He believed that he had been predestined to life: yet under his delusion he imagined that God, who cannot lie, repent, or change, had, in his sole instance, and in one moment, reversed his own decree, which had been in force from all eternity.' Surely Mr Montgomery cannot be so little versed in the philosophy of the mind as to imagine, that because a madman adopts incorrect and inconsistent impressions on a particular subject, therefore his insanity cannot in any degree have been occasioned by dwelling on that subject. As in dreams, so in madness, we know that it is a common feature of the patient's condition, that he reasons correctly upon false premises. Nay, as after intensely gazing on an object of a particular colour, when we close our eyes, the same object represents itself to the sense, clad in an opposite hue, so the mind, when overstrained by too intensely fixing its contemplation on a particular topic, makes that topic the predominant matter of its delusions, but views it almost invariably after a distorted and contradictory fashion. We should imagine that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it would be found that those mad persons who now believe themselves under God's irreversible sentence of perdition, have been strongly impressed with tenets which at one time made them regard themselves as objects of his especial favour.

Thus far, however, is mere matter of verbal discussion. It is idle to imagine that the interests of Christianity are in any degree concerned in the controversy; whether Cowper's case should or should not be called one of religious madness. The really important question suggested by the perusal of his life is, whether the direction which was given to his mental activity, the manner in which his enthusiastic feelings were nourished and excited after

his recovery at St Alban's; and the course of life he was encouraged to pursue by the friends he then found; were well and wisely contrived for a mind which had lain prostrate under so severe an affliction? or whether they may not even have prepared the way for the relapse which ensued at no great distance of time, and frustrated all hopes of his complete re-establishment? This is the point on which Cowper's biographers are most decidedly at variance: some pointing to his residence at Huntingdon, and his first years at Olney (from 1765 to 1773) as not only the happiest, but the most rational part of his career; others believing, that to the system of feeding and stimulating religious excitement which was then pursued with him, the darker sufferings of his latter days are in great measure attributable.

Dr Cotton had effected the cure of his interesting patient at St Alban's more by ministering to the mind than to the body.

'I reckon it,' says Cowper, 'one instance of the Providence which has attended me through this whole event, that instead of being delivered into the hands of one of the London physicians, who are so much nearer that I wonder I was not, I was carried to Dr Cotton. I was not only treated by him with the greatest tenderness while I was ill, and attended with the utmost diligence, but when my reason was restored to me, and I had much need of a religious friend to converse with, I could hardly have found a fitter person for the purpose. My eagerness and anxiety to settle my opinions upon that long neglected point, made it necessary, that while my mind was yet weak and my spirits uncertain, I should have some assistance. The Doctor was as ready to administer relief to me in this article likewise, and as well qualified to do it, as in that which was more immediately his province. How many physicians would have thought this an irregular appetite, and a symptom of returning madness! But if it were so, my friend was as mad as myself; and it was well for me that he was so.'—*Southey's Life*, vol. ii., p. 150.

When he left St Alban's and proceeded to Huntingdon, the first place of abode which he then selected, his mind was in all that ecstatic fervour of delight which might be expected to prevail, where the patient had not only been rescued from the bondage of mental depression, but, as he believed, from the far severer slavery of sin and ignorance. All his letters at this time, particularly those to Lady Hesketh, breathe the most ardent spirit of gratitude and happiness. 'The very air and country which encircled him, 'all rural sights and sounds' to which he was ever so devotedly attached, ministered to his feelings of exulting joy. He was, in his own words, 'much happier than the day is long;' and, when after some months of this solitary enjoyment his spirits began to give way for want of company, he found all at once in the society of the Unwins, the very species of occupation for

his heart and intellect, which were then most congenial to them. Many of his expressions, at this time, may be deemed rapturous, and his description of his own condition exaggerated: but it is surely not unpleasing to contemplate, as a providential alleviation of so many woes, the current of happy thoughts and animal spirits which were at this time vouchsafed to Cowper. It was, as it were, a gleam of heavenly sunshine, revealed before the time, to one the course of whose middle life had begun in clouds; and was to end in still deeper and more fearful darkness. Yet happy as his condition was, it was unquestionably dangerous also; and no one, who was aware of the peculiar temper of his mind, and his recent recovery from the worst form of hypochondriac madness, but must have feared that it partook too much of excitement to be lasting, and that great care and much gentle management were necessary to sober down his spirits to that middle tone, which was at once the safest and most rational.

Such was Cowper's state of mind when he and his friends the Unwins, in a memorable hour for him and for English poetry, removed to Olney. There they became the spiritual disciples and intimates of the Rev. John Newton, then curate of the place. That he, entertaining those peculiar views of Christianity, of which he was so distinguished an advocate, should have misjudged Cowper's case, and ascribed much to the special dealings of God with the human soul, which was in fact the cause or consequence of mental malady, was not to be wondered at. But besides this, which we cannot but think, with Southey, the fundamental error of Cowper's pious friends in their treatment of his case, there were other peculiarities in the character of Newton, which rendered him a perilous companion for the poet. Their congeniality of feeling on religious views was not the only bond which knit their souls together. Newton, with all his boldness and energy of temperament, had, in an eminent degree, that gift of persuasion, and quiet but unremitting influence, which, in the Romish Church, make popular confessors and directors—and these last, as Southey observes, are not to be found in the Romish Church only. But Newton had also considerable literary taste and knowledge; much humour, and a power of satirical observation resembling that of Cowper himself; and, what is not perhaps so often associated with his character by those who read of him only as a zealous evangelical clergyman, uncommon cheerfulness and even playfulness of manner. Of this last quality, the tone of Cowper's letters to him, throughout the earlier years of their correspondence, cannot leave a doubt; for, however natural such a turn of thought and writing might be to Cowper himself, it would cer-

tainly not have been so uniformly assumed, had it not met with encouragement and even rivalry from his friend. Thus highly gifted, resembling Cowper in many points of character, but possessed of greater energy of mind, and invested with all the authority of much spiritual experience, he was singularly qualified to obtain, as he did, complete ascendancy over him. But, on the other hand, many even of those qualities which most fitted Mr Newton for the important part which he played in life, were such as to render that ascendancy peculiarly dangerous to Cowper. Robust in mind as in body, accustomed to witness, stimulate and approve the most violent excesses of devotional fervour, he seems to have had no conception (at least until after a sad familiarity with his case) of that sort of physical delicacy and abstinence from exciting topics which were essential in the treatment of a mind so bruised and shattered as Cowper's had been. 'His own name,' he confesses in a letter to Mr Thornton, 'was up about the country for preaching people mad:' yet he never seems to have thought that there could be any danger in exercising the nerves of one who had been mad already with the strongest machinery of his spiritual discipline. He considered Cowper as a living instance of God's triumphant grace, in releasing a sinner at once from mental and spiritual captivity. And even after the bitterest disappointment in his patient's condition, he still expected that his final recovery would be brought about, by means no less miraculous than those which he conceived to have operated in the first instance. Such treatment as Mr Newton's might have been, and doubtless was, useful in many cases; but, as Cowper himself beautifully writes to one of his correspondents about the decaying health of Mrs Unwin, 'when we have leaf-gold to handle, we must do it tenderly.'

Accordingly we find, that as Mr Newton's society, and the occupations in which he involved Cowper, gradually monopolized the attention of the latter, his intercourse with those whom he deemed his more worldly friends grew less and less. His correspondence with Lady Hesketh had ceased, even before his removal to Olney. She says herself that she found herself unable to maintain it; as her cousin's thoughts and pen seemed devoted to one engrossing subject, on which she could not entirely participate his enthusiasm. After that removal, his letters to his early friend Hill also, though friendly, became shorter and less frequent. 'He wrote only on business—not coldly indeed, for his affections were never chilled—but briefly, and as if he were afraid of trespassing into a cheerful strain.' In fact, from 1767 to 1776, when Cowper recovered from his next attack of depression, we have scarcely any memorials at all of this indefatigable

letter-writer, from his own pen. The interval is only filled by the ‘Sketch of the life of his brother,’ who died in 1770, having shortly before his death embraced what were then called Methodistical tenets, and the famous Olney Hymns,* in the composition of which Newton was assisted by him.

‘What was likely to be the effect,’ says Dr Southey, ‘when Cowper entered at Olney upon what has been called “a course of decided Christian happiness,” when it was “by no means a rare occurrence to find the man of trembling sensibilities praying by the poorest cottager, or (the height of distress to a feeling mind) guiding the devotions of some miserable being, who, having lived for the world, attempted to seek God only in the departing moments of existence!” Mr Newton had established prayer meetings in his parish, and Cowper was required to take a part in these meetings: he who, by his own account, was one of those persons “to whom a public exhibition of themselves is mortal poison!” Mr Newton had “a frame of adamant, a soul of fire,” nothing could shake his nerves. But for Cowper to visit the sick and dying, and to prepare himself by hours of nervous agitation for taking the lead in a prayer meeting, with a constitution like his, and a mind which had already once been overthrown—what could Dr Cotton, if the question had been proposed to him—what could any practitioner, who was acquainted with the circumstances of the case, or any person capable of forming such an opinion have expected—but the consequences which ensued?’

‘Several years afterwards, Lady Hesketh delivered her opinion to her sister Theodora upon the course of “decided Christian happiness,” into which Cowper had been led, when he settled under the ministry of Mr Newton. “Mr Newton is an excellent man, I make no doubt,” said she “and to a strong-minded man like himself might have been of great use; but to such a mind—such a tender mind—and to such a wounded yet lively imagination as our cousin’s, I am persuaded that eternal praying and preaching were too much;—nor could it, I think, be otherwise. One only proof of this I will give you, which our cousin mentioned a few days ago in a casual conversation. The case was this. He was mentioning that, for one or two summers, he had found himself under the necessity of taking his walk in the middle of the day, which he thought had hurt him a good deal; but, continued he, I could not help it, for it was when Mr Newton was here, and we made it a rule to pass four days in the week together. We dined at one, and it was Mr Newton’s rule for tea to be on table at four o’clock, for at six we broke up.—Well, then,

* The introduction of hymns, as a part of the church service, was then unusual; and Newton’s attempt was much discouraged by the High Church party. Its legality was even called in question. According to Mr Grinshawe, the Rev T. Cotterill of Sheffield was the first who established the right, in a judicial proceeding.

said I, if you had your time to yourself after six, you would have good time for an evening's walk, I should have thought.—No, said he, after six, we had service, or lecture, or something of that kind, which lasted till supper." * *

Such were the preparations, for such we must in sincerity call them, for the next fit of depression, which in the poet's fatal month of January, 1773, again assumed the form of decided insanity.

It may, after all, be said by some, that the diseased state of mind under which Cowper laboured was so deeply rooted in his constitution, that its recurrence after considerable intervals of ease, was absolutely inevitable. We have certainly known similar cases, in which, notwithstanding the most watchful care, and constant absence from all excitement, the fatal disease has returned repeatedly to baffle the hopes of friends just when they were most aroused; assuming at every fresh access a severer character, and visiting the patient at shorter intervals, until the last attack has continued, like Cowper's, involving him in deeper and deeper gloom, up to the moment of death. But however discouraging the prospect may be, it is not less the duty of friends to act as with a view to recovery, whether they expect it or not. Mr Newton and the Unwins *were* confident in their expectations of their friend's full re-establishment—but they expected it from a peculiar interposition of Providence, not from the common means vouchsafed to human ability and discretion. It even appears, that during the first month of Cowper's attack at Olney, they refused to call in any medical aid whatever. They were determined that God, who in ordinary cases governs the world by ordinary rules, should in this instance vindicate his glory by some surprising manifestation of power; and the result showed the weakness of their judgment, and we must add, however unwillingly, the presumptuousness of their expectations.

Whoever looks for special interpositions of Providence in one case of difficulty, acquires the habit of relying on the same stupendous resource in every other. The belief in such interferences with the established order of physical as well as moral nature, was familiar to the minds of Cowper and his friends. It encouraged him in his delusions, while it encouraged them in putting an unwarranted interpretation on the symptoms of his case. In

* We must add, that Mr Newton, in the suppressed preface to the first volume of Cowper's poems, speaks of the author as one from whom, during seven years, he was 'seldom seven successive working hours separated.'

him, whose imagination was ever apt to outrun his reason, these perverted views of Divine Providence extended from the most important to the most trifling matters.* Almost the only circumstance which detracts from the delightful character of his letters is to be found in those intrusions, if we may so call them, into the counsels of the Divinity—those interpretations of natural events into prodigies and judgments, with which they are sometimes filled. These too often force us to remember how much of narrow-minded superstition may cling to the purest feelings, and the most elevated genius. In the later portion of Cowper's life, these unfortunate illusions assumed a more distressing shape. He, whose moral and religious poetry was at that very time elevating the hearts of the pious, and introducing Christianity with forcible and eloquent persuasion into the spirits of the worldly and negligent, was himself in actual correspondence with an imaginary prophet. This was a poor tailor of Olney, whom, in earlier days, he had made an object of sportive

* Every one remembers the catalogue of celestial portents and prodigies in the beginning of the second book of the *Task*—perhaps the best of all modern imitations of a well-known passage in the *Georgics*. But Cowper was literally the

Prevailing poet, whose undoubting mind
Believed the magic wonders which he sang,

and some of his commentators seem as poetically credulous as himself. There was a long summer fog in 1783 (one of the portents enumerated in the passage above mentioned), which frightened many interpreters of signs, both in England and abroad; and Lalande had to administer the same comfort to the Parisians which M. Arago is now called on to give whenever a comet appears. He wrote to prove that it arose from natural causes. For this Mr Grimshawe rebukes the philosopher as follows:—‘The danger to which men of philosophical minds seem to be peculiarly exposed is the habit of accounting for the phenomena of nature too exclusively by the operation of mere secondary causes; while the supreme agency of a first Great Cause is too much overlooked. The universality of these appearances occurring at the same time in England, France, Italy, and so many other countries, awakens reflections of a more solemn cast in a mind imbued with Christian principles. He who reads Barruel's work, and the concurrent testimony of Professor Robison, as to the extent of infidelity, and even atheism, gathering at that time in the different states of Europe, might, we think, see in these signs in the moon, and in the stars, and in the heavens, some intimations of impending judgments which followed so shortly after; and evidences of the power and existence of that God, which many so impiously questioned and defied!’—Vol. ii. p. 140.

raillery, for his pretensions and self-importance, but whom he now actually believed to be favoured with direct communications from Heaven. For some years of his life (beginning in 1792) he and Mr Unwin appear to have habitually consulted this man (Teedon), not only with respect to Cowper's mental condition, but even to obtain supernatural advice in the common emergencies of life. Neither Mr Grimshawe nor Mr Taylor (whose object it is to represent Cowper's views of religion as in the highest degree rational and consistent on all topics, except within the narrow limits of his own delusion) appear to make any mention whatever of this circumstance in his history. We do not know from what source Southey derives it, and can only conclude that the others were not aware of it; for if this were a case of wilful suppression, considering the design and tendency of their works, we can scarcely conceive a more unjustifiable one.

Although there is neither pleasure nor profit in dwelling on such weaknesses of noble natures, it is surely necessary to do so when zealous and injudicious partisans would blind our judgment by representing them as perfect. When Cowper is held up as a pattern of religious life and sentiments,—as wise, rational, and pre-eminently happy, except when under immediate morbid influence,

‘Liber, rex denique regum,
Præcipue *sanus*, nisi cum pituita molesta est,’—

it is not invidious to hold up his errors as a warning to those who are willing and ready enough, in the height of youthful enthusiasm, to adopt his maxims, and imitate his conduct. We now gladly leave this unpleasant portion of our task; and let not the reader fear lest religion should suffer by the attempt to represent in less glowing colours the history of one of her most distinguished votaries. Cowper's life, after making allowance for every imperfection, speaks irresistibly to all unprejudiced minds in favour of the faith which he embraced. The remarks of his over-zealous admirers often provoke scepticism and dissatisfaction. He did honour to that faith in his writings, by rousing men's attention, in the strains of one who spoke as having authority, to truths which poetry has been but rarely commissioned to enforce. He honoured it in his life not only by blameless excellence of conduct, but by the noblest and most devoted resignation under the pressure of an imaginary calamity, which might well have tempted the spirit to renounce and blaspheme that Creator from whose presence it was a self-doomed outcast for ever. Inscrutable, indeed, are the ways of that Providence

which can thus raise up, in a manner which no human wisdom could have foreseen, auxiliaries for its own justification among men, even in those who are suffering under the severest of all its visitations.

Although from the time of Cowper's next recovery in 1778, his fatal delusion, which led him to despair of salvation, never left him, yet, in many points of view, the years which followed that event were the happiest as well as the most important of his life. It was in the space of these few years that his poetical fame was achieved; and that he enjoyed the pleasures of social intercourse in the highest and most perfect degree. It may seem at first sight a mere absurdity to speak of the condition of a man as happy, who is living in habitual despair of his acceptance with God. But there is undoubtedly a wide distinction between the convictions of a sound mind and the fancies of a distempered imagination, as to the relative strength of the impression which they leave on the spirits and feelings. It must not be supposed that this terrible image was always, perhaps even frequently, present to him, when his bodily health was good, and his nerves well strung. Some of Dr Southey's remarks on this subject are, we think, distinguished by truth and acuteness.

‘It is consolatory to believe, that during this long stage of his malady Cowper was rarely so miserable as he represented himself to be when speaking of his own case. That no one ought to be pronounced happy before the last scene is over, has been said of old in prose and in verse, and the common feeling of mankind accords with the saying; for our retrospect of any individual's history is coloured by the fortune of his latter days, as a drama takes its character from the catastrophe. A melancholy sentiment will always for this reason prevail when Cowper is thought of. But though his disease of mind settled at last into the deepest shade, and ended in the very blackness of darkness, it is not less certain that before it reached that point, it allowed him many years of moral and intellectual enjoyment. They who have had most opportunity of observing and studying madness in all its mysterious forms, and in all its stages, know that the same degree of mental suffering is not produced by imaginary causes of distress as by real ones. Violent emotions and outbreaks of ungovernable anger are at times easily excited, but not anguish of mind, not that abiding grief which eats into the heart. The distress, even when the patient retains, like Cowper, the full use of reason upon all other points, is in this respect like that of a dream—a dream, indeed, from which the sufferer can neither wake nor be awakened; but it pierces no deeper, and there seems to be the same dim consciousness of its unreality.’

Undoubtedly it is true that, during this less acute stage of his mental distemper, he rarely recurs to the subject of his peculiar delusion in writing to any of his correspondents, except Mr

Newton, who had left Olney in 1778 to settle in London. But we do not quite draw from this circumstance the conclusion which Southey appears inclined to suggest: that the delusion was cherished and maintained by the tone of Newton's letters to him; because these, by continually dwelling on his spiritual state, prevented him from forgetting his own distorted view of it. Mr Newton, it will be remembered, had not only been Cowper's religious friend and adviser in happier times; he had also been his nurse and attendant through every stage of his recent attack of depression. What could be more natural than that Cowper should recur to this engrossing subject perpetually, in communication with him, while he yet retained sufficient command over himself to abstain from dwelling on it when writing to others? And it is quite a mistake to suppose, as some have imagined, in the ardour with which they have taken up the anti-Newtonian view of Cowper's life, that the general tone of the correspondence between these remarkable men was characterized by gloominess or asceticism, or by any exclusive adherence to religious topics of an exciting character. On the contrary, these were in general sedulously avoided by Cowper, after he had become persuaded that he was in a state of reprobation; and his correspondent, whatever errors he may have committed in the outset, had by this time acquired too much experience to endeavour to force his friend's attention to them, and only administered the occasional comfort of a word in season. Besides, Newton's was a mind of astonishing cheerfulness and elasticity on every subject: Cowper's, on all subjects but one. It may be true, that Newton was the correspondent to whom he wrote most gravely, as Southey affirms; but he was also one of those to whom he wrote most unreservedly. Many of his most playful, gayest, wildest flights of humour and versatility of temper are in his letters to this dreaded spiritual director. Sometimes he addressed him in jingling rhymes, like those which passed in such abundance between Swift and Sheridan; sometimes rallied him in more regular metre, and often discussed with him topics of classical or modern literature, or the more ordinary subjects of conversation. We do not understand how Southey can say of Cowper, at the period when he began the composition of his moral satires, that he 'hardly conversed at all upon passing events, and the actors 'who were then fretting their hour upon the stage.' It appears to us, on the contrary, very remarkable, how much the thoughts of the recluse were at this time directed towards the political and other occurrences of the time. They furnish him with constant epistolary themes, although his judgments upon them are generally those of a man living in retirement, who sees only the

general aspect and relations both of circumstances and individuals. The strangest feature of this part of his correspondence to the reader, although a natural symptom of such a monomania as Cowper's, is the mixture, in the same letters, of levity and despair—of the most amiable cheerfulness with the most energetic expressions of mental disturbance.

We have been speaking hitherto of the tone of Cowper's letters to Newton during the first years of their separation; it must be observed that it is widely different from that, at once colder and more melancholy, which distinguishes the later portion of them, after the removal of the former from Olney to Weston. It seems as if Newton, who had evinced both tenderness and discretion in his management of Cowper for some time after his recovery at Olney, had afterwards resumed more zealously the direction of his conscience. He endeavoured to reclaim his friend from the less recluse habits of life into which the latter was gliding by degrees, and from his intercourse with persons not decidedly religious in external character. And Cowper, partly conscious by this time of his own and his friend's mistake as to the character of his complaint, felt a restraint thrown over their communications by this unaccustomed difference of feeling and opinion. Such is the conclusion to which we should be led, in particular, by Cowper's often quoted reply to one of Newton's letters of reproof respecting his intimacy with the Throgmortons (*Southey*, vol. ii. p. 254), an incident which perhaps has been made more use of, to Newton's disadvantage, than it deserved.

It was during this act of his life, also, if we may so term it—for the whole history of this singular patient presents a series of such intervals, divided by the successive falls of the dark curtain of melancholy over his intellect and spirits—(a space which extended from 1778 to 1788, the last ten years of his residence at Olney), that the fulfilment of his destiny as an author was at once commenced and achieved. Cowper's own letters abundantly show how great was the mental relief which he derived from composition. His restless mind needed continual occupation. 'I cannot amuse myself,' he says to Newton, 'as once I could, with carpenters' or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels or guineapigs. At that time I was a child. But since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds, to restore me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain that I have not chosen or prescribed to myself my own way, but have been providentially led to it; for certainly, could I have had my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, the years which I spend in poetry I would spend with God.' It is curious to observe the religious fatalist, in this

apology for literature to his spiritual adviser, laying on Providence the burden of his poetical propensities, which unlucky rhymers usually place on their stars or their destinies. These years witnessed the production of his first volume of poems (published 1782), which were chiefly written at the suggestion of Newton and Mrs Unwin: of 'The Task,' and, last but not least, of 'John Gilpin;' in writing both of which the poet was inspired by his delightful friend, Lady Austin (1785). The history of the manner in which the most amusing of all legends first became popular, and of its rapid success, may not be known to all our readers; we therefore subjoin Dr Southey's lively account of it. John Gilpin, it will be recollected, first appeared in a newspaper.

'While the *Task* was in the press, John Gilpin was gaining a wide reputation for its then unknown author. This lively story, in its newspaper form, came into the hands of Mr Richard Sharp, well known afterwards in the literary and higher circles of society for his conversational talents, and recently by a volume of essays and poems, the careful compositions of his middle age, which he published at the close of a long life. Mr Sharp was intimately acquainted with Henderson, the great actor of those days, and the only one who has resembled Garrick in versatility of power; his Falstaff, his Benedict, and his Mr Bayes, having been not less finished performances than his Shylock, his Hamlet, and his King John. Henderson was at that time delivering public recitations at Freemason's Hall. "It was my lucky chance," says Mr Sharp, "to make him acquainted with John Gilpin, and to propose his reading it. Yet, to be honest, I must own that I did not anticipate the prodigious effect of that story, when the public attention was directed to it."

'These readings were given in conjunction with Sheridan, son of Swift's immortalized friend, and father of Brinsley Sheridan. The terms of admission were thought high, nevertheless the experiment succeeded, and though it continued only during the lent of one year, the profits amounted to £800. The room was crowded upon every performance, and this success was attributed much more to John Gilpin, than to the serious part of the recitations. Henderson was unrivalled as a reader, and for this reason, that he had neither studied nor formed for himself any system of elocution. He was once addressed, when he descended from the desk, by a person who wriggled up to him with "Pray who *did* teach you to read Mr Henderson?" "My mother, sir!" was his reply. One who was present at one of these recitations says, that when John Gilpin was delivered "the whole audience chuckled, and Mrs Siddons, who sat next me, lifted up her unequalled dramatic hands and clapped as heartily as she herself used to be applauded in the same manner." But the effect was not confined to the overflowing audiences at Freemason's Hall. The ballad, which had then become the town talk, was reprinted from the newspaper wherein it had lain three years dormant. Gilpin, passing at full stretch by the Bell at Edmon-

ton, was to be seen in all print shops. One printseller sold six thousand. What had succeeded so well in London was repeated with inferior ability, but with equal success, on provincial stages, and the ballad became in the highest degree popular before the author's name was known.

'The first person who communicated to Cowper the intelligence that the famous horseman was affording as much amusement to the public as he had formerly given to the little circles at Olney and Stocke. seems to have been Mr Newton. It called forth the following reply.

' TO THE REV. JOHN NEWTON.

' MY DEAR FRIEND,

April 22, 1785.

'When I received your account of the great celebrity of John Gilpin, I felt myself both flattered and grieved. Being man, and having in my composition all the ingredients of which other men are made, and vanity among the rest, it pleased me to reflect that I was on a sudden become so famous, and that all the world was busy enquiring after me: but the next moment, recollecting my former self, and that thirteen years ago, as harmless as John's history is I should not have written it, my spirits sank, and I was ashamed of my success. Your letter was followed the next post by one from Mr Unwin. You tell me that I am rivalled by Mrs Bellamy, and he that I have a competitor for fame not less formidable in the learned pig. Alas! what is an author's popularity worth, in a world that can suffer a prostitute on one side, and a pig on the other, to eclipse his brightest glories? I am, therefore, sufficiently humbled by these considerations, and unless I should hereafter be ordained to engross the public attention by means more magnificent than a song, am persuaded that I shall suffer no real detriment from their applause. I have produced many things under the influence of Despair, which Hope would not have permitted to spring. But if the soil of that melancholy, in which I have walked so long, has thrown up here and there an unprofitable fungus, it is well, at least, that it is not chargeable with having brought forth poison. Like you, I see, or think I can see, that Gilpin may have his use. Causes, in appearance trivial, produce often the most beneficial consequences, and perhaps my volumes may now travel to a distance, which, if they had not been ushered into the world by that notable horseman, they would never have reached. Our temper differs somewhat from that of the ancient Jews. They would neither dance nor weep. We indeed weep not, if a man mourn unto us, but I must needs say, that if he pipe we seem disposed to dance with the greatest alacrity.

' Yours,

W. C.'

No portion of Cowper's domestic history has furnished so much matter for discussion among his biographers as his connexion with Lady Austin. We have already remarked how completely the surpassing excellence of his letters has rendered every particularity of his private life a matter of interest; and how many a reader, who has never perused, or slightly relished, the poetry on which his fame first rested, has pored with delight over the little domestic novel of his friendships, occupations, and

homely adventures—Cowper's own narration of the events containing nearly all we know about them, together with the slight addition of gossip which Hayley's intrinsic industry enabled him to pick up. Led at first by family circumstances into the neighbourhood of Olney, Lady Austin was induced, by the attraction she found in Cowper's and Mrs Unwin's society, to desert that of all the world besides, and fix her abode next door to that of the two recluses, in the house which Mr Newton had occupied before. With them she lived for two years in daily and close association. Their friendship, however, was interrupted by one quarrel at least, of which Cowper gives only a short account, by no means so explanatory as his anecdote-loving master could desire. And this intimacy, happy as it seemed, was broken off as suddenly as it was formed. Cowper himself, in a letter to Lady Hesketh, avoided all mention of the immediate cause, and merely hints, that the attentions which Lady Austin required from her neighbours began to be irksome to one whose time was so occupied by composition, that she took offence at the neglect, and vanished as she had appeared,

‘ Like the lost Pleiad, seen no more below.’

Upon this short text the commentators have founded many and very opposite theories. Most seem to agree in one point only,—that the immediate cause of the separation was jealousy on the part of Mrs Unwin, who could not bear to see the control she had so long exercised over the heart and mind of Cowper shared in any degree by another. If so, there is nothing unnatural or very blameable in her conduct. There are many degrees of jealousy, from the basest of passions to the most natural impulse of the heart; and to expect that she who had for years devoted her life, her affections, and her health, to one blind object, and nursed for years a patient who repaid her love at that time with a distorted hatred—for such is one of Cowper's observations when under the influences of his malady—could sit by and see him, day by day, more and more engrossed with a new and fascinating acquaintance, is to imagine her an angel, and not a woman. Mr Thomas Taylor affirms positively, that there was an engagement of marriage between Cowper and Mrs Unwin, the fulfilment of which was only delayed in consequence of the return of his illness. This Southey absolutely denies, and holds, himself, that jealousy and love were quite out of the case, and that Lady Austin grew tiresome; a solution which seems hardly to accord with the abrupt nature of the quarrel, the reconciliation, and the final separation. Mr Taylor's certainly seems a very improbable story. If any such engagement did subsist be-

tween a man of fifty and a lady ten years older, what reason could there be for its non-fulfillment? It must have been formed under the full knowledge that Cowper's mind had been subject to disturbance, and at this time (1784), he had been six years comparatively well. Alexander Knox, in one of his letters to Dr Jebb, mentions that he considered Lady Austin as 'an artful woman,' and that Cowper was well rid of her. Dr Meares, on the other hand, and the assertion is an odd one, coming from one of the most evangelical of the poet's biographers, gallantly defends the discarded lady, thinks Mrs Unwin's conduct wholly unjustifiable, and accuses Cowper himself of having, most thoughtlessly, practised on Lady Austin's affections.

We return from these deductions of modern critics to Hayley's account, who had certainly the advantage of having conversed on the subject with one at least of the parties concerned. He gently hints at Mrs Unwin's jealousy; but adds, moreover, from Lady Austin's own account, that this lady had imagined herself to have made some progress in Cowper's affections, until they had acquired a tenderer cast than those implied in the epithet of 'sister Anne,' with which he so playfully invested her; that her illusion was only broken at last by the receipt of that letter from Cowper, which occasioned the dissolution of her friendship,—which, in her immediate mortification, she had destroyed. We confess, notwithstanding Dr Southey's magisterial decision, that 'love in Lady Austin's case was out of the question—jealousy equally so in Mrs Unwin's,' we think Hayley's version of the story the most probable in itself of all. What Southey can mean by denying the probability of a lady's falling in love with Cowper at the age of fifty we cannot understand. No combination of qualities could be more dangerously framed to entrap the heart of a close associate than his. The poetical talent, the unrivalled fancy, that could extract delightful imagery from the commonest occurrences of social life, the peculiar aptitude for the conversational lounge of the garden-walk and the lady's bower, together with that most irresistible of compounds, the union of pathos and humour, and the strange contrast that existed between his melancholy and his playfulness—even those peculiarities of situation to which Southey adverts as rendering such love improbable, appears to us to point to the very opposite conclusion. They made him more dangerous, because they put those who were in his daily society off their guard. The assistance and consolation which he seemed to require are not rendered without peril; and the employment of a ministering angel is one which it has always required some steadiness, both of head and heart, to fulfil with impunity, especially where the patient is so

single-hearted, so unsuspecting, so free from every point of vanity and design as Cowper.

To us the singular part of this account is not the circumstance itself, but that Lady Austin should ever have confessed it. Is it probable that she could have made so humiliating an avowal at any distance of time and place, and that to Hayley, the prince of all literary coxcombs? Lady Austin died while Hayley's work was in the press. Had not this been so, some signal piece of retributive justice would perhaps have taught him to respect the sage and ancient caution, 'Qu'on ne doit pas parler mal des dames.*'

We have occupied our readers so long with the lady whom Hayley has celebrated, in strains which ask a new treatise on the bathos to illustrate them, her who

‘Sent the tired eagle in the sun to bask,
And from the mind of Cowper called the task.’

that we have left ourselves but little space to comment on the other circumstances of the poet's residence at Olney. Nothing shows more completely the superiority of mind over the material objects which hem it in, and the power of genius in transforming and embellishing all external circumstances, than the undying interest which attaches itself in the minds of thousands to that narrow and crazy tenement in a remote country town, and the two recluse beings who inhabited it together so long. Cowper's dwelling at Olney is pictured in our imaginations as a little paradise of poetical retirement; we are conversant with all the domestic sights and scenes he so fondly enumerates, and its inmates and visitors are become familiar to many of us as household friends.

‘There were discomforts,’ says Southey, ‘attending his situation in Olney which Cowper felt, though he seldom allowed himself to complain of them. Upon telling Mr Newton one winter that, owing to the state

* Perhaps some readers will be disposed to think the matter best disposed of by Mr Scott of Olney's question, ‘Who can be surprised that two women should be continually in the society of one man, and not quarrel sooner or later?’ But, as Southey observes, Lady Hesketh and Mrs Unwin were afterwards often and long in that man's society, and never quarrelled. The history of Cowper's *ménage* sometimes reminds us of what Lord Orrery very untruly said of Swift, that his house was ‘a constant seraglio of very virtuous women, who attended him from morning till night with an awe and an assiduity that are seldom paid even to the most powerful lovers, nay, not even to the grand seignor himself.’

of the weather, he and Mrs Unwin had not escaped into the fields more than three times since the autumn, he said, "Man, a changeable creature in himself, seems to subsist best in a state of variety as his proper element; a melancholy man, at least, is apt to grow sadly weary of the same walks, and the same pales, and to find that the same scene will suggest the same thoughts continually." This is a melancholy passage; but a blacker melancholy possessed him, when he described to the same friend his contentment in his situation, and the reason why he was contented. "I am not shut up in the Bastile," said he, "there are no moats about my castle, no locks upon my gates of which I have not the key; but an invisible, uncontrollable agency—a local attachment—an inclination more forcible than I ever felt even to the place of my birth serves me for prison-walls, and for bounds which I cannot pass. In former years I have known sorrow, and before I had ever tasted of spiritual trouble. The effect was an abhorrence of the scene in which I had suffered so much, and a weariness of those objects which I had so long looked at with an eye of despondency and dejection. But it is otherwise with me now. The same cause subsisting, and in a much more powerful degree, fails to produce its natural effect. The very stones in the garden walls are my intimate acquaintance. I should miss almost the minutest object, and be disagreeably affected by its removal, and am persuaded, that were it possible I could leave this incommodious nook for a twelvemonth, I should return to it again with rapture, and be transported with the sight of objects which to all the world beside would be at least indifferent, some of them perhaps, such as the ragged thatch and the tottering walls of the neighbouring cottages, disgusting. But so it is; and it is so, because here is to be my abode, and because such is the appointment of *him* that placed me in it.

Iste terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet.

It is the place of all the world I love the most, not for any happiness it affords me, but because here I can be miserable with most convenience to myself, and with the least disturbance to others."

Such, however, were not his feelings when he did revisit the spot, in one of his saddest moods of dejection, shortly after his removal, through Lady Hesketh's kind and active exertions, to Weston. 'Once since we left Olney,' he wrote to Mr Newton, 'I had occasion to call at our old dwelling; and never did I see so forlorn and woful a spectacle. Deserted of its inhabitants, it seemed as if it could never be dwelt in for ever. The coldness of it, the dreariness and the dirt, made me think it no unapt resemblance of a soul which God has forsaken. While he dwelt in it, and manifested himself there, he could create his own accommodations, and give it occasionally the appearance of a palace, but the moment he withdraws, and takes with him all the furniture and embellishment of his graces, it becomes what

‘it was before he entered it, the habitation of vermin, and the
‘image of desolation.’

These extracts represent the varying state of spirits which made Cowper’s strong attachment to local associations a source of pleasure or of melancholy, according to the prevailing mood of his mind. Sometimes they mingled strangely with his dreary anticipations of futurity. ‘I was visited,’ he says in a letter to Teedon, ‘with a horrible dream, in which I seemed to be taking a
‘final leave of my dwelling and every object with which I had
‘been familiar on the evening before my execution. I felt the
‘tenderest regret at the separation, and looked for something
‘durable to carry away with me as a memorial. The iron hasp
‘of the garden door presenting itself, I was on the point of taking
‘it away; but reflecting that the heat of the fire in which I was
‘going to be tormented would fuse the metal, and that it would
‘therefore only serve to increase my insupportable misery, I left
‘it. I then awoke to all the horror with which the reality of
‘such circumstances would fill me.’ The imagination of Dante never conjured up so appalling a conception.

From 1788 to 1795 Cowper resided at Weston—he came to that place amidst melancholy forebodings; he left it in the most incurable dejection; and although much of the intervening space was usefully and not unhappily employed, it presents on the whole a period to which the reader of his life turns with much less interest and satisfaction than that of his previous sojourn at Olney. The death of Mrs Unwin’s son at the commencement of this epoch deprived him of that friend with whom his intellect, fancy, and affection, most delighted in expanding themselves. Neither Mr Bagot, Hayley, nor Johnson, the principal male correspondents of his later years, fully supplied the place of Unwin, or appear to have called forth so successfully the resources of his wit and sensibility. And his letters to Mr Newton grew less and less frequent, and more devoted to one subject—that of his depression. It certainly appears as if the coldness between these two former intimates, which had arisen on the subject of Cowper’s going more into society, toward the close of his residence at Olney, never wholly wore away. Mr Newton was, we may conjecture, disappointed at the course which both the conduct and the malady of his friend had assumed—so different from the triumphant issue which he had long anticipated; while Cowper, conscious at once that his life and occupations, however innocent, were not those which in his early days of zeal he had deemed characteristic of a converted man, and yet that they furnished the only palliation of his mental sufferings, naturally found little pleasure in intercourse with one who

had nourished his former enthusiasm and openly disapproved of parts of his later conduct. His literary employments too were not of the same interesting character as before—the spirit for original composition had worn itself out, and translating Homer formed almost his only occupation—pursued at first with ardour, afterwards with some lassitude and disquiet, and at last with that sort of mechanical perseverance with which a heavy task is got through by one whose heart is in other things. We are inclined to regret with Mr Grimshawe, though on other grounds, that the last years of his literary life were devoted to this ungrateful occupation. Perhaps, had he not been absorbed in so great a labour, the talent and the wish for more congenial mental employment might have returned as suddenly as they had arisen in the first instance. Whatever the merits of Cowper's translations may be, they are deficient in the one quality which above all others characterises Homer, and ought to belong to his translators—sustained energy. Pope never flags—we do not mean that he may not become wearisome to the reader, but that the subject never appears to become wearisome to him. The same buoyancy of versification, and the same vigorous flow of spirits, if we may use so bold a metaphor, seem to pervade the whole of his work, and in this respect at least he represents his author admirably, however he may have disfigured him in all besides. In Cowper, on the contrary, whatever may be the fire and the force of particular passages, they are separated by weary tracts of unenlivened prose; and there is a languor and a kind of sluggishness which hangs over great part of his performance, than which nothing can be conceived more essentially anti-Homeric.

The spirit of poetry in Cowper had indeed at this time taken the most melancholy of all directions. It appears nowhere so forcibly as in the dreary delineations of mental suffering of which his letters are so full, and in a few of those ballads and minor pieces which are learnt and cherished by many to whom the *'Task'* and the satires are unknown. The verses *'to Mary'* were Cowper's last original composition at Weston. These are perhaps become familiar to every heart, but there are perhaps comparatively few acquainted with the last of all his ballads *'The Outcast,'* which was the work of the later and still gloomier period of his career. It is founded on a melancholy subject, the story in Anson's voyage of the loss of a shipmate who had fallen overboard in a storm, and consists in a comparison between the fate of that unhappy man and that of the poet himself, abandoned, as he believed, to the tempests of spiritual despair.

‘For misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.’

A comparison forcibly suggests itself between this little poem and the verses of Byron on his thirty-sixth birth-day, the last which he, too, ever wrote, and which sum up so mournfully the weariness, disgust, and disappointment of a feverish life. No two men could be more widely different in life, in temper, and in the character of their writings; but both were children of Genius, in whom that doubtful gift was characterised by a more than ordinary share of its evil accompaniments, by susceptibility, amounting in the one case to madness, in the other, perhaps, more closely allied to it than the world's judgment would have allowed.

From the time of Cowper's quitting Weston until his death, six lingering years elapsed, during which his gloom was rarely enlivened by one passing ray of his former cheerfulness. The only topics on which the mind dwells with satisfaction in tracing these concluding pages of his annals, are furnished by the unwearied attention and zealous friendship of those who tended him throughout, during his captivity on earth. It seems, as we have somewhere seen it observed, as if Providence had in a marked manner tempered the afflictions with which this good man was visited, by raising up for him in succession, whenever his recurring necessities required it, friends who were willing to devote life, health, and fortune to his support and comfort. But there must have been something peculiarly attractive in the character of Cowper himself, to have inspired such devoted attachment in persons whom none of the ordinary ties of blood or connexion had drawn to his side. The Unwins, Newton, Lady Hesketh, Hayley, Johnson, Miss Peronne seem all, at different times of his life, to have made him the principal object of their thoughts, some of them to the exclusion of almost every other care and avocation. Such disinterested love forms indeed a bright page in human nature, more especially when it is remembered how little encouragement was afforded to Cowper's nurses by the character of his malady, the shades of which grew deeper and deeper as life approached its termination. Among his religious friends and admirers, many perhaps flattered themselves to the last that some signal and visible change for the better would manifest itself in his condition, if it were only for a short space, previous to his dissolution. They could not believe that any one who had been once so strikingly visited by Divine Grace, would be suffered to depart this life not only without assurance, but in apparent despair; but they too were disappointed. Up to the last moment when it could be perceived that his spirit retained its consciousness, it still laboured under its miserable delusion. The death of most good men, if natural and quiet, not only is, but appears a gradual transition. They pass from a lively hope, if not from a

confident anticipation, into the reality to which they have aspired. But he, having laid down to sleep in the valley of the shadow of death, awoke, we trust, at once, to the dawning of a glorious immortality. It is seldom profitable, seldom even safe, to exercise our fancy in imagining the sensations of the disembodied spirit at the moment of its escape; but we are surely not trespassing on the bounds which a due reverence for things above us imposes on our imagination, when we suffer ourselves to contemplate the ecstasy of a released prisoner thus emerging at once, without delay or gradation, from 'darkness that could be felt,' into the full blaze of everlasting light.

But Cowper's singular history must not be laid down without some passing attention to the moral of the tale, however obvious and trite it may appear. Although very few of his readers are perhaps exposed to the peculiar dangers to which genius such as his subjects its possessor, yet something of the temperament of genius falls to the lot of many who have little share of its brilliancy. The nervous timidity, the restless and excitable nature, the love of change combined with a tendency to mental indolence, which seem to have characterised Cowper from the beginning, are qualities of no rare occurrence in more ordinary men. Such men cannot be too strongly impressed with the conviction, that if their lot has imposed upon them the necessity of study and vigorous exertion in the line of life in which they are placed, they are most fortunately situated, not only for the development of their mental faculties, but for the warding off the worst evils which can afflict humanity. While those who are not so circumstanced externally should be warned to make betimes such a necessity for themselves, and to devote themselves sternly against their natural bent, to some course of active employment. Above all, the desire which haunts such minds of withdrawing from public life, and seeking a visionary happiness in obscurity, should be ever resisted to the uttermost.

'Never indulge it' (the morbid wish to retire from active life), said one of the gentlest, as well as acutest, judges of human character, 'it is the most fatal of all delusions: the sad delusion by which Cowper was wrecked. Our happiness depends not upon torpor, not upon sentimentality, but upon the due exercise of our various faculties: it is not acquired by sighing for wretchedness and shunning the wretched, but by vigorously discharging our duty to society. Remember what Bacon says, that "in this theatre of man's life, God and angels only should be lookers-on." . . . If Cowper had attended to Bacon's admonition, that "torpid minds cannot engage too soon in active life, but that sensibility should stand back until it has passed the meridian of

‘ years,’ instead of being one of the most wretched, he might have ‘ been one of the most happy of men.’—(*Mackintosh's Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 157.) At the time when he made this remark, Sir James Mackintosh was not, perhaps, able to estimate Cowper's character in all its bearings: much of his history, which has since found its way to the light, was then unknown to the public. It is, therefore, probable that he was not aware of the full extent of the poet's constitutional malady, and attributed more power to his will over his mental state than it in fact possessed. But if no exertions on his own part could have rendered the born hypochondriac one of the ‘ happiest of men,’ they might, at least, have averted many of the worst effects of his mortal disease. There are exceptions to every such general assertion, but we believe it may safely be said, that of two men, in both of whom Nature has implanted the same nervous tendency to melancholy, if the one be thrown into active life, and the latter abandoned to retirement, the chances are, that the first finds his disorder mitigated through life, its recurrence sometimes delayed, and sometimes, perhaps, wholly averted, by the occupation of his thoughts on other subjects: the latter falls continually from bad to worse, and dies, as Cowper died, in incurable despondency.

There is, say some of Cowper's biographers, ‘ cruelty’ in condemning a man so morbidly timorous for shrinking in the early period of his life from the labour and the public exhibition required by the legal profession which he had embraced. Yet had he seriously devoted to the studies of that profession the years which, by his own confession, he wasted in absolute and pernicious idleness—neither turning the present to any advantage, nor preparing himself in any way to meet the future—he would probably have acquired sufficient strength of nerve, if not to attain eminence at the bar, at least to perform the duties of the quiet and unlaborious office of which the mere offer threw him into a state of madness. English literature might perhaps have lost a poet, but society would have gained an amiable and accomplished member. And Religion, instead of the doubtful triumph which she has obtained in the celebrity of this distinguished but unhappy man, whose every excitement and aberration have been magnified by one party into manifestations of divine grace, and used by another as pretexts for holding religion herself up as an object of terror or derision, would have made the more solid conquest of a mind naturally susceptible of devout impressions; its susceptibility chastened by moral training, and its energies directed towards solid instead of visionary objects.

ART. IV.—1. *Correspondence relating to the Slave Trade. Classes A. and B. presented to Parliament, 1833, 4, and 5.*
 2. *Leonard's Voyage to Western Africa, 1833.*

FOR some years past little has appeared in this Journal on a subject to which more perhaps than to any other it had been peculiarly devoted, and on which the labours of some of its best and greatest contributors were employed—we mean the African Slave Trade. We watched with most anxious attention, and detailed with exactness every step of progress towards the great and noble end of its suppression, and while opinion was yet unstable in this country upon the subject, this Journal laboured not more to show the dreadful and heartrending atrocities connected with the traffic through all its stages, than the violation which its existence in any shape offered to the principles of justice, humanity, and religion. All such appeals either to reason or feeling have in this country been for many years unnecessary. The advocates for the trade have not been more numerous or more considerable than the advocates for murder, robbery, piracy, and the like, amongst which crimes it has taken its stand, not only by statute law, but what is of far more importance, in public opinion. The number of these advocates, as in the other cases, is of course confined to the few who profit by the crimes they uphold, and there is evidence down to the present time to show that some English capital at the Havannah, at Gibraltar, in London, and in Africa, is still engaged in promoting the nefarious traffic. This, however, does not prove what foreign powers have been disposed to assert—an indifference on the part of the British public; it only proves what every one knew, that there are men, who, for the sake of lucre, will place themselves under the ban of society, and violate every ordinance of God and man.

The task which we should most gladly have imposed on ourselves, during the last few years when we have been silent on the subject, would have been to have related the progress which the great cause of the abolition was making in foreign countries, and the successful efforts of our diplomatists in negotiating treaties for the combined suppression of the trade; and still more, in wringing from the indolence and bad faith of 'hollow states,' the fulfilment of such treaties when made.

But alas! the growth of right opinion has been in most countries so slow as scarcely to be perceptible, and though the voluminous parliamentary papers show both that our efforts have

not been wanting, and that they have been judiciously directed and earnestly enforced, yet, to the shame of civilized and Christian nations, our official reports speak of nothing but deceitful promises, broken treaties, dishonest bargains, and a resolute determination to inflict no punishment for what they have admitted to be a crime, or a still more shameful connivance with the commission of it.

Two classes of papers are each year presented to Parliament; one containing the correspondence between the Foreign Office and the commissioners in different parts of the world, who are appointed, under treaties, to judge conjointly with foreign commissioners in the cases of captured slave ships; the other, the correspondence between the Foreign Office and our diplomatic agents at the courts of Europe and America, with details of the exertions made by them at their respective posts to induce foreign Governments either to enter into more effective arrangements, or to keep with better faith those already made. It is impossible to read these papers and mark our numerous and unceasing efforts for years past to make foreign powers adopt such views of the trade as are alone consistent with justice and humanity; to consider the variety of inducements which have been held out to them sincerely to concur in its suppression; the sacrifices we have ourselves made to that end, and the enormous expense we annually incur, for it; to observe the ingenuity and resource with which evasions of our treaties have been counteracted and prevented, and the promptness and zeal with which, through our agents by sea and land, every arrangement that can be effected is turned to instant advantage—it is impossible we say to look at all this without a feeling of admiration at the perseverance, the single-mindedness, and the ability with which, in accordance with the spirit of the age and the dictates of humanity, our various Governments, in a nobler rivalry than that of party, have emulated each other in advancing this great and arduous task. Especially may this be said of them during the last few years, and far more is credit due to them on that account, because, as public men existing by popular favour, they have yet been labouring in a cause no longer admitting of brilliant success, and in a field which some of our greatest men have exhausted of its glory, leaving only to their successors the unostentatious office of completing what it has conferred immortality on them to have undertaken. Their exertions, however, are not lost. They stand recorded in the state papers of this country, and when party distinctions and personal jealousies are reduced to their native insignificance, and our schemes of policy are no longer viewed through the distorting medium of passion, all that England has done and suffered to stop the deso-

lation of Africa, and to mitigate the sufferings of her unfortunate natives ;—to arouse other countries to the same desires, and to similar exertions, and to wipe off from herself as a Christian nation the foul reproach and stain of slavery itself, will stand as the proudest monument to the spirit of the age, and the enlightened statesmen who have administered to it. We say this advisedly, but without deeming it necessary to refer to the want of success, which, as regards the Foreign Slave Trade, has for the most part attended our exertions. It may have been quite true, in the words of the Congress at Verona, that the trade gained in activity what it lost in extent, and assumed a more odious and dreadful character, from the nature of the means to which those who carry it on were compelled to have recourse. But such exertions as ours in such a cause depend not for their merit on success. Our merit is faithfully to have done our duty by God and man, undaunted by difficulties, and unswayed by interest, and of this all the scoffs and sneers of selfish men cannot deprive us.

We wonder, indeed, whether those persons who are ever taunting the Government with its want of success in this matter with foreign powers, have ever considered what the difficulties are in the way of success, seeing that those powers have an interest in the trade, and that they do not recognise the principles or the feelings on which we ground our appeals to them. Have they forgotten what efforts were necessary in this country to effect the abolition of our slave trade—how long they were persisted in, and with what difficulty they were successful? Have they thought of those great men who made these exertions, who laboured incessantly to teach their country to prefer her duty to her interest, who threw their hearts, and minds, and lives, and fortunes into the cause ; and for years and years, ‘guided by faith and matchless fortitude,’ waged unequal war with the most powerful interests and the most stubborn prejudices? And how short a time has elapsed since complete success has crowned their efforts? Did not the beginning of this century witness the avowed hostility of their opponents?—and at the end of the last were not the abolitionists called levellers and anarchists? Let us take, as an instance, Boswell, a man probably not behind the current humanity of his age, who, after condemning the wild and dangerous attempt of abolishing the slave trade, ascribing the advocacy of it to a love either of temporary popularity or of general mischief, then, in his imbecile enthusiasm, thanks God that there was a House of Lords wise and independent enough to stand up for a traffic which God had sanctioned and man continued. (Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, vii. p. 23. 1835.)

If, then, such persevering efforts, so long continued, were in this

country necessary to effect the abolition of our slave trade, let us not wonder at the small progress which the cause may hitherto have made in foreign countries ; but neither let us be disheartened ; let us rather take courage from the example, and proceed ever with the conviction that the holy cause of mercy and justice to our fellow-creatures, if pursued with sincerity and zeal, cannot fail ultimately of being successful. In each country of Europe, in proportion as its forms of government and institutions shall suffer the developement of the moral and intellectual powers within it (and to that state all are tending), there will arise minds capable of seeing and understanding the obligations of religion, of justice, and of humanity,—and daring to uphold them against the prejudices of the ignorant, the calumnies of detractors, and the low and paltry interests of the selfish and the worldly. It is in vain that we have looked to kings. They have professed, and they have called God to witness their professions ; they have made treaties in the name of the Trinity—they have exhausted the vocabulary of their languages in reproachful terms upon the hellish traffic which they swore to abolish—they have issued their alvaràs, and their cédulas, and their ordonnances without end ; but the events of twenty years have proved that they have taken no one step to give effect to their professions ; that they have acted in all instances without honour, and in many without honesty. Not one negro the less has, through their exertions, left the shores of Africa—not the slightest discouragement has been offered to their subjects to investing capital in the traffic ; and on many occasions, to their infamy be it said, the clearest connivance on the part of their agents has been exposed by us and protected by them. We therefore put not any longer our trust in princes ; we must look elsewhere for effecting this and every important international object. We must look to the sympathy of enlightened men as they shall arise in different countries, and still more to that universal craving after better government, which forces such men into their natural eminence, making ‘supremacy of merit the sole means and broad ‘highway to power.’ When such men do attain to power, let us not be wanting to ourselves and to the righteous cause which we uphold, and our efforts will be crowned with success. In these anticipations we trust that we shall show in the sequel that there is nothing chimerical or enthusiastic.

We propose to lay before our readers as shortly as possible the state of the engagements between ourselves and foreign powers for the abolition of the slave trade. With respect to the actual state of the trade till within a short time, nothing we fear could be worse ; no exaggeration could heighten the horrors and atrocities connected with it. In no record of the most savage and tru-

culent nations that ever fattened upon human flesh, have there been instances of such remorseless cruelty as are exhibited in every account which reaches us of the slave traders. And this has been suffered to exist by kings and governors, who hold themselves accountable to God for their actions, in order that some handful of their subjects may obtain a due per centage on the capital which they have criminally invested in the traffic, or in the labours of its victims. It is not our purpose to dwell upon these horrors in their detail; interest and compassion are sufficiently awakened in this country on the subject not to need such stimulants; it is a more agreeable task to describe what has been effected towards the suppression of them. Before, however, we treat in detail the conduct of different nations, it may be mentioned that the African slave trade has not at this moment a *legal* existence in any part of the civilized world.

With respect to the co-operation of *France*, the most powerful nation which has permitted the continuance of the slave trade, and whose participation in it has been attended with the worst consequences—all that is real and effective—all that really lets in light upon our hopes, dates from three years ago. If we allude to former periods of our negotiations with this power, to that one especially, the most favourable for the extinction of the trade, and the most fruitless in any steps to accomplish it, the period of 1814 and 1815, when we might have commanded where we now have to persuade, it is not with the view of drawing any invidious distinction between this or that government. Whether there was remissness, whether a great and noble object was postponed to others of less importance, or whether there were insurmountable obstacles, it would be out of all time and place here to enquire. Our opinion as to the consequences of the arrangements then made stands upon record, backed as it was by that of every sincere and earnest advocate for the abolition, and above all others, of Romilly, one of the greatest men who ever enlisted the capacities of heart and mind in the cause of humanity. All that we would maintain is, that there was not one prediction of evil consequences that time did not fully verify. After the peace, the French trade that for twenty years had ceased, *did* start instantly into life, and unfettered and unchecked by any real efforts on the part of the French Government, throve and flourished from that time forward; fresh capital was yearly embarked in it, powerful interests connected with it sprung up, ships were openly equipped in the ports of France, and the wretched princes of the expelled dynasty, in betraying the liberties of their own country, failed not to violate their promises to others, and by delays and subterfuges evaded

the fulfilment of their engagements. It was in vain, moreover, that we made treaties with other powers, imperfect as they have always been; for the guilty slaver ever found a secure refuge under the flag of France. Our Government was not remiss; urgent and reproachful remonstrances were made from time to time; some seeming good was effected, such as vehement denunciations against the inhuman traffic, the enactment also of penal laws against all participators in it, and engagements to send cruisers to watch the coasts of Africa; but to how little purpose all these steps were taken, the following extracts from Mr Leonard's voyages will show. The writer was an officer on board the flag ship on the African station during three years, and has given a most lively and interesting description of all that occurs in that part of the world connected with the suppression of the traffic and the liberation of its victims. 'During the month of October last (1830), 'His Majesty's brig *Black Joke* boarded five French vessels, with '1622 slaves on board, from the river Bonny alone; and in the 'month of November following there were ten French vessels 'lying in the Old Calabar river, ready to take slaves on board, 'the smallest of which would embark 400. She could not detain one of them. Indeed, had her officer strictly attended to 'the letter, or even the spirit of our feeble treaty with France ' (than which nothing requires a more strict revision), he must 'have known that he was not permitted even to board any 'vessel under French colours. So complete is the immunity of 'slave vessels sailing under this flag owing to the disability under 'which our ships of war labour, and the perfect idleness and inactivity of the *Gallie* squadron, that before long there is not a 'doubt that the tri-color will be the only flag employed to carry 'on the slave trade, unless France is forced to grant the right of 'search, and the right to capture all vessels under her flag fitted 'for the reception of slaves, or having slaves actually on board. —Pp. 150, 151.

Such was the state of things when the French thrust out their reigning monarch and his family; and not the least among the good effects of the change has been the different conduct since pursued by their government with respect to the slave trade. We failed not to take advantage of a strong expression of public opinion upon the subject; and while the joy of their own emancipation was yet in their hearts, we obtained the first important concessions from them, for the release of Africa from its afflicting scourge. On the 4th of March 1831, a law was passed, rendering the trade, and all preparation for the trade, and all connivance or connexion with it, in the highest degree criminal; and in the same year Lord Granville prevailed on M. Sebastiani to sign a convention, in which the mutual right of search by the

ships of war of each nation, so long desired, was at length agreed upon. This was all that could be then obtained, and we determined, as we have never failed to do, upon the least concession from other powers, to turn it instantly to the best account in the suppression of the traffic. Admiral Warren, than whom a braver and more intelligent officer, or a kinder hearted man, could not have been chosen, was sent to the African station to give effect to the convention. But it was defective in the two points in which all our engagements with foreign powers had been defective, viz. in not authorizing the capture of vessels fitted up for the reception of slaves; and secondly, in not requiring peremptorily the demolition of the condemned vessels. The importance of the latter provision is, to ensure their not falling again into the hands of the traders; which being built purposely for the traffic, our commissioners state 'they never fail to do.' The necessity for the first provision is seen from this, that, as the wretched victims of avarice and cruelty are kept on shore till the whole cargo is completed, and then, during a fog, or when the wind is favourable, packed at once on board the vessel, which instantly makes sail, it follows that the number of ships stopped with slaves on board is trifling, not one in twenty, comparatively with those that are found with every sign of preparation for receiving their cargo. These signs are invariable and not to be mistaken. The hatches have open gratings; there is also a regular succession of bulk heads or divisions in the hold, spare planks for making a second (or slave) deck, a stock of shackles and handcuffs, an excessive supply of water, mess tubs, boilers, and provisions. No statement or report has ever been made on the subject of the slave trade, since we have attempted to suppress it, that has not dwelt upon the absolute necessity of inserting the Equipment Article, as it has been called, in our treaties with other powers; every other provision, it has constantly been said, without that would be futile. The works of impartial travellers, the reports of our naval officers, and of the British commissioners on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, all dwell on this one article as *the* effectual step towards the final suppression of the trade. The want of this provision had moreover led to the horrible practice often mentioned, of throwing the slaves overboard during a chase. Our exertions were therefore renewed in France, and this time we had to deal with one of the most enlightened statesmen that France has ever produced, and with yet higher qualities than are often met with in her public men. M. de Broglie, who owed much of the brilliancy of his early life to his efforts in the cause of the abolition, signed with Lord Granville in 1833 a supplementary convention, agreeing in full and express terms, and with

specified particulars, to the capture of vessels fitted up for the trade, and making the existence of such preparations in all respects equivalent to being engaged in the trade, and having slaves on board. In addition to this, the important clause of breaking up the slave vessels before sale was also conceded. The two countries, moreover, engage to use their best endeavours, and mutually to aid each other, in inducing all the maritime powers to agree to the terms of their conventions; and in this, France appears, by the correspondence laid before Parliament last year, to have acted with good faith.

We shall now set before our readers very briefly the result of the combined efforts to this end made by our government with that of France. In doing this, it will be necessary to allude to the actual state of our relations with other powers, and the steps they may have taken, up to this time, to suppress the slave traffic carried on under their respective flags, *in consequence* of their treaties and engagements with England. For, be it observed, not one nation in Europe has originated a single measure for the suppression of the slave trade.

Antecedently to the conventions with France, we had treaties with Brazil, the Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain; and their provisions are in some respects more effective, as in the establishment of mixed commissions on the spot; whereas by the French convention, captured vessels are to be delivered over to the jurisdiction of the power under whose flag they were sailing. The Equipment articles were contained in our treaties with the Netherlands and Sweden, and with no other countries. The breaking up of the prizes before sale was in no treaty or agreement we had ever entered into. All, therefore, that was necessary for us to do, was to urge those countries to agree *with France* to the whole of the conventions, and *with us* to such parts as were not already contained in our treaties with them. To all the other powers of Europe, and to the United States, France and England conjointly have made the strongest representations on the subject, and urged them by every consideration of justice, humanity, and policy, to make a combined and simultaneous effort for at once annihilating what they themselves had, twenty years before, denounced as the curse of Africa and the disgrace of Europe. It appears, accordingly, by the papers laid before Parliament, that instructions to this effect were sent to our ministers in Denmark, Sardinia, Austria, Prussia; Russia, Naples, and the United States. Orders were also sent at the same time to our minister at Buenos Ayres, to induce the government there, as well as the Monte Videan authorities, to enter into an effective treaty for the

abolition of the trade. Lord Palmerston's despatch calls upon the former to fulfil in good faith the compacts to that effect entered into with Great Britain in the year 1825; and he forcibly points out to the latter, the deep disgrace to which the Uruguay Republic will be exposed, if their flag be found to protect this barbarous and disgraceful traffic.

We will begin with those countries with whom we had no antecedent agreement on the subject.

Denmark.—It should always be mentioned to the credit of this power, that the first edict levelled by it against the slave trade, and expressly in consideration of its nature and of the circumstances attending it, was dated so far back as the year 1792. This was being considerably in advance of public feeling and opinion in Europe, not to say England. For the last three or four years, the parliamentary papers show little correspondence with this country on the subject of the slave trade with Africa. Slaving vessels, it appears, touch at the island of St Thomas, one of the Virgin islands in the possession of the Danes, and merchants resident in that island seem to have some share or interest in their enterprises. The Danish government, though promising to repress all criminal participation on the part of its own subjects, is unable to prevent vessels from touching at the free port of St Thomas; and justly remarks, that the fault lies with those governments that sanction or tolerate the infamous trade, and furnish vessels engaged in it with papers which enable them to carry it on with impunity from our cruisers. On the 27th July, 1834, the treaty of accession by the King of Denmark to the conventions between France and England was forwarded to this country. No better proof can be adduced of the sincerity and good faith of the Danish government in desiring to put a stop to the traffic.

Sardinia.—This country also, to its credit, has readily acceded to these conventions, and a treaty, giving effect to the same, was signed August 8th, 1834, in triplicate by the French, English, and Sardinian ministers. One article in that treaty, stipulating that Sardinian vessels, if captured, should be taken to Genoa, would have nullified the objects of the treaty, as far as humanity to the slaves is concerned. The serious aggravation of their sufferings, from being carried even to Sierra Leone from the waters in which the vessels are ordinarily captured, is dwelt upon by all our commissioners and captains, and was one of the considerations that first led to our effecting an establishment at Fernando Po. By the time, therefore, the captured vessel arrived at Genoa, but a small remnant of its wretched cargo (if taken with one on board) would have survived. Upon the nature

of this stipulation being represented to the Sardinian government, they, in the month of December following, agreed to an additional article, to the effect that Sardinian vessels captured by French and English cruisers, should be taken to the port or place to which English or French vessels, under similar circumstances, would have been conveyed.

Austria.—To this power, as one of the parties signing the European denunciation of the slave trade in 1815, a requisition was sent by Lord Palmerston that it should enter into a treaty, with stipulations corresponding to our conventions with France. This requisition was only laid before Prince Metternich by our ambassador, and no answer appears by the papers before us to have been returned. In 1826, Austria published a decree giving freedom to every slave touching the Austrian soil, and rendering all direct or indirect participation in the traffic highly penal. We therefore expect that a readiness to co-operate with us for its complete extinction will not be wanting.

Prussia, another party to the declarations of the Congresses at Vienna and Verona, was also invited. The invitation appears to have been supported on our part with ability and earnestness, and to have been met with weak evasions on the other, which, from the character of the Prussian Government, we should not have expected. The obligation is felt and acknowledged, of redeeming the solemn pledge given twenty years before by the King of Prussia, in common with those other sovereigns who then thought fit, in the name of God, to take upon themselves the protection of mankind. Their words were these,—‘ that they are animated with the sincere desire of accomplishing the complete abolition of the slave trade by all the means at their disposal, and of acting in the employment of these means with all the zeal and perseverance which is due to so great and noble a cause, and that this their solemn engagement can never be fulfilled until the period when complete success shall have crowned their efforts.’ And yet, when it is proposed to one of these parties to agree with France and England to a mutual right of search, under certain strict conditions, an objection is made to the proposal; not, as one might expect, from the interruption of their commerce or the vexatious delays to which their vessels might be exposed, but because they have no vessels at all navigating those waters. It is vain that Lord Palmerston points out that, for that very reason, national jealousy need in no way take alarm; that no inconvenience would be caused to Prussian subjects, and no interference with their interests; that the only effect would be, to prevent the slaving pirates from covering their criminal traffic under the flag of Prussia, which they would

fraudulently assume, and which, from the absence of a Prussian navy, would afford them complete immunity. The correspondence was not completed, but M. Ancillon does not appear to have been disposed to yield. Prussia has done nothing for the abolition of the slave trade but signing the empty declarations at the different Congresses.

Russia.—The same remarks will apply to the correspondence with this power as to that with Prussia. After the accustomed eulogy of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, especially for their humanity and good faith, (we suppose there are lithograph forms for these kept in the offices at St Petersburg), Count Nesselrode acknowledges the solemn obligation on the part of Russia to use *every* means in her power to aid the abolition of the slave trade, and yet demurs about the *only* means which the experience of years has shown to be effective. He thinks that a great step has been taken, by the mutual right of search agreed to by England and France; he admits that no inconvenience can result to Russian merchantmen, as they do not frequent the seas in question; that no expense will be incurred by keeping a Russian squadron, as the cruisers of France and England will do all that is necessary; and as a result of the whole he declares that the Emperor his master is willing to take up the thread of the negotiations, as left by former Congresses, and to open fresh conferences for the purpose of *seeking out* the most effectual means of preventing the slave trade; or in other words, as Lord Palmerston justly says, in exposing this flimsy evasion of what good faith and justice require of them, of finding the best means of going backward instead of forward in the matter. The only effectual means of crushing this detestable traffic have been found out by experience, and as such were submitted to Russia for her adoption. Lord Palmerston's able remonstrance on the conduct of the Russian Government, and his exposition of the want of straightforwardness, consistency, and good faith manifested by it, remain, according to the Parliamentary papers, unanswered. This is the only step Russia has ever been asked to take, to give effect to the engagements she made with the rest of Europe not to rest in her endeavours till the slave trade was no more.

Naples.—A final answer had not been received from this power, but there was no willingness to accede to our wishes; the same frivolous *pretexts* (for as far as reasons are concerned they tell the other way) were given, that Naples had no commerce in those seas, and cannot afford to have cruisers; of course then, as Lord Palmerston answers, Neapolitan subjects can sustain no inconvenience or loss, and our cruisers can prevent the

outlaw of other nations from carrying on their crimes under shelter of the Neapolitan flag.

The above four powers have, therefore, demurred in their accession to the French and English conventions; but having given their reasons for demurring, and those reasons being so frivolous and untenable, it is impossible that, if our representatives are not remiss, they can long withhold their consent to what their solemn engagements, as well as the commonest principles of justice and humanity, require of them; and that without any loss to their subjects, any expense to themselves, or any infraction of international principles. We have, however, to record one instance of positive refusal to our request of accession to these conventions, and that, we grieve to say, comes from the United States of America—the first nation that, by its statute law, branded the slave trade with the name of piracy. The conduct, moreover, of the President does not appear to have been perfectly candid and ingenuous. There appears to have been delay in returning any answer, and when returned it seems to have been of an evasive character. In the month of August, 1833, the English and French ministers jointly sent in copies of the recent conventions, and requested the accession of the United States. At the end of March following, seven months afterwards, an answer is returned, which, though certainly not of a favourable character in other respects, yet brings so prominently into view, as the insuperable objection, that the mutual right of search of suspected vessels was to be extended to the shores of the United States, (though we permitted it to American cruisers off the coasts of our West Indian colonies), that Lord Palmerston was naturally led to suppose that the other objections were superable. He, therefore, though aware how much the whole efficiency of the agreement will be impaired, consents to wave that part of it, in accordance with the wishes of the President, and in the earnest hope that he will, in return, make some concessions of feeling or opinion to the wishes of England and France, and to the necessities of a great and holy cause. The final answer, however, is, that under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations for the suppression of the trade. We much mistake the state of public opinion in the United States if its government will not find itself under the necessity of changing this resolution. The slave trade will henceforth, we have little doubt, be carried on under that flag of freedom; but as in no country, after our own, have such persevering efforts for its suppression been made, by men the most distinguished for goodness, wisdom and eloquence, as in the United States, we

cannot believe that their flag will long be prostituted to such vile purposes; and either they must combine with other nations, or they must increase the number and efficiency of their naval forces on the coasts of Africa and elsewhere, and do their work single handed! We say this the more, because the motives which have actuated the Government of the United States in this refusal, clearly have reference to the words 'right of search.' They will not choose to see that this is a mutual restricted right, effected by convention, strictly guarded by stipulations, for one definite object, and confined in its operations within narrow geographical limits; a right, moreover, which England and France have accorded to each other without derogating from the national honour of either. If we are right in our conjecture of the motive, and there is evidence to support us, we must consider that the President and his Ministers have been, in this instance, actuated by a narrow provincial jealousy, totally unworthy of a great and independent nation.

With respect to the five powers with whom we had already formed treaties for the suppression of the trade, and to whom application has been made to form fresh treaties embodying the stipulations of the French Conventions, there is but little at present to say, with the exception of Spain. Concerning the negotiations with that country, we shall trouble our readers at some length.

In *Brazil*, the Government has shown considerable desire to abolish the traffic, and given some evidence of their sincerity. Indeed there can be little doubt of their sincerity, as it depends less on humanity, than on the obvious policy of not increasing the negro population in the country. Unfortunately, they want the power to give effect to their intentions, and are, moreover, thwarted by the disgraceful way in which the trade is carried on under the Portuguese flag, the protection of which, by a barefaced and notorious connivance on the part of the Portuguese authorities in Africa, is obtained by any pirate who asks for it. The answer of the Brazilian Government is, that as soon as the Portuguese trade is stopped, there will be none carried on between Africa and Brazil. The Brazilian slave trade appears in fact to have stopped from the time it was declared piracy. There is an appearance of good faith in the matter, on the part of the Brazilian Government, that makes us think their consent will ultimately be obtained. From the *Netherlands* and from *Sweden* no answer appears to have been received to the urgent request of the English Government, to accede to the arrangements recently made between France and England. With *Portugal*, the case stands thus: In 1815, to speak the plain truth, we bought a treaty with her, by which we were to be suffered to effect the abolition of the trade

under her flag.' There is only one thing more disgraceful to her than taking money for such a treaty, and that is the failing to fulfil its stipulations; and acting with general bad faith in carrying it into execution;—and this she has done. By the treaty alluded to, the Portuguese slave trade was entirely abolished north of the equator; a mutual right of search and a mixed Commission Court being agreed upon to give effect to the abolition. South of the equator, the trade under the Portuguese flag was for a time to be permitted; but that only for the purpose of supplying the Transatlantic possessions of Portugal. The Government of Portugal, however, solemnly engaged to take every means within their power to effect the universal abolition, and 'to assimilate the legislation of Portugal on the subject as much as possible to that of England.' Upon Portugal acknowledging the independence of Brazil, the Portuguese slave trade, by this treaty, became illicit south of the equator, as well as north, though the Portuguese flag did not come under the maritime police which watched over it north of the equator; and it appears to be an omission in the treaty that it contained no stipulation to that effect. In 1826, the Portuguese Government admitted that the moment was come for putting a stop for ever to the inhuman traffic, and engaged to enter into a more binding treaty with Great Britain for destroying it in their own dominions, and to co-operate with her in extinguishing it in others. But neither in consequence of this engagement, which has never been acted upon, nor of the traffic becoming illicit every where by the law of Portugal, has it in any way diminished; but, on the contrary, it has been carried on since that time to an extent which it never before attained. It has completely frustrated all the endeavours of the Brazilian Government, to check the importation of negroes into their territory, and has received the most open and shameful toleration and even support from the Portuguese authorities on the coast of Africa. Lord Palmerston, last year, appears to have forwarded to the Portuguese Government a detail of the arrangements by which alone it will be practicable to abolish the slave trade, and requires that a treaty should be made to give effect to such arrangements. Before an answer is received, he has occasion to forward to the Portuguese Government authenticated instances of the recent violation of the existing treaty, by slavers under the Portuguese flag, and of connivance on the part of the Portuguese authorities. M. de Villa Real gave general assurances, which of course mean nothing, that these cases should be enquired into, and then has the effrontery to imply that in a case of this piracy, presenting an accumulation of the worst evils incident to the traffic, we had done wrong in detaining, and not indemnifying for the detention, a vessel filled with slaves, sailing

under the Portuguese flag, fraudulently obtained, because, she was not, when taken, in some spot actually specified in the old treaty. We call this unequalled effrontery, after all that we have done for Portugal, and after all that she has promised us on the subject of the slave trade, and after the solemn promises and engagements of her sovereign, who 'bound himself to co-operate with us in 'the cause of humanity, and to adopt such measures as may best 'conduce to the execution of this engagement *according to its true 'intent and meaning.*' Instead of objecting to the detention of this vessel, the Portuguese Government should have expressed its deep regret at the deficiencies of the old treaty, by which, unhappily, the Commission at Sierra Leone was obliged to liberate such a vessel, engaged in a criminal enterprise under the most aggravated circumstances, and taken with all her wretched cargo crammed on board; and have entered into new and more effective arrangements against the recurrence of such a case. This, too, they should have done without waiting for any invitation from us; whereas, in return to our pressing desire that they should adopt the important articles of the French Conventions, the Portuguese Minister simply replies, after a delay of three months, that his loss of time from attending the Chambers, has prevented his coming to any resolution on the subject. We much mistake the decision and firmness, as well as zeal, in this cause, that will be shown by any man we are likely to have at the head of foreign affairs, (for happily this cause depends not on the change of parties, having been zealously advocated by all), if such conduct be tamely submitted to from a country bound to us for services in time past, and in an especial manner at the present moment, and when not only honour and good faith, but mere honesty are concerned in the fulfilment of her engagements. We must, when other means have failed, just take the matter in our own hands. We say this, God knows, in no bullying spirit against an independent nation, but because, having taken from us a large sum of money, she has broken the positive engagement, and failed in the contingent promises it was meant to purchase; and, therefore, having the means of redress in our hands, it is due to ourselves to use them. Let England say the Portuguese slave trade shall cease, as Portugal has engaged to us that it shall; and who will, or ought to gainsay us?

It will have been seen, therefore, that though far from perfect success has attended our efforts, whether in union with the French or alone, to induce other powers to accede to the important articles of the conventions made by us with France, yet the obstacles are by no means serious and important. Every power of Europe has acknowledged that a solemn obligation is

upon them to contribute to the abolition of the accursed traffic in our fellow creatures. Each also admits, that their formal declaration to that effect, made more than twenty years ago, has to this hour been fruitless, and the pledges then given to use every means in the power of each to effect it, still unredeemed. The frivolous pretexts which have been advanced by some for not adopting the only means which experience has shown to be effectual, require only to be refuted, and the object to be sincerely and heartily pursued by us, and complete success cannot be far distant. We have abundant evidence before us that no exertions will be wanting on the part of Lord Palmerston. His urgent remonstrances and representations have been poured into every country of the civilized world. His tone has been firm and decisive, when our slave treaties have been infringed; he has used argument and persuasion where as yet there had been no obligation. After a careful perusal of the documents before us, we hesitate not to say that his zealous, consistent, and able advocacy of this great cause, while it tends to raise his country highest among nations for enlightened humanity, and for moral worth, will constitute, next to the preservation of peace, his worthiest title to a lasting reputation.

There yet remains another power, the last to be mentioned, but with reference to the slave trade, by far the most important. Of all countries in Europe the consent of Spain to the articles now discovered to be essential to the suppression of the traffic was the most needed, and the least expected. It will be impossible that our readers should appreciate the extent of the evil to be redressed in this quarter; the difficulties in the way of that redress from indifference, from jealousy, from bad faith, and from self-interest; the patience and perseverance with which the object has been pursued, and the diplomatic skill and address through which it has been finally obtained; without a reference to the actual state of the Spanish Slave Trade, as well as the existing arrangements between the two countries for its suppression. The history of the negotiations on the subject forms a curious chapter in the annals of diplomacy, and is instructive, for the evidence it affords of the extent to which national bad faith can be carried, and the pertinacity with which it can be adhered to. In 1814, the King of Spain, in a treaty made with Great Britain, stated, that he fully participated in the sentiments of humanity which actuated the King of England with respect to this unjust and inhuman traffic, and twice in that year he solemnly engaged 'to take measures for giving effect to these sentiments.' Nothing followed from these promises;—after three years, and at the end of long and difficult negotiations, conducted with ability and untiring assiduity on the one part, and with evasions and subterfuge

on the other, a treaty was concluded. This treaty bears upon the face of it the well-known stamp of one of the parties; for the first article of the treaty having stated that the slave trade shall be for ever abolished throughout the dominions of Spain, the third stipulates that L.400,000 shall be paid by England to the King of Spain. This was a bribe to his Catholic Majesty to do that which he had been bound by honour to do three years before. We shall presently see whether, as in the case of Portugal, more reliance could be placed upon his honesty. In order to give full and complete effect to the laudable objects of the treaty, a mutual right of search in certain waters was agreed upon, as well as two courts of mixed commission, one on Spanish, and one on English territory. This treaty promised well, but it soon was seen to be a dead letter. To give it effect, it required the co-operation of Spain; and all that could be obtained from her was the reluctant issue of decrees for the observance of the treaty, and in no one instance was obedience to these decrees either paid or exacted. As therefore we, of course, could not prevent ships from fitting out for this traffic in Spanish ports, and as by the treaty our cruisers were not to detain a vessel which had no negroes actually on board, the whole value of the treaty was lost. The trade flourished as much as ever, and, unhappily, with increased cruelty, from the necessity of evading the vigilance of our cruisers. Our representations of these facts were met as usual with evasions, till, being unable to hold out any longer, the King of Spain, after an interval of five years, agreed to an additional article, to the effect that, if undeniable evidence be adduced of slaves *having been* on board, (not of the vessel having been fitted up for their reception), then the vessel might be captured. This might have done some good, but difficulty was found in giving effect to it. The authorities in Cuba would not acknowledge it; the Spanish commissioners refused to act upon it; and at length it was discovered, four years afterwards, that this additional article had never been communicated to any body out of the Spanish Government, and of course had never obtained the efficiency of law. The British minister insisted on this being remedied, and consequently, in 1826, *four* years after it had been formally ratified with us, the article received its due promulgation. Small good, however, resulted even then from this additional article. The difficulty of proving that the vessel had had slaves on board during that particular voyage, and the enormous penalties in the shape of demurrage and cost incurred by the captor if the proof failed, rendered our captains exceedingly averse to detaining vessels in which slaves were not actually found on board.

From 1826 to 1830, all that our continued exertions at Madrid

could extract, were sundry royal orders, addressed to the authorities in Cuba, to see that the treaties entered into for the suppression of the slave trade were not infringed. It is needless to say that these were not worth the paper on which they were written. They formed a common subject of ridicule at Havana, and either private instructions to disregard them had been sent with them, or there was a previous understanding that they were not to be attended to. The last of these royal orders is dated August 2, 1830, and describes itself as being more decisive than its predecessors, and more imperative upon the Cuban authorities to prevent evasions of the slave trade treaties. Whatever may have been its character, it followed the fate of its predecessors. After this, the British Government ceased not to point out the total inefficiency of all existing arrangements, and to call upon the Spanish Government, in the name of humanity and of good faith, to pay some regard to its solemn pledges, and to consent to some new method for attaining the object which Spain, equally with England, professed to have in view.

Some details are, however, necessary to convey a notion of the frightful extent of the traffic, fifteen years after Spain had agreed to suppress it. Between 1823 and 1832 no less than 325 regular slavers left the port of the Havana for the coasts of Africa; 236 returned, importing in them into the island of Cuba upwards of 100,000 slaves: of the 89 vessels that did not return, some were captured by the British cruisers, and the rest perished with or without their wretched cargoes. The following are extracts from the later reports of the British commissioners at the Havana and at Sierra Leone, with reference to the activity of the traffic, and the only effectual means for its suppression. In 1832 the commissioners at Sierra Leone state,—‘It is our painful duty to inform your Lordship, that the Spanish slave trade carried on under our own observation, is in as full activity on this devoted coast as it ever was. We are perfectly convinced, from experience, and from the operation of the equipment article of the Netherlands treaty, in totally suppressing the slave trade under the flag of that nation, that nothing short of a similar article in the slave trade treaty with Spain will really suppress that traffic under the Spanish flag.’

In 1833, they state, ‘That the Spanish subjects are far more deeply engaged in the traffic than any other, and that all efforts hitherto made to check it have been unavailing.’ In the next year, after a long list of slaving enterprises under the Spanish flag, they say,—‘These facts undoubtedly prove the system and extent of the Spanish slave trade, and the protection and connivance which it receives from the authorities. They show

‘the necessity of opposing the skill and experience of slave traders, by the adoption of a measure which we have frequently referred to, as being in our opinion the sure and only means by which such slave trade will be effectually repressed—we mean the addition of the equipment article to our present slave treaty with Spain.’ Each year also, a similar statement of the extent to which the traffic is carried on has been made by our commissioner in Cuba, and the urgent necessity for the same remedy described, if possible, in still stronger terms. The very last report from Havana concludes thus—‘On such a lamentable statement it is needless for me to expatiate. Your lordship will, however, perceive, that never has the slave trade of Cuba been at a greater height than at present, and that the remonstrances of his Majesty’s Commissioners here are not attended to, except in a manner that amounts to downright mockery.’ Mr Addington, our minister at Madrid, was desired repeatedly to press upon the Spanish Government the adoption of this one effectual means for the suppression of the trade, and to give us in this single instance an evidence of good faith on the subject. The efforts made by this gentleman were attended with the most signal want of success. His representations were met either by evasion or insolent neglect: ‘The major part,’ he states in a despatch, ‘have never received any answer at all.’ After repeated efforts, and after having exhausted all his means of influence, he can only inform Lord Palmerston, that ‘though the Spanish minister does not show a *symptom* of an intention to grant the additional articles, yet that he appears averse to the vicious traffic in general.’

Under these unfavourable circumstances, with the repeated failures of all his predecessors before his eyes, Mr Villiers, upon becoming minister at Madrid, took up the thread of the negotiation. He was directed to use every exertion to prevail upon the Spanish Government, if unwilling to do more, to adopt at least the stipulations so often pressed upon them, relative to the equipment of vessels. It is not easy to overstate the difficulties which he had to contend with. The subject between the two governments was exhausted; appeals without end to the humanity, to the sense of national honour, deeply concerned in the fulfilment of its engagements, had been made to the Spanish Government, and the language of the bitterest reproach had been unsparingly used. It had been proved, that no sense of moral obligation was sufficient to induce the Spanish Government to suffer the abolition of the trade, and the powerful interests connected with Cuba, (the great and cherished remnant of that world that once called Spain its mistress) were altogether opposed to it. On the part of the people too, and even of the majority of those who regulate pub-

lic opinion, our unceasing efforts to effect the abolition of the trade were either ridiculed as Quixotic, or ascribed to self-interest, and the desire to reduce Cuba to the level of our own ruined colonies. As for sympathy with disinterested feelings of humanity, it was idle to think of them. It would indeed be a bitter mockery, if a pretence to them were set up on the part of a nation whose history is a record of the most savage violation of such feelings; where civil wars are loved for the massacres that they occasion; and where to this day, constituted and recognised authorities try helpless old women by martial law, and in cold blood bring them before a file of soldiers to be shot. In short, never were negotiations commenced under circumstances that afforded a fainter prospect of success—and the result at first bore out the expectation. A long and formal representation of all the offences of Spain in this matter, and of the claims of Great Britain, was addressed to M. de Zea by Mr Villiers. 'This statement, which Lord Palmerston, in conveying 'the King's full and entire approbation of it,' characterises 'as an able and masterly note, containing a luminous exposition of the faithlessness of the Spanish Government,' was left at first unnoticed. In the mean while, however, great and important changes were effecting, less perhaps in the forms than in the working of the Spanish polity. A struggle had commenced, which continues to this day, and which, we trust in God, will never stop until popular power shall have secured itself within the forms of constitutional government, and crushed for ever every remnant of that apostolical despotism, under whose withering influence a highly-gifted and once powerful nation has shrunk into insignificance and barbarism.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr Villiers had to deal with a government emancipated from the perfidious and bigoted Ferdinand, and presided over by a man who, if events have proved him deficient in the practical qualities of a statesman, and unequal to bring into subjection the unruly spirits of men in a revolutionary period, was yet a man of cultivated intellect, of refined feelings, and of unblemished integrity. We speak of Martinez de la Rosa. But whatever may have been this minister's wishes, and they certainly were on the side of justice and humanity, his course at a very critical juncture of public affairs was beset with difficulties, which he wanted firmness and resolution to overcome. He feared also to provoke hostility on the part of the great interests connected with Cuba, and consequently with the slave trade, as well as to expose himself to the misrepresentation of submitting to the dictation of England. The only political consideration that could be suggested to him, was the advantage of English support in the civil contest then raging in Spain. All other means of in-

fluencing him were purely personal and diplomatic. Of these Mr Villiers availed himself. And in the end, after strenuous and persevering efforts, continued during eighteen months, a treaty was obtained, containing not only the stipulation for the capture of vessels equipped for the traffic (for which alone Mr Villiers had been instructed to apply), but providing for the penal castigation of the owners, captains, and supercargoes; for the breaking up of the condemned vessels; and for the delivery of the wretched captives to British authorities. The geographical limits, also, within which the right of search is allowed, are far more extensive than in the French convention. This treaty was announced in the King's speech at the opening of the present Session, and an act of Parliament has since passed, giving effect to its stipulations.

The great and *essential* difference between this treaty and all others concluded with Spain, is that it does not depend for its fulfilment upon Spanish co-operation. All is left to the regulations of the British Government, and the activity of British cruisers. It is essentially a measure of *prevention*. Every vessel engaged in the traffic, must, on leaving port, be so fitted out as to afford clear evidence of guilty intention, and may now be seized before the guilt is consummated. When once seized under such circumstances, there can be no evasion. In every other scheme for the prevention of the slave trade, the facilities of evasion are endless. We confidently anticipate that slighter exertions on our part will now be necessary, and a less sacrifice of money, and of the valuable lives of our fellow-countrymen: for whereas at present, our numerous cruisers are fruitlessly engaged in sailing up and down, for the chance of finding vessels with slaves on board, while the empty slavers under their very eyes are waiting perhaps for months for their cargoes, a small force will now suffice to make the sea untenable for these pirates. Steamers will probably be employed. They will sail up the rivers, or into the bays and creeks where the slavers are in the habit of waiting, and seize them, although a single negro may not have been put on board.

We will mention but one thing more. In the commencement of February a man-of-war returned from the coast of Africa, bringing intelligence that one of our cruisers had captured three vessels, under the new treaty, having on board L.7000 in dollars, for the purchase of slaves. And on May 16, another vessel arrived at Portsmouth from the same station, by which we learnt that there were *nineteen* Spanish vessels, captured under the new treaty, waiting at Sierra Leone for adjudication, until our act of Parliament, giving effect to it, should arrive. Now the average number of Spanish vessels captured *during the year* does not exceed six for many years past.

We have dwelt thus long upon this case, because we think that

a fatal blow has been struck at the slave trade in one of its oldest and surest strongholds, and because we think that the circumstances under which success has been obtained, render its achievement highly creditable to the British representative by whom the negotiations have been conducted. We deem this treaty also of immeasurably greater importance, when viewed in conjunction with the conventions entered into with France. Spain putting the prevention of the trade under her flag into our hands, and France cooperating with us in the suppression of her own and that of other nations, it needs must be that this infernal traffic, comprehending within itself all other crimes of the highest magnitude, robbery, murder, piracy, must henceforth rapidly decline. The assertion, that it will never entirely cease until all the nations of Christendom shall declare it piracy, is, in one sense, undoubtedly true. We doubt, however, whether they who are constantly affirming this, are quite aware of all that must be comprehended under it to make it true. It is not calling the traffic piracy, and making it punishable by the laws of the country so calling it, that will abolish it; for no dependence, as we know full well, could be placed upon native authorities for giving effect to the law in such cases. There must be a law agreed upon by all nations, strictly defining the nature of this piracy and affixing the penalty to it; for be it remembered, the punishment for piracy is not the same in all countries. There must also be tribunals, composed of judges from all nations, settled in places contiguous to the line of traffic, to decide upon the criminality of parties accused, and to decree the liberation of the captive negroes. After this—if all nations set heartily to the work—if their authorities neither permitted vessels to fit out in their ports, nor furnished papers to such as were suspected of criminal intentions—if they took good care to prevent the landing of these living cargoes when they arrived in their colonies, and thus despoiled the pirate of his market—and if also, at the same time that their own cruisers were ever on the alert, they gave licenses to privateers to capture, for their own profit, vessels engaged in the traffic—then, doubtless, we admit the slave trade would be at once and for ever at an end. But unless all this were done, the mere brand of piracy would be as complete a mockery as every measure taken by foreign powers to the same end has been before it. No one, however, acquainted with the state of feeling on this subject in Europe, and the weakness of abstract philanthropy when opposed to interest, can imagine that such a state of things is possible. It is, therefore, absurd to be ever calling out for impossibilities, and to overlook the means that are at hand: and it is base to carp and cavil at those who, labouring with zeal and perseverance, in a great and righteous cause, count every step for gain which brings, ~~however~~ however slowly, and however distantly, their noble end in view.

We have had pleasure also, from another reason, in dwelling upon the triumph of our efforts in this great cause during the last four years. Our foreign policy has been assailed without ceasing, and our ministers upbraided for the hearty and effective support which they have afforded to the (so called) revolutionary governments of France and Spain. But surely there is something which must strike the most indifferent, and something wherewithal to silence even professional detractors, in the fact that it has been from those two countries,—countries whose commercial and worldly interests were most opposed to the sacrifice—that these important concessions were obtained. And is there no connexion of cause and effect in this coincidence? Had we not for years been cheated by deceitful promises and unmeaning decrees, from the Bourbons in France? And can any one be so ignorant or so silly as to suppose that good in this, or any other shape, would have been obtained from Don Carlos, who can only number among his partisans, the weak-minded, the selfish, and the criminal? Far be it from us to think so. On the contrary we maintain that, leaving out of consideration the general expediency of our policy, and its many certain and contingent advantages, there is enough in the two conventions with France, and in the recent treaty with Spain, to justify the support which we have afforded the Government of each country in their hour of peril, and the firm and faithful alliance which has been its natural result.

ART. V.—*Narrative of an Expedition across the Andes, and down the Amazons from Lima to Para; with Information respecting the Commercial Advantages to be derived from the Navigation of that River, and concerning the Countries through which it passes.*
By Lieutenant WILLIAM SMYTH. 8vo. London. 1836.

IN June, 1834, his Majesty's ship Samarang anchored at the port of Callao, to remain there a few months, previous to her departure for England, the time of her commission being expired. The tediousness of the delay was beguiled by the officers in frequent visits to Lima, where Lieutenant Smyth soon caught the idea of penetrating the Montaña (as the forests of the interior are generally called by the Spanish Americans), and of discovering some new and comparatively easy line of communication between the Peruvian Andes and the Atlantic Ocean. The river Ucayali, he was told, the great southern branch of the Marañon, may be navigated a long way up by vessels of the largest size, to the

mouth of the Pachitea; and this river again, which enters the Ucayali from the north, has sufficient depth of water for canoes as far as the port (or canoe-station) of Mayro, eight days' journey from its mouth. Now Mayro is but two days' distant from Pozuzo, five from Huanuco, and eight from Cerro de Pasco. Thus the productions of the rich countries on the eastern slopes of the Andes, instead of being carried some hundred miles to the western coast, over the almost impracticable roads of the Cordillera, might be easily conveyed to Mayro, and thence sent down in canoes to the mouth of the Pachitea, to be there shipped in vessels capable, after descending the majestic streams of the Ucayali and Marañon, of bearing their freights across the ocean. This important physical possibility was exhibited to Lieutenant Smyth, accompanied by a long train of brilliant consequences. Commerce, it was said, having once found its way up those great rivers, would speedily awaken the dormant energies of the people; new sources of wealth would be discovered, and the complete developement of the resources of one of the most favoured countries in the world would follow of necessity. These representations were more than sufficient to arouse the enterprising spirit of a British officer, and Lieutenant Smyth determined at once to explore the desired route. We can easily conceive that he did not balance long, nor suffer himself to be intimidated by the contemplation of the difficulties which threatened one who engaged in so great an enterprise with such slender means; while on one side he saw awaiting him the honourable distinction of courageously achieving a useful discovery, and on the other, looked back on the gloomy lobbies of the Admiralty, where so many officers of his Majesty's navy, like Lucian's ghosts on the shores of Styx, pace sadly to and fro, till it shall please one of the demi-gods above stairs to give a hint to the official Charon, who ferries them over to the Elysium of full pay.

The design of the expedition thus proposed to be undertaken by Lieutenant Smyth was readily sanctioned by his commanding officers; his pecuniary means were increased by a subscription of the British residents in Lima, who felt an interest in his success; and finally, what seemed of greatest importance, the Peruvian Government was induced to take a part in the expedition, and to appoint its own officers to accompany our author. One of these officers, Colonel Althaus, was charged with the direction of the expedition as far as the Port of Mayro, where it was expected the journey by land would terminate; the other two, viz. Major Pedro Beltran, and Lieutenant Ramon Azcarate, (the latter a naval officer), were to proceed with the English travellers to the confluence of the Ucayali with the Marañon.

Escorts of soldiers and baggage-mules were also liberally promised, but never made their appearance. We confess that the seeking to make the Peruvian Government participate in our author's plans, appears to us to have been an injudicious step; consent and approval were all that it was really in the power of that Government to bestow. Its inability to make any large disbursements of money ought to have been well known to the British residents in the country, but the arrangement which placed the movements of the expedition in any degree under the control of Peruvian officers seems, in our eyes, most highly objectionable. Very different spirits actuate him who volunteers to execute the hazardous enterprise which he has planned himself, and him who engages in such enterprise only because he is commanded to do so. The repugnance of the escort is a constant deadweight on the zeal of the leader. Lieutenant Smyth's Peruvian companions probably smoothed his road through that part of the country in which the authority of the republic is established; but, unless we suppose that each of them was animated by an enthusiasm like that of our author, (which is extremely improbable) we cannot avoid believing, that beyond the pale of civilized men, and where the difficulties really began, they only served to impede his march. The justice of this remark will be apparent hereafter.

All the preparations being completed, our author and his companion, Mr Fred. Lowe, a junior officer of the Samarang, commenced their journey from Lima on the 20th September, leaving their Peruvian associates to follow them, as soon as they could procure the requisite funds from the public coffers. The route from Lima to Cerro de Pasco has been so frequently described, that we need not, on the present occasion, dwell long on its details. We cannot, however, avoid intimating our suspicion, that our author errs in representing the river Caravello or Chillon as falling into the bay of Ancon. We believe the fact to be, that he came to that river when only three or four leagues from Lima, and then afterwards taking the short cut to the right up the Rio Seco, he lost sight of it, till having crossed the ridge, he came on it again at Alcacoto; but not being aware of the identity of the river at this place with that which he had met at Caravello, he has inadvertently made two rivers of one which has two names.

The road by the river Chillon crosses the Cordillera by the pass called Portachuelo de la Viuda, which is 15,000 feet above the sea. This pass is not above 50 miles from the sea coast, in a straight line, though 100 miles from Lima by route. At a little distance from the pass, and elevated 800 or 900 feet above

it, is the peak of La Viuda, which rises beyond the limits of perpetual snow. Between the Portachuelo de la Viuda and Cerro de Pasco (a distance of about 40 miles in a direct line), extends the breadth of the elevated plain of Bonbon, the length of which is not so easily defined. This plain presents an uneven rocky surface, with a great quantity of bog, little verdure, and varies in elevation from 13,000 to 15,000 feet. Many points of the ridges which cross it rise to the limits of perpetual snow. The dark colour of the sky at so great an elevation aids the dismal impression which the bleak, inhospitable prospect is calculated to make on the traveller. He suffers, too, from the puña, or sickness occasioned by the rarified condition of the atmosphere at great heights, and owing to the same cause he feels the heat of the sun's rays insupportable; but if to avoid the scorching beams, he goes into the shade, he finds that he passes at once from the extreme of heat to that of cold. The rocks and the stony soil, remarkable for their bright metallic colours, indicative of the mineral wealth which they conceal, explain to the passer by why men, disregarding the sternness of the climate, have always congregated eagerly on the dreary heights of Cerro de Pasco. Our author passes over the plains of Bonbon with little commentary; the only object which appears to have engaged his attention was the ruined Indian town called Taboinga, or Tambo-inca, of which he gives the following account:—

'We crossed the rivers without difficulty, and, proceeding about a league to the northward, came to the ruins of an ancient Indian town, called Taboinga or Tambo-inca. The walls of most of the dwellings were standing to the height of from two to eight feet. By what remains, the houses appear to have been built of different sizes and shapes, some being circular, and others square, and separate from each other; they were all constructed with large stones in their natural shapes, the interstices being filled up with smaller ones, and the whole cemented together. About two hundred yards to the N.N.W. were the ruins of a sort of temple, of a quadrangular form, with a flight of a dozen steps on two sides; the walls were quite levelled, little more than a heap of stones remained; the whole seemed to have been surrounded by a stone barrier, which included a considerable portion of the plain.'—P. 33.

We call our readers' attention to this Peruvian village of the time of the Incas, chiefly on account of some interesting particulars respecting it which we find in the narrative of the German naturalist Poeppig. This traveller found here, in 1829, the roofs of some of the houses still entire; they were constructed of some stones embedded in mortar, in the form of a cupola with pointed arches. The fact that the Peruvians were skilful in the construction of earthen roofs, was known to some writers of the

sixteenth century, though since lost sight of or denied altogether. Even Ulloa declares that they were ignorant of the art of constructing any kind of arch, and supposes them to have used flat wooden roofs. The solidity of these dwellings says more for the architectural abilities of the ancient Peruvians, than their humble dimensions and small doorways; they rarely exceed twenty feet in diameter and fourteen in height. But, however slight the trace of art and civilisation which we find among these ruins, it must excite our admiration when we consider how close it is to the line of perpetual congelation.

It is now time that we should accompany our author into Cerro de Pasco, the capital of the richest mineral district of Peru.

‘ We arrived in a cold rain, and our first impression of it was by no means favourable. It being Sunday, the people were paddling about the muddy streets dressed in all the colours of the rainbow. We passed in single file, making no small splash, and the wondering Indians gazed at us in silence. Dr Valdizan conducted us to an unoccupied house belonging to his brother, whose kindness and hospitality to us were most liberal.

‘ The town, on entering it, much resembles many of the villages in South Wales; that is to say, it is irregularly built on very uneven ground, rising in hills broken and bare; the houses are whitewashed, and some of them, besides the door, have a small glazed window; the better sort have fire-places, for which luxury they are indebted to our countrymen, for before their arrival they only used “*braseros*,” or pans containing heated coals. In some of the houses they have an idle and dirty plan of having a hole with a trap-door where the hearth should be, for the reception of coals; this is quite in accordance with the natural indolence of the country, for the labour of bringing in a box of coals two or three times a-day would be too severe a service for them to perform.

‘ Cerro Pasco is divided into three districts—Cheupimarca, Yanacancha, and Santa Rosa: each of these has its church and priest. The population fluctuates according to the state of the mines; for when a productive mine is discovered, the Indians flock in from the country round to work at it; the average number may be taken at from 12,000 to 16,000. There are two squares; the principal one is called Cheupimarca, the other is called the Square of Commerce, where the market is held, which is well supplied with meat, fruit, and vegetables from all the country round for many leagues. In the square of Cheupimarca is the cathedral, a building much like an English barn in its exterior, except that the latter would be built with more architectural regularity. The inside is little better than the out, and is adorned with a few gilded saints. The streets are dirty and irregular, and run in every direction; the suburbs are nothing more than a confused collection of dirty-looking mud cottages, which are hastily erected when required for the convenience of the miners near any new mine that is opened, while those that are near a mine that has done working are deserted; consequently the town is constantly altering its form. The mouths of the mines are frequently in

the middle of the streets, which makes walking at night very dangerous, as there is no barricade or light hung near them. They are sometimes enclosed in the courts and yards of houses.'—Pp. 38-40.

We suspect that our author's estimate of the population of the Cerro is nearly double the reality. There have been occasional periods, certainly, when the population of that place amounted to 14,000, but 8000 was always considered the average, and in 1829 the actual number of inhabitants was only 5000. The mouths of, or openings into the mines, in and about the town, are above 1000; and though most of them are quite useless, a few only of the mines being worked, no attempt whatever is made to close them up. The old Spanish laws permitted the discoverer of a mine to work it, and follow the precious veins under the houses of others, and even under the churches. The effect of this license is easily discerned here, where the dwellings, and indeed every thing above ground, is obviously of secondary importance. The streets are narrow lanes, crooked and uneven, quite impassable for any kind of vehicle, and difficult or even dangerous to the inexperienced foot-passenger. The puña, also, is here so afflicting, that no exertion can be maintained, by a stranger at least, for any length of time; yet the Indians in the mines labour unremittingly. No in-door enjoyments compensate the out-door inconveniences of Cerro de Pasco. There is no society in the place; every necessary of life is exorbitantly dear, though, thanks to the Pasco-Peruvian Mining Company, who worked some seams of coal in the neighbourhood, fuel, one of the most necessary, and formerly the dearest article in the Cerro, is now comparatively cheap. The Indians attached to the mines in active operation, are constantly engaged in deadly feuds with one another; and as there is no police to restrain them, their quarrels often assume a formidable appearance. Their peaceable leisure hours are spent in gaming and drinking. The prevailing characteristics of this fountain of riches, as Cerro de Pasco is generally thought to be (and in one sense not unjustly thought so, since the gross produce of its mines may be estimated, on an average, at L.300,000 sterling), are reckless profligacy and discomfort.

The great elevated plain which extends between the Western Andes and Cerro de Pasco is furrowed by numerous rapid rivers, which hurry southwards to join the Ucayali, the course of which winds in a great circuit to the east, and then to the north. One of these rivers, the Janja, has its source in the lake Chinchaycocho, not far from Cerro de Pasco. A few miles north-westward from this lake, the Marañon first issues from the lake Llauricocho, and continually receiving fresh accessions as it flows at first

north-westward and afterwards to the east, at length unites its augmented waters with the equally copious streams of the Ucayali. Close to Cerro de Pasco rises the Huallaga, which, falling like a mountain brook down the steep valleys of the Eastern Andes, pursues a tortuous course northward till it joins the Marañon, two hundred miles above the junction of the latter with the Ucayali. Thus a circle of ten leagues in diameter would embrace the sources of those three rivers, the least of which, the Huallaga, though far inferior to the other two, is yet a greater river than the Rhine. La Condemine descended the Marañon from the point where it first becomes navigable. Its northern confluent had been long previously explored by the Jesuit missionaries who issued from Quito. Lieutenant Lister Mawe, avoiding the circuit made by the upper course of that river, journeyed overland to Moyobamba, and first commenced his river navigation on the lower part of the Huallaga. The course of the Ucayali has been followed downwards, at various times, by the Franciscan missionaries. Now, the object of our author was to cross from the valley of the Huallaga to that of the Ucayali, and thus to beat a path by which the navigable streams of the latter river might be reached at the least possible expense of time and labour.

On the 7th October, our author left Cerro de Pasco, on his way to Huanuco, the Peruvian officers still lagging behind, waiting for their pay. At the head of the valley of the Huallaga are situated the *Haciendas*, or estates in which are carried on the operations of breaking and washing the silver ore, and of extracting the metal. A perceptible change of climate already exhilarates the traveller, when only three or four leagues from Cerro de Pasco. Lower down, the valley contracts, and the descent becomes more rapid. The path cut in the rock winds along the face of precipices some hundred feet in height, and the stream below foams through a deep ravine, overhung by a vegetation continually increasing in luxuriance, at the village of San Rafael, 5500 feet below Cerro de Pasco. The next stage brought our travellers to the region of tropical fruits; and on the 11th (having made some delay) they entered Huanuco, of which our author gives the following account:—

‘ Huanuco is situated in a beautiful valley on the eastern side of the great range of the Andes, at an elevation of 6300 feet; it was founded in the year 1542, and was raised to a bishopric, the first nomination taking place 25th July, 1543.

‘ The river Higuera, which descends from the Cordillera, surrounds the south side of the city, and joins the Huallaga, which encircles it on the eastern side. Dr Valdizan informed us that this situation was chosen

on account of the insalubrity of the waters of the Huallaga, which are polluted by the numerous metal works on its banks. The Higuera amply supplies this defect, its waters being conducted through the city by artificial cuts. At the entrance of the town there is a stone bridge of one arch over the Higuera, rudely constructed, and without parapets. After passing through a short street of cottages, we came to what is called the Pantheon, which is merely a burying-ground, of about half an acre, surrounded by a mud wall, from whence an avenue of young trees, with the river on the right, conducts the traveller to the city, where, greatly to his surprise, he finds only a street of miserably looking houses, and this the best and only place entitled to be called a street in the whole city, for the cross streets are scarcely more than walls of gardens, with here and there a house attached to them. There is much regularity and uniformity in the design; for the streets are all laid out of equal breadth, and at right angles with each other, which is the usual plan of the old Spaniards, leaving ample room for very commodious dwellings. The principal street is pitched with small sharp stones, and has become so bad from inattention that it is painful and difficult to walk over; the others bear no appearance of belonging to an inhabited town, being overgrown with bushes and grass, leaving only a pathway between. Huanuco has fourteen churches, including the cathedral; but that of San Augustin is the only one worth notice, there being a few well carved figures in wood over the altars, and the interior is simple and very neat. The others are miserable edifices inside and out.—Pp. 63-64.

On the evening of their arrival in Huanuco, our travellers visited the only coffeehouse in the place, and revelled in the luxury of ill-made ices. They were doubtless welcome visitors, for they attracted crowds. 'The Osages,' says our author, 'who visited Europe, were not greater curiosities there than we were in Huanuco.' The population of the town of Huanuco does not, we believe, exceed 4500; the inhabitants of the valley (which is about fifteen miles long) and the dependent districts may amount to 12,000. Of these, the great majority are Indians and Mestizos. The lower orders speak the Quichua, a dialect of the Peruvian language, which is understood also by most of the upper class. The climate of Huanuco is one of the most delicious in the world; day and night, winter and summer, the variations of temperature are hardly perceptible. During one half of the year, the serenity of the atmosphere is never for a moment disturbed; heavy showers of rain occasionally fall in winter, but they quickly pass over, and only gladden nature—heavy nocturnal dews, at all seasons of the year, refresh and invigorate vegetation. The fields near the town produce maize; higher up the hills are fields of wheat. In the gardens are the orange, the citron, and other tropical fruits; with the chirimolla, the most exquisite of all, in great perfection. But what makes

this terrestrial paradise more remarkable is, that it is separated by the moderate distance of forty or fifty miles from everlasting snows, on the one side; and, on the other, from everlasting rains. Trees planted at Huanuco thrive well; but this part of the valley is not encumbered with wood, being still eight or ten leagues from the commencement of those great natural forests, which extend without interruption to the shores of the Atlantic. We cannot quit the salubrious city of Huanuco, without observing that, next to Lima, it is the oldest city in Peru. It was founded by Gomez de Alvarado as early as 1539; was twice abandoned, and repeopled for the second time in 1542—which date Lieutenant Smyth seems to consider as that of its first origin. The fortress which protected the old Indian town, and which was a good specimen of Peruvian art, was taken to pieces a few years ago with great difficulty, for the sake of the building materials.

In Huanuco, the English travellers were joined by the Peruvian officers associated with them in the expedition. But the inability of the Government to render them the desired assistance was now quite apparent. The provincial prefects had all received general instructions to aid the expedition, but not in terms which authorized them to advance money. It was agreed, therefore, that Lieutenant Azcarate should return to Cerro de Pasco, to endeavour to remove this difficulty; and that Colonel Althaus should remain at Huanuco, while the others went forward on their route. Instead of two hundred soldiers, promised as an escort, only nine joined, and two of these deserted before the march commenced. The Indians drew terrible pictures of the dangers awaiting an expedition through the country of the savage Cashibos, and our travellers were gazed on as men who had made up their minds to be eaten by cannibals.

Under all these discouragements, they set forward on the 21st of October, and crossing the Huallaga, arrived in the evening at the village of Valle. At the Indian village of Panao, where they arrived the following day, they felt a smart shock of an earthquake. The praises which belong to the climate of Huanuco, are in some degree applicable also to the valley of the Huallaga, as far as Panao; but every step downwards brings the traveller nearer to the region of frequent or incessant rain—an inconvenience of which our author and his party were soon rendered sensible. The Indians of Panao were willing enough to accompany the expedition to Pozuzu, but when they found that their services were required as far as Mayro, they began to quit the town. Their reluctance, however, was apparently got the better of by the exhortations of the priest, and the party started for Chaglla. The toil of the mountain road was repaid by splendid scenery.

' These mountains are formed of loose blocks of granite, slate, and sandstone ; the ravines we crossed were watered by small streams, and covered with dwarf trees. From a place called Lluncu, we had a most extensive view, mountain rising above mountain, until lost in the azure hue of the sky ; whilst to the westward was a heavy thunder storm, apparently resting on their lofty summits. Nature here displays her boldest features in a style of grandeur which raises in the traveller's breast feelings of admiration and awe, hardly conceivable by those to whom the scenes are familiar, or by those who have not witnessed them.' —P. 75.

The road from Chaglla to Muña, only three feet in width, wound round the edge of a steep mountain, eight hundred or a thousand feet above the Huallaga. At Muña, whence the road to Pozuzu leaves the river and strikes off eastward across the montaña, or forest, Lieutenant Smyth began to feel sensibly the hopelessness of his enterprise. The Indians, whose services as guides and porters through the trackless woods of the interior, were absolutely indispensable, continued obstinate in their refusal to go beyond Pozuzu. Nevertheless, the road to this place being pronounced practicable, our travellers assumed a look of confidence and set forward.

' November 1st.—We all started at nine A.M. except the colonel, who remained for the reinforcements we expected from Panao. This, we concluded and hoped, would be our last journey on horseback ; the day brightened on us, and with the powers the colonel possessed, every thing seemed to promise our being soon at Mayro. We had scarcely ascended the hill over the town when it began to rain, and the paths, already knee-deep in mud, became exceedingly difficult for the beasts to wade through, and their extreme depth and narrowness obliged us often to dismount. In many places large trees had fallen across the road, which forced us to alight to allow the animals to pass under them, and in others they had to climb over large blocks of stone.

' Vegetation here was extremely luxuriant ; the whole forest formed one continued mass, interwoven by creepers, and covered with moss of many different kinds, and of the most exquisite colours.'—P. 82.

The road presented every kind of difficulty—narrow, rugged, and slippery. It often went so near the edge of the precipices, that the least trip would have been fatal. Rapid torrents were to be crossed, and in one of these the ford led along a ledge of slippery rock, near the brink of a cataract a thousand feet deep. The night was spent in a ' tambo,' or shed, on the mountain above Muña, with the thermometer at 34°. In the morning, the ground was covered with hoar frost. On the second day, the labours of the march were not diminished ; on the third its dangers were experienced.

' We crossed two streams and ascended the "Cuesta de Cushi." From

thence to Pozuzu, with little exception, was one continued descent, following the course or ravine of the river Consuelo, by an extremely narrow, and in some places dangerous road. In the course of this descent, Major Beltran's horse trod too near the edge of the precipice, the earth gave way, and the poor animal fell about 1500 feet, bounding from rock to rock like a stone; the major saved himself by an extraordinary exertion of dexterous activity, caught the edge of the path with his hands, and thus recovered his footing.—P. 87.

At length Pozuzu was reached, beyond which point there is no road for mules or horses; and indeed these poor animals were so worn out by the journey from Muña, as to be wholly incapable of farther service. Here then the critical point was arrived at, where the success or failure of the expedition was to be decided, by the consent or refusal of the Indians to carry the baggage on to Mayro. But Pozuzu is a spot so rarely visited, that before we think of leaving it, we must give it a momentary survey.

‘The town of Pozuzu, or Yanahuanca, as it is now called, was originally founded in the year 1712, and inhabited by a tribe called the Amages, whom the missionaries collected together at this, and another town called Tilingo. In the year 1790, the Father Sobraviela made a contract with some persons at Huanuco, for constructing a bridge over the Pozuzu river, and clearing a mule road to Mayro, which was to have cost 4000 dollars (or L.800 sterling); the bridge was the only part completed, and that in so bad a manner that it stood but a short time; the road was never commenced. This was the last attempt to establish a communication with Sarayacu, by the way of Mayro. The small-pox carried off nearly all the inhabitants, and the few who survived, removed to Muña, Chaglla, and Panao. The church, whose ruins alone exhibit any traces of the population once existing in Pozuzu, is now covered with one mass of creepers. The situation of the town appeared to have been well chosen, being on even ground on the left bank, and about two hundred yards distant from the river; a single wretched hut is all that now remains of it; and its only inhabitants are an infirm old Indian and his family; these people had cleared a small space of ground and sown it with pumpkins, which was all the cultivation we saw at Pozuzu. In the neighbourhood there are many small coca and yuca plantations, belonging chiefly to the Indians of Muña and Chaglla, who visit them every three or four months, at the time for picking the coca leaves. Sugar-cane grows wild in considerable quantities, which is very rich in its saccharine produce, and grows to a large size. Fine pines and other tropical fruits and cotton in great abundance grow wild, but are little noticed by the Indians.’—Pp. 91-93.

‘The river Pozuzu is here nothing more than a mountain torrent; its breadth at the place of our encampment was about thirty fathoms. There is a “Huaro,” or suspension bridge over it, consisting of two “sogas,” or creepers about six or seven inches in circumference, lying parallel to each other, about two feet apart, and secured to wooden stages, about twelve feet high on each bank of the river, the accesses to

which are by inclined planes, formed by trunks of trees placed lengthwise. By this the Indians cross to their coca plantations on the opposite bank. We did not witness their method of crossing, but were informed it was done with much ease in the following manner. The man suspends himself to one of the ropes by a band which passes round his chest, and embraces it with his legs, his body hanging below, and by pulling with his hands on the other rope, draws himself over.

‘The banks of the river are extremely picturesque; large trees overhang the stream, and in some places its course is checked by the huge protuberances of a rock throwing it off, round which it rushes with fury, and in no place did we see it tranquil.’—P. 95.

Our author and his companions followed the river a few miles down, as far as its junction with the Huancabamba, where they had some large trees cut down for the purpose of making a raft to cross the united streams on the following day. The Indians were assembled, and a suitable harangue was made to them, setting forth the advantages likely to accrue to their country from the success of the expedition. They listened in apparent acquiescence, and the officers spent the evening in joyful anticipations of our eventual triumph—but they were soon undeceived.

‘At about two in the morning the corporal’s wife came running to us, and announced that all the muleteers but one had just gone away, and she was afraid they would murder her husband, who was guarding the horses. Lieutenant Bruset was immediately despatched with his four soldiers to secure them, but unfortunately it was very dark, and the Indians knowing the paths through the woods better than the soldiers, effected their escape, and took with them ten of the beasts.’—P. 98.

This misfortune occasioned a delay of a few days, in the course of which the travellers learned that reinforcements had been sent to them from Muña; but, of forty Indians thus sent, only two made their appearance at Pozuzu. It was now, therefore, obviously necessary to renounce the hope of penetrating to Mayro, and to think of retreating; nor was this a pleasant thought, since the roads, previously travelled with so much difficulty on horseback, were now to be trudged back again on foot. With great pain and fatigue the retreat was effected, and our author found himself once more in Muña. The expedition having thus failed in its specific object, it became necessary to look round for a new scheme of operations. Lieutenant Smyth, accordingly, made up his mind to descend the Huallaga, some hundred miles to the Chipurana, and, ascending the latter stream, to cross over to Sarayacu, the missionary station on the Ucayali, whence he might ascend that river and the Pachitea, if circumstances proved favourable. By this course he might, in three or four months,

reach Mayro, the very point which he had found so inaccessible from Pozuzu, only two days distant from it.

The valley of the Huallaga is, for the most part, new and unexplored ground to English readers ; on which account we shall cheerfully accompany our author in his flight through it ; not, however, entering into the details of each day's journey, but climbing the hill tops, where an opportunity presents itself, so as to catch a view of the surrounding country. Lieutenant Smyth's volume not unfrequently disappoints us by its silence respecting the visible features of surrounding nature. Wholly occupied at one time by the difficulties which beset him in the management of his retinue ; hemmed in, at another, as he descended the river, by woods which rarely permitted a glimpse at the distance ; and, wearied by the monotonous gloom of overhanging forests, he omits to characterise the successive landscapes by which he passed ; still less does he generalize his scenery in the way most grateful to the reader, who, unobstructed in his meditations by any material horizon, loves to glance at once from the Andes to the Atlantic ocean. The Huallaga flows, for a long way, we believe, below Huanuco, in a deep valley, closely confined between hills one or two thousand feet in height. The steep sides of these hills are covered with dense forests, which overhang the river in such a manner that, from the road along the mountain's brow, the traveller can but rarely catch a gleam of light from the water murmuring below. In this part of its course, the falls of the river are so numerous and formidable as to preclude the possibility of its being navigated ; and it is not till after it has wound round towards the N.W., and received the Chinchao, or even lower down at its junction with the Monzon, that the Indian ventures to launch his canoe, and intrust himself to the rapid stream.

In order to reach the navigable part of the Huallaga, Lieutenant Smyth returned through Panao, and crossing to the northern, or left bank of the river, proceeded up the valley of the little torrent Acomayo, to the ridge of hills called the Cuesta de Carpis, which separates the valley of the Chinchao from that of the Huallaga. It is in ascending this ridge, about twenty-five miles below Huanuco, that the traveller first enters the *Ceja*, or border of those immense forests which extend, with little or no interruption, from their commencement in the Andes eastward to the shores of the Atlantic, a distance in a straight line of at least eight hundred leagues. The *Ceja* contains no tall trees, but occupying, as it does, the zone of elevation which limits the propagation of the numberless arborescent genera inhabiting the woods below, it exhibits dwarfish specimens of all these, so

thickly overgrown and matted together by parasitic plants of the most luxuriant growth, as to form a wholly impenetrable mass of vegetation.

Our author, descending the valley of the Chinchas, arrived at Casapi, a hamlet with about thirty inhabitants (chiefly Mestizos), and the remotest point in this part of the Peruvian Andes to which the industry of civilized man has penetrated the woods of the interior. The object for which *haciendas* or farms are occupied in these sequestered regions, is chiefly the cultivation of the coca, a shrub, the leaf of which is chewed by the Indians of Peru. The quantity of the coca leaf consumed is enormous; its annual value in Peru exceeds a million sterling; but the moral and social worth of this great article of trade cannot be so highly appreciated. Our author speaks very inadequately, and much too favourably of the coca leaf, when he says that it is deemed nutritious. It is in fact a stimulant, resembling opium, though not so strong in its effects. The constant use of it generally produces loss of appetite and incurable derangement of the digestive functions, with a long train of ailments derived from the preceding. In Northern Peru, where the coca is usually chewed with lime (as the Malays chew the betel-nut), its deleterious qualities are much more manifest than in the southern province; and if it be true, as Lieutenant Smyth asserts, that Indians will pass several days with no other nourishment than the coca leaf, it is no less certain that those Indians are remarkably short-lived. The Spaniards regard this vicious indulgence in its true light when it is detected amongst themselves, and although they do not reprobate, much less interdict, the consumption of coca by the Indians, from which so large a revenue is derived, they banish from society the white man who once suffers himself to be enslaved by that baneful habit.

It is now time for us to embark with our author on the Huallaga; but we cannot leave Casapi without directing our readers' attention to the hills which separate that hamlet from the coca plantations of Pampayacu, a few miles further southward. The path across the hills between these two places leads over a rocky level, called, from the fine prospect which it commands, *El Balconcillo*. The rock in this place, still in the bosom of the Andes, is found to consist wholly of marine exuviae, chiefly corals and gigantic ammonites. Such a phenomenon, though not singular nor even rare, cannot be viewed with indifference in such a situation. At length, on the 18th December, Lieutenant Smyth and his companions embarked on the Chinchao, where that little river is about fifty yards wide, and gliding down its smooth but shallow stream, entered the Huallaga, which flowed at the rapid rate of

six and a half miles an hour. The first *Malpaso*, or rapid, reached by our voyagers was that of Cayumba, where they quitted their canoes for a time, and of which our author says but little. We shall pause at it merely to relate to our readers the history of its origin. The Huallaga, a copious and swiftly-flowing stream above Cayumba,—our author is perversely silent as to its width,—enters at that place a rocky defile above two miles in length, a perpendicular cliff of clay-slate, three hundred feet high, overshadowing the river. Here it was that, about thirty years ago, in a violent thunder storm, the lightning reft the cliff in its entire length, and precipitated the enormous mass of rock into the river, with a crash heard three leagues off in the valley of Chinchao. The current of the river was driven backwards, to the great consternation of the Indians inhabiting its banks, even as far as Muña. The river at Cayumba now forces its way, with much violence and uproar, through the massive fragments of the shattered cliff. A lively sketch of one of these wild rapids, and of the wild Indians who navigate them, is exhibited in the following passage :—

‘ About two miles farther we came to a second rapid, called the *Malpaso de Islaypata*, where we had to undergo the same fatigue again. Thence we descended rapidly, passing on our left the mouth of the river Savayos, till we came to a still more formidable rapid, called the *Malpaso de Palma*. Here the canoe was again unloaded, and the cargo carried by the Indians at least half a mile over rocks and through trees, interlaced with creepers, and across rivulets to the end of the pass, after which they were obliged to return and descend in the canoe, for the river and its banks were such as to prevent their letting it down by ropes as before. This they performed in beautiful style, keeping in the centre and force of the stream. The waves formed by the fall and impetuosity of the current, were such as completely to conceal the body of the canoe, leaving the men only visible above the spray; and as they approached us, the wild Indian scream, the constant drumming, the hollow sound of the horn, the roar of the water, and the savage grandeur of the surrounding scenery, raised in us feelings of admiration and delight, which must always remain fresh in our memories. The canoe, almost filled with water, with difficulty reached the bank where we were waiting for it, when the Indians jumped out, and manifested their joy at having passed the danger, by singing and capering about.’—P. 122.

The Indian custom of drumming, shouting, and blowing the long wooden trumpet, in descending the rapids, is generally ascribed to their belief, that by so doing they frighten away the evil spirits which haunt those places, and lie in wait to destroy them; but this, we presume, is only a mythological explanation of the common propensity of mankind to profit from excitement in the moment of danger. No incident of any importance occurred to our author in his descent of the Huallaga. After na-

vigating about two hundred miles, he turned aside to visit the Indian village Uchiza, and fifty miles lower down that of Tocache. These villages, containing each about two hundred inhabitants, with a church, owe their comparative civilisation to the labours of the Franciscan missionaries, whose meritorious exertions, in Eastern Peru, have been sadly hindered by the Revolution. At Tocache thunder is heard nearly every day in the year, and storms seen gathering over the culminant points of the Eastern Andes. Of Sion, a village situated about a hundred miles lower down the river than the preceding, and containing only about thirty families, our author says but little, though it deserves to be remarked as being peopled by a better descriptions of Indians (the Xibitos, erroneously written Ivitos by Lieutenant Smyth), and evincing a more decided progress in civilisation. Forty miles below Sion, at the mouth of the Huayabamba, stands the village of Lupuna, with two hundred and fifty inhabitants. Many of these, however, had concealed themselves in the woods on the news of our author's arrival, a rumour having preceded him that two hundred English were coming to carry off the Indians into servitude. 'This,' says Lieutenant Smyth, 'may possibly have originated with some of our pretended friends at Huamoco. In our opinion, the existence of such a foolish belief argues no design or contrivance whatever. Among the lower orders of the Spanish-Americans the English name conveys the idea of the most extravagant hardihood and audacity, and such a mode of thinking once imbibed by the Indians would be naturally modified by their fears. The German botanist, Poeppig, was, in 1831, detained three months at Juanjuy, but a few miles from Lupuna, suspected of being a spy sent by the "Ingleses," a daring and ambitious people, of whom he was supposed to be one.'

About six or seven miles up the Huayabamba is Pachiza, a large village, containing six hundred inhabitants of the Xibito nation. The country round is fertile, but little cultivated. Here our author first remarked to what an extent monkeys constitute an article of food amongst the Indians. The same observation, however, might have been made at Sion, and perhaps farther up the valley than the Xibitos reach. The hunting parties of this nation will live for weeks together on no other food than the flesh of monkeys, and then return home with some hundreds of these animals dead or disabled. Their chief weapon is the cerbatana or blow-pipe, from which they expel with unerring aim a small light arrow, the point of which is smeared with an active poison. They are skilful in curing slight wounds made with the poisoned arrow, and tame, in an incredibly short time, the mon-

keys which are taken alive. In the grove of palm-trees leading to Pachiza, Lieutenant Smyth saw, suspended between the trees, a spider's web of gigantic dimensions: it measured fifty feet in length, and twenty-five in height, with very strong threads, and was covered with the empty sloughs of thousands of insects. This large tenement was not exclusively possessed by a sole individual spider, but apparently belonged to a whole republic of spiders of great size.

Continuing the navigation of the Huallaga about sixty miles, our author arrived at the mouth of the Moyo, which river he ascended three or four leagues to Juan Guerra, and thence marched an equal distance overland to Tarapota, a town containing (the adjoining villages included) four thousand inhabitants. The Indians of this place seemed to him to live on the bounty of nature and the spontaneous productions of the soil, having little or no industry besides the manufacture of a coarse cotton cloth, called *tucuya*, of which they make their simple raiment; but the priest of the town ascribed the indolence of his flock altogether to the absence of inducements to industry. That the Indians in general are not indifferent to the luxuries derived from art and commerce, is evident from the following statement of our author:—

‘Cotton, gums, resin, and white wax, are the principal products of their woods; the latter is formed into round cakes, weighing about a pound each, and these are the currency of the place, each cake being considered as equivalent to a dollar. Our trinkets had a high value set upon them, and we were able to purchase a large quantity of provision with a few of them. Cotton handkerchiefs, knives and scissors, were also in request.

‘British manufactures are to be found exposed to sale in no inconsiderable quantities. Printed cottons, green baize, ribbons, coarse cutlery and glass beads, all English, were sold in several houses; and, indeed, throughout the whole of our journey, we never entered a place that was more than a small village, in which we did not meet with some of the manufactures of our own country,’ &c.—P. 149.

Tarapota stands on a gentle declivity, completely disengaged from the forest which lines the banks of the river. The extensive prospect which it enjoys, extending on one side to the Andes, and on the other to the hills lying eastward of the Huallaga, is doubly exhilarating to one who has just emerged from the monotony of the woods. The town of Lamas, originally the chief place of the Indians inhabiting this part of the province of Maynas (it is now eclipsed by Moyobamba), may be distinctly seen from it on a rising ground about five leagues distant. As the town of Lamas escaped the observation of Lieutenant Smyth, we will venture to suppose, that in the haste of his visit, he also

overlooked the cultivated fields and gardens which, according to the testimony of other travellers, surround Tarapoto. Certain it is, however, that the Lamistas are much superior to the other Indian tribes in industry, as well as in friendly disposition. Their civilisation, too, is of long standing, though it is not easy to determine whether it is due to their early contact with the Spanish missionaries, or is of still older date, and exhibits a lingering trace of the social condition of the empire of the Incas. Our author had experience of the superiority of these Indians, when, returning to the river, he descended to Chasuta, a village inhabited by Lamistas. The canoemen obtained there were, he says, a far more active, lively set than any of their predecessors, and much better provided with comforts. We may add, that they alone, of all the Indians, are practically acquainted with the whole navigable course of the Huallaga, and they sometimes descend the Marañon to the frontiers of Brazil. At Chasuta, fresh fuel was added to the fire of our traveller's zeal, by the positive asseveration of the priest of the place, Padre Mariana de Jesus, who had made several voyages up the Ucayali, that that river is navigable for vessels of a large size for many leagues above the place where the Pachitea joins it.

Below Chasuta, the Huallaga flows between high precipitous banks among hills, contracted to a width not exceeding 150 feet, and forming some dangerous rapids, until increasing its velocity from six to ten miles an hour, it shoots through the narrow rocky defile called the Pongo (or rather *Puncu*, a door or passage, in the Quichua, or vulgar Peruvian language), and then, with an expended stream, winds for the remainder of its course through an open, level country. Respecting the magnitude of this river, Lieutenant Smyth is quite silent; but we believe that below the Pongo, it has a general breadth of nearly half a mile, and is navigable for vessels not drawing more than twelve feet water. The Pongo itself has evidently originated in some great convulsion of nature; the rock (a fine-grained sandstone) composing the hills, which cross the river from north to south, being split and rent asunder a distance of about two miles. Immediately above it, is the Salto d'Aguirre, a rapid so named, from the daring adventurer, the murderer of Orsua, whose romantic history has been rendered familiar to the public by the pen of Dr Southey. At length, after navigating the Huallaga downwards about 350 miles, our travellers arrived, on the 14th January, 1835, at the mouth of the Chipurana, and immediately commenced the labour of ascending it. To work the canoes sixty miles up this river, and the Yanayacu, which joins it from the south-east, the navigable channel being frequently choked up by fallen trees from

the thick woods on either side; and then to march fifteen or twenty miles further through those woods, over slippery, entangled paths, and in drenching rain, was the hard labour of eight days. An equal time was disagreeably spent at Santa Catalina, a village containing about thirty families, chiefly from Tarapoto, and situated on a stream which flows eastward into the Ucayali. After much anxious delay, however, our travellers received tidings from Padre Plaza, who had advanced a few days' journey from Sarayacu to meet them, and they accordingly commenced descending the river from Santa Catalina. On the third day of their voyage, the report of a gun announced that the Patriarch of the Ucayali was not far distant. Here Lieutenant Smyth proceeds as follows:—

“All our hopes now hung upon Padre Plaza. To attempt to describe our feelings at this moment would be in vain. Our anxiety for the accomplishment of an object on which we had set our hearts, and the near prospect of an interview with one, who had so long occupied an important place in our minds, as a person on whom all our prospects of success depended, produced a conflict of hopes and fears which was extremely agitating. The canoes could not move swiftly enough for our impatience, and every reach of the watery forest seemed endless. At length our ears were gladdened with the sound of drums and joyous shouts from the opposite side of a small lake, which we crossed, and found two canoes waiting to pilot us to the village, where in a few minutes we had the satisfaction of seeing the reverend father, surrounded by the villagers. We pushed on, and arriving at the spot where he stood, leaped on shore under a salute from the swivels, and were cordially embraced by the patriarch, who appeared, by the manner of his reception, to be as much gratified as we ourselves were.

‘He is a rather short and fat person, between sixty and seventy years of age, with a good-humoured countenance; and no sooner had we disengaged ourselves from his arms, than the Indian women began, but with more fervour, a similar welcome. Not contented with kissing and hugging, they dragged us, with their arms entwined about our persons, to their houses, expressing themselves all the time delighted to see us, in the only Spanish word they knew, “Amigo.” Here a new scene awaited us—that of forming a friendship with the male part of the community.’ —Pp. 178-180.

The ceremonies of contracting friendship with the Indians being gone through, the whole party now set forward to Sarayacu. Our author was elated beyond measure at the first sight of the Ucayali, which, where the canoes first entered it, was a noble river, a mile and half wide. On a creek leading off from the river, and partially overhung by the umbrageous forest, stands the missionary village of Sarayacu, containing about 2000 inhabitants. Arrived there, our author allowed little time to elapse

before he drew the attention of the priest to the object of the expedition, and the practicability of ascending the Ucayali and Pachitea as far as Mayro. The reply of Padre Plaza made the matter turn on the sufficiency of means, and led at once to the most disheartening anticipations. The available effects of our travellers were produced, and were immediately pronounced insufficient; nor can we reasonably question the justice of the priest's decision. For the satisfaction of the Peruvian Government, which had taken a part in the expedition, Padre Plaza gave in writing the following statement of his opinion:—

“TO DON PEDRO BELTRAN.—Satisfied with the request made in your official letter of yesterday, I have examined minutely the effects which you have brought to undertake the voyage to the Pachitea; and as, for this great enterprise, it may be necessary to take two or three hundred men of this country, it is impossible that the few effects referred to can defray even the expense of the provisions for the maintenance of those who must accompany us. From this place to the Pachitea is reckoned from fifteen to twenty days' journey, and from thence to Mayro eight or ten; and in such an expedition we ought to take into consideration the delays and other obstacles which always occur. Moreover, the present season is very adverse, as the inundation of the rivers will not permit a secure encampment sooner than the months of August, September, and October; all which information I state, in order that the supreme government may act as it may find most convenient. God protect you.

“FRIAR M. PLAZA.”

Thus terminated the scheme of exploring the Pachitea and Ucayali, and of proving the existence of a navigable channel from Mayro (only 400 miles from Lima) to the Atlantic Ocean. Our author had to endure, besides the disappointment of his hopes relative to the expedition, the tediousness of a month's residence in Sarayacu. This town stands on an elevation about fifty feet above the river; is built without any order or systematic arrangement; the Indians being at liberty to choose, each for himself, the sites of their houses; and its magnitude is concealed by the number of trees planted in the intervals between the houses. The church, resembling in most respects a large barn, is embellished, nevertheless, by a porch, which surprised our author by its elegance of design. A missionary priest, a native of Italy, has left on the banks of the Ucayali a monument of that love of the fine arts which distinguishes his native land. Near the church stands the convent, with twelve apartments, besides the refectory. The Indian tribes throughout, and on the confines of Eastern Peru, have a general resemblance to one another; but, according to our author, some of the tribes inhabiting Sarayacu are several shades lighter in complexion than others, and are distinguished by a peculiar cast of features. The Indians

generally are a short, stout race, with a light olive complexion, an aquiline nose, a broad face, with high cheek-bones, and black but not brilliant eyes. In Sarayacu they stain their teeth blue. Their bodies are also stained blue, with the juice of a plant which is thought, we believe, to protect them from the flies. Their dress, consisting of trowsers and frock for the one sex, of petticoat and short spencer for the other, is made of *tucuya*, or coarse cotton cloth of their own manufacture, dyed red or blue. The women adorn themselves with beads, coins, and metal crosses hung round their necks, or suspended to their ears.

An Indian village, containing two thousand inhabitants, collected together from different and even hostile tribes, yet living in the completest harmony with one another, reclaimed from their wild and roving habits, decently clothed, and yielding in all things a ready obedience to their spiritual teacher, is certainly an agreeable object—in the depth of the forests too, and a hundred miles beyond the actual dominion of the sons of Europeans. It is to Paraguay and to Eastern Peru that the Roman Catholic priesthood can refer most triumphantly for proofs of the success of their missionary labours. Their manifest superiority over the Protestant missionaries is due to their celibacy. They learn to regard the weak and simple Indians as their children. Liberated from the austerities of the cloister, their affections expand, and blending with their religious zeal, fill them with philanthropic enthusiasm. In the course of the last century, and even down to the period of the Revolution, the province of Maynas (that is, the country between the Huallaga and the Andes, bounded on the north by the Marañon) was virtually ruled by the Franciscan monks. Their missions were numerous and flourishing in that fine country, and were nowise interfered with by the civil authorities of Peru. Their hierarchy extended also to the Pampa del Sacramento, or country lying between the Huallaga and the Ucayali. Indeed, even as early as the seventeenth century, or a hundred and fifty years ago, missionaries were established in the country of the Piros, on the eastern side of the Ucayali, a region untrodden by Europeans at the present day. That the situation of the missionary, surrounded by his half-wild flock in those sequestered spots, is not one of harassing difficulty, nor incompatible with a fair share of tranquillity of mind, is, we think, evident from the great length of time during which individuals continue to discharge their apostolic duties. Thus the Padre Plaza had resided four-and-thirty years in Sarayacu, at the time (1835) when Lieutenant Smyth visited that place. Padre Mariano de Jesus, whom our author met at Chasuta,

had lived out a generation of men in Maynas; and Padre D. Ramón Bazadrez, whom Lieutenant Smyth does not appear to have met at all, had, in 1831, completed a period of forty years spent in the solitudes of the Upper Huallaga, at the mission-stations of Uchiza, Tocache, &c., after having devoted some of his earlier days to the missions of Angola.

The Revolution, which separated Peru from the Spanish dominion, inflicted a severe blow on the missionary establishments of the interior, for the roots of the Spanish-American hierarchy were fixed in the mother country. Besides interrupting the flow of the ecclesiastical revenues, the struggles of the Revolution prolonged a state of insecurity, the feeling of which subsided very slowly, and completely annulled, while it continued, every attempt at amelioration. Padre Plaza assured Lieutenant Smyth that the intimation respecting the proposed expedition of the latter was the first official communication he had received from the government of Lima after a silence of nine years. He had repeatedly called attention to the neglected state of the missions, and to the injury likely to result to the Republic from the relapse of the natives to their former barbarism. But his remonstrances remained unanswered; nor did he, during that long interval, receive any salary, so that, for the support of himself and the mission, he depended almost wholly on the trade which he managed to carry on with Tabatinga and other towns on the Marañon. The Indians of his mission gathered sarsaparilla, made tucuya or cotton cloth, and manteca, or turtle oil, and showed abundant capability of industry, if adequate incentives were continually to provoke their renewed exertions.

A cargo of this kind was in preparation at the time of our author's visit to Sarayacu, and he finding it impossible to realize his plan of ascending the Ucayali, was glad of an opportunity of descending it in company with the freighted canoes and rafts of the mission. He and his companion embarked in a vessel called a garretea, about forty-five feet long, and six feet wide in the broadest part, with a cabin near the stern, and an armayari or awning made of palm-leaves to screen the crew towards the bow. On the 6th March, he took leave of the kind priest, of his Peruvian colleagues, and after having resided a month at Sarayacu, dropped down the river. On the ninth day of the voyage, he entered the Marañon, as the river of Amazons is called within the Spanish boundary.

‘We were extremely struck,’ says our author, ‘by the first sight of this majestic stream, which is at least half as broad again as the Ucayali, at the point of their confluence. The banks of the latter near its mouth are low and swampy, but the opposite shore of the Marañon is high, and

beautifully clothed with trees, forming one continuous forest, both up and down the river, as far as the sight can extend. The distance from Sarayacu to the Marañon, according to the course of the stream, which is very winding, is 279 miles, whereas the direct distance, in a N.N.E. half E. course, is only 158 miles. It varies much in breadth, being in some places full a mile and a half across, and in others not above half a mile. It runs between three and four miles an hour, and the depth of the main stream is, upon an average, twelve fathoms; but both its depth and width vary with the season very much: when we passed, it was nearly at its highest. There are many islands in it, several of which, in the dry time, are united to the mainland. The stream is entirely free from impediments to navigation, excepting floating trees, which are easily avoided.—P. 257.

Lieutenant Smyth's narrative of his voyage down the river of Amazons to Pará is, like the antecedent chapters of his volume, instructive as well as entertaining; but the course of that great river has been so frequently described, and the lower or Brazilian portion of it particularly so well described in the travels of Spix and Martius, that we feel justified in sparing our readers the long and somewhat tedious voyage down it, and confine ourselves to a few remarks on the merits of the volume which we have perused with so much satisfaction, and of the expedition, the events of which it relates.

The scheme of descending by the Pachitea into the Ucayali was no doubt a bold one; but with our author's slender means it was obviously impracticable, and appears to have been adopted without the least calculation. The pecuniary aid of the Peruvian government ought never to have been reckoned on. Their authority without their money was worse than useless, and we doubt not was the true cause of the failure of our author's attempt to reach Mayro. The Indians are ready enough to carry burdens when adequately paid for their labour, but dread, and justly dread, conscription. They could not therefore view complacently the establishment of a communication between Mayro and Pozuzu, where the road for beasts of burden ceases, and the whole fatigue of carrying loads is devolved on them. The season, too, at which the expedition started, was unfortunately the wrong one. When Lieutenant Smyth first descended into the valley of the Huallaga, the rains were commencing there, and as the rainy-season is later in the low country towards the west, he, as he travelled westward, continued; throughout his voyage, to be under drenching rains and a clouded sky, which too often interfered with his valuable astronomical observations.

The commercial advantages which appear to have been anticipated by the first projectors of the expedition from a navigable

communication between the Andes and the Atlantic, will be found, on sober examination, to be indefinitely distant. The fine country of Maynes, three hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, does not contain above twelve thousand inhabitants, the great majority of whom are only half-reclaimed Indians. The country round Panao is in the same condition—one vast impenetrable forest, with a few open spots, in which the secluded inhabitants lead from necessity a simple, indolent life. Nature, too, opposes the increase of population, by rendering difficult the increase of rural wealth. Domestic cattle cannot multiply amidst the plague of stinging insects. Cows are kept in a state of extreme extenuation: their calves are bled to death immediately by the vampyre bat. In fine, however favourably we may be disposed to view the countries on the eastern side of the Peruvian Andes, we cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that centuries must elapse before the rivers which flow from them can be the channels of an active commerce.

Though the country round Pozuzu was explored by the Spanish botanist, Ruiz, and the valley of the Huallaga has been recently visited and described by the German naturalist, Poeppig, still that part of the American continent is comparatively little known. With the exception of Lieutenant L. Menie's route across Maynes, nothing was contributed towards its elucidation by our countrymen previous to the volume of our author, who moreover breaks new ground in traversing the Pampa del Sacramento, and boasts to be the first Englishman who has floated on the Ucayali. But the truly valuable fruits of Lieutenant Smyth's journey are unostentatiously consigned by him to the maps appended to his volume. He has made a great change in the courses assigned by geographers to the Huallaga and Ucayali. His delineation of the course of the river of Amazons also differs widely from, but is, we doubt not, far more correct than preceding ones. He finds that the Spaniards, proceeding from Jaen, and the Portuguese from Para, to survey the great river, overrated the travelled distances in their itineraries, as is usually the case, and that consequently the former assigned positions to the places on the river too far eastward, and the latter, on the other hand, too far westward, so that opposite errors prevail in the Peruvian and Brazilian portions of the river. It must be observed, however, that the positions of the chief places on the river of Amazons in Brazil are generally supposed to rest on the astronomical determinations of a mixed commission appointed for that purpose half-a-century ago by the crowns of Spain and Portugal. But the explanation which we have offered above of

the errors discovered by Lieutenant Smyth is so natural, that in the absence of positive proof, we cannot believe that the commissioners, in constructing their map of the river, relied to any extent on astronomical data. On Lieutenant Smyth's observations we place the fullest reliance. Those who know his professional abilities will not refuse him their confidence; those who do not, will presume every thing in his favour from the unaffected, manly, modest, and perspicuous style of his narrative. The importance of his observations, nevertheless, makes it desirable that they should be printed.

ART. VI.—1. *Thoughts on the Improvement of the System of Country Banking.* By VINCENT STUCKEY, Esq. London: 1836.

2. *Mr Clay's Speech on Joint-Stock Banks in the House of Commons on the 12th of May, 1836.* Mirror of Parliament.

THE very considerable rise that has taken place in the price of most articles within the last twelve, and especially within the last six months, and the late extraordinary multiplication of railway companies, joint-stock banks, and other associations, have powerfully excited the public attention, and have led to many speculations and enquiries as to the causes and probable consequences of such singular phenomena. It is contended by many that the present period is in most respects the counterpart of the disastrous and disgraceful era of 1825, and that there is but too much probability that it will have a like termination. No doubt, however, there were many things peculiar to the period referred to, as there are to the present, while the experience afforded by the progress and result of the speculations entered into in 1824 and 1825, and the recent warnings given by the press, and by some of the leading men in Parliament, of the dangers to be apprehended from rashly embarking in schemes of which the advantage is doubtful and the risk great and certain, have tended in a considerable degree to check the mania for speculation. Still, however, there is not a little in the present state of the pecuniary transactions of the country, and in the proceedings of many private parties and associations, to inspire distrust and to demand the watchful attention of Government and the public. Various conflicting plans have been proposed for obviating this alarm, and for re-establishing and maintaining that

confidence that is so essential to the best interests of the country. The subject undoubtedly involves questions of great difficulty and delicacy, but as it is at the same time of paramount importance, we may perhaps be excused for submitting some considerations with respect to it.

I. The late extraordinary increase of companies for railways, and the extravagantly high prices at which the shares in many half-fledged projects of this sort are now selling, are among the most striking features in the present state of things. The success of the Manchester and Liverpool railway could hardly fail to occasion in the course of time the formation of other railways where the ground was practicable, and where the probable intercourse was such as to promise a reasonable return for the outlay. But until the present year the number of such projects was less than might have been expected, and, with the exception of the Carlisle and Newcastle, the London and Birmingham, the Southampton and the Great Western lines, the act for the latter being only obtained last year, but few undertakings of the sort, of any material importance, had been entered upon in any part of the kingdom. Within the last twelve months, however, a most extraordinary change has taken place. Instead of one or a few, a swarm of railway projects have been at once brought upon the tapis. There is scarcely, in fact, a practicable line between any two considerable places, however remote, that has not been occupied by a company; and frequently indeed two, three, and sometimes as many as four, projects of rival lines between the same places have been submitted to the consideration of the public and the judgment of Parliament. Simultaneously too with this increase in the number of railway schemes, there was an equally great and sudden rise in the prices of the shares in most of the established companies, and the shares, even in the greater number of new projects, were either brought out at or speedily commanded a premium.

It must be obvious to every one, how little soever they may be acquainted with such subjects, that this rage for railway projects has been excited by something very different from a sober examination of the probable profits to be ultimately derived from such undertakings. Owing to the vast intercourse between Manchester and Liverpool, and the moderate distance between these two great and rapidly increasing towns, the line between them is probably the most favourable of any in the kingdom for a railway. Such, however, was the vast expense of the undertaking originally, and since then of the keeping up of the engines, &c., that the proprietors of the railway have not hitherto divided more than nine per cent without accumulating any considerable

sinking fund. No doubt it may be fairly presumed, seeing that every thing connected with the construction and management of railways can be looked upon as being as yet only in its infancy, that material savings will be effected in the expenditure upon many of the projected lines, at the same time that they must all profit by the increasing wealth, population, and prosperity of the empire. Such considerations are, however, quite insufficient to account for the sudden increase in the number of railway projects and in the price of shares. The first stimulus seems to have been given by the presumed success of the London and Birmingham railway. This promises to be one of the most profitable of the new lines, and the premium on its shares having gradually risen to a pretty high rate, began to attract a large share of the public attention. Unemployed engineers and attorneys, with the whole tribe of jobbers and speculators in London and elsewhere, were not slow to perceive the advantages they might derive from this circumstance. The most exaggerated accounts were forthwith disseminated of the wonderful advantages that railways were immediately to confer, not on the public merely, but on their proprietors. In consequence the shares in them all began rapidly to advance, and the good fortune of the original holders, some of whom realized, while all seemed to possess the power of realizing, considerable sums, inflamed the public cupidity and tempted multitudes to embark in such schemes, till at length the fever extended itself on all hands, and produced that crowd of undigested conflicting projects, and that extraordinary demand for shares, by which the last six or eight months have been distinguished.

Had the rage for companies been confined to those formed for the undertaking of railways, or for projects that admitted of being profitably managed by joint stock associations, it might have been contended that the legitimate province of speculation had not been overstepped; and that though the parties in some of the projects had taken an over-sanguine view of their success, they were of a sort that deserved the public patronage. But the company mania has not been so restricted. On the contrary, it has scattered its seeds and spread its roots on all sides. Lancashire, however, has been the theatre where it has raged with the greatest violence, and we believe that a decidedly greater number of joint-stock projects, some of them of a more absurd and others of a more dangerous character, have been brought forward in Manchester and Liverpool within the current year than in either 1824 or 1825.

About three months ago, a list was published in the *Manchester Guardian*, of the various joint stock companies projected in

Liverpool and Manchester, or principally connected with them, in the preceding part of the present year. This list is known to have been incomplete; but such as it was, it exhibited the names of *one hundred and four* companies, having, or pretending to have, an aggregate capital of L.37,987,500 ! But the fever was very far from being confined to Lancashire. Mr Poulett Thomson stated, in his speech in the House of Commons, in the discussion relative to the budget, that he had made a register be kept of the various joint-stock companies at present on the tapis in different parts of the kingdom, and that he found their numbers amounted to between 300 and 400 ; and that a capital of nearly TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS STERLING, or about twenty times the capital of the Bank of England would be required, according to the statements of the parties, to carry them into effect !

This is enough to show the extent to which this mania has been carried, and the rich harvest that attorneys, secretaries, managing directors, *et hoc genus omne*, must already have reaped. But the nature of the greater number of the projects evinces, even more than their excessive multiplication, the stupendous folly of most of those who have *bona fide* embarked in them. There are companies for every sort of undertaking, even for those where individual vigilance and activity are most indispensable, and where, indeed, it were worse than absurd to expect success. Thus, there are companies for the manufacture of cottons, for tanning, for the manufacture of glass, pins, needles, soap, turpentine, &c., for dealing in coals, for raising sugar from the beet root, for making railways in Hindostan, for the prosecution of the whale fishery, and so forth ! There is one company, with a capital of L.3,000,000, which, however, it is especially provided may be increased to L.5,000,000, for trading and founding settlements on the south-east coast of Africa ! Another company, with a capital of L.2,500,000, is called the agricultural loan company ! By some oversight, which, most likely, is already corrected, no provision was made by this company for increasing its capital, or, which is the same thing, for raising a new one after the first had been dissipated.

Not a few of the projectors seem to have concluded, and not, perhaps, without some reason, that the ruin which the infallible blowing up of such of their schemes as are carried into effect will certainly entail on a large number of persons will most likely lead to a considerable increase of mortality, and they have ingeniously determined to make the most even of this. Hence in Manchester only, no fewer than *six burying companies have been formed*, and there are not many towns of any considerable magni-

tude in which one or more companies, for the same laudable purpose, have not been formed !

It will not, of course, be supposed, from any thing now stated, that we regard the formation of joint-stock companies as being in all cases an evil. On the contrary, we regard them, when founded on proper principles, for the attainment of objects or the conduct of businesses that admit of being prosecuted on a systematic plan, and where their management is committed to able, intelligent, and honest men, as among the most beneficial as well as powerful instruments in the economy of modern times, and as being calculated to confer the greatest benefit on society. It is of their abuse only that we complain. But, if their power of doing good, when rightly applied and conducted, be great, their power of doing mischief, when in the hands of craft and perverted to improper purposes, is ten times greater. They then become the most prolific sources of bankruptcy and ruin ; enriching a select coterie of knaves and jobbers, while they involve thousands, who were led to believe that they would add prodigiously to their wealth, in irremediable poverty and beggary.

But the mania for railway schemes and bubble companies is not the only suspicious feature in the present times. Concurrently with the rise and spread of this mania, there has been a very general rise in the price of most sorts of commodities. It has been pretty generally believed, though probably on insufficient grounds, that there has been a considerable diminution of the breadth of land under wheat this year ; and this belief, combined with the backwardness of the spring, and the rapid increase of population, seems to afford a reasonable justification of the rise that has taken place in the price of this important article. The extraordinary rise in the price of iron, which has advanced, in little more than twelve months, from about L.4 or L.5 to L.12 or L.14 a ton, has been caused partly, no doubt, by the increasing demand occasioned by the numerous railways now in progress, but in a much greater degree, we believe, by a speculative demand, in anticipation of the demand of the railway companies that have not yet commenced operations. But exclusive of the above, there has been a great advance in the price of most other articles, at the same time that a tendency to rise has been impressed on them all. An increase of this sort would, under any circumstances, have justly excited the attention or rather suspicion of discerning men. But when, as at present, it is accompanied by so great an eagerness to engage in hazardous and absurd projects, it shows that some dangerous principle is at work, which it is of the utmost importance to ascertain and guard against.

In a country so opulent as this, and so rapidly increasing in wealth and population, the too great ardour of speculation and the miscalculation of producers, must necessarily sometimes occasion overtrading, and consequent gluts and depressions of the market. But, were the currency in a perfectly sound state, the excitement arising from such causes would almost necessarily be confined to one or a very few businesses, and would be very far indeed from being either general or universal. In point of fact, *all* periods of general excitement, or periods marked by a great tendency to speculation, and by a general rise of prices, have, both in this and other countries, been uniformly distinguished by some extraordinary facilities in obtaining supplies of money or of credit, or both. We are bold to say that no single instance to the contrary can be pointed out in the history of industry in modern times. At all events, if there be such an instance, the circumstances must differ widely from the present.

II. From 1708 down to 1826, no association, having more than *six* partners could be established in England and Wales for the prosecution of the business of banking. The destruction of country bank paper, and the violent revulsion that took place in the latter end of 1825, and the early part of 1826, when, as was said by Mr Huskisson, we were within four-and-twenty hours of a state of barter, led to a repeal of that law, and to a permission to establish banks, with any number of partners, at any place more than sixty-five miles distant from London. Nothing could be more inexpedient and absurd than the previous limitation, nor could any thing be more expedient and proper than its repeal. But more advantage was expected to result from this change of the law than there were any good grounds for anticipating. In common with others, we endeavoured to show at the time, that much more was necessary to place the system of country banking in England on a secure foundation, than the mere granting of leave to establish joint-stock banks with numerous bodies of partners. This, however, was nearly all that was then done. The act of 1833 (3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 83), directed that an account of the places where they carry on business, and of the names and residences of the partners, should be annually returned to the Stamp Office; and that quarterly returns of their paper in circulation should be made by such bankers as issue notes. But comparatively little use has been made of these returns. The accounts of the names and residences of the proprietors are not published, but are carefully secluded from the public eye, in the repositories of Somerset House! It is true that these lists may be seen, by those who choose to apply at the office, for a small

fee, and that certified copies may be procured at no great expense. But few know that such returns exist, and fewer still have the opportunity, or think of availing themselves of them as sources of information. To render them of any real utility, they should be brought under the public eye, by being hung up, and periodically published in the newspapers of the places where the banks carry on business. At present, we understand, the lists of partners are seldom looked into, and very rarely, indeed, by any one except by individuals who have withdrawn from some bank, and are desirous to learn whether their names have been expunged from the official record. The returns of the issues of the different banks are still more defective; for all that the functionaries of the Stamp Office are allowed to exhibit of them is a quarterly statement, specifying, in a single line, and in two gross sums, the total issues of *all* the private, and of *all* the joint-stock banks! It is clear that, for many purposes, such a statement is worse than useless. By exhibiting only average results, it is most unfair to the banks who conduct their business on sound and safe principles, while it is calculated to serve the interests of those who pursue an opposite line of conduct.

But how defective soever, these accounts contain matter sufficient of itself to rouse the attention of Parliament and of the public. At the outset, the progress of the system was but slow. According to an official account (Parl. Paper, No. 504, Sess. 1833), dated the 4th of July, 1833, about seven years after the repeal of the act prohibiting their formation, *thirty-four* joint-stock banks had been established in different parts of England and Wales. According to another official return, dated the 12th of March last, *sixty-two* joint-stock banks had been then established, showing that their increase during the preceding *three* years had been about as great as during the first *seven* years of the new system! But their increase in April, May, and June of the present year has been incomparably greater. The subjoined account shows that there were established during these three months no fewer than *fifteen* joint-stock banks, two of them having each about 750 partners, and one of them twenty-four and another eleven branches! And we have reason to think that the rate of this extraordinary increase has been since augmented rather than diminished. Latterly, indeed, the mania for joint-stock banks seems to have become almost as prevalent as the mania for railways. It is, in fact, hardly possible to take up a newspaper without meeting with sundry announcements of such establishments, all, of course, dressed up in the most captivating manner,

Joint Stock Banks established since 29th March, 1836.

When established.	Places.	Name of the Bank.	Number of Partners.
May 3, 1836.	Stockport,	Bank of Stockport,	390
May 30, 1836.	Bolton,	Bolton Joint Stock Bank- ing Company,	166
May 19, 1836.	Cheltenham,	Cheltenham and Gloucester- shire Bank,	99
May 12, 1836.	Coventry,	Coventry Union Banking Company,	158
May 12, 1836.	Liverpool,	Liverpool United Trade- Bank,	319
June 15, 1836.	Manchester,	Manchester and Salford Bank,	255
April 30, 1836.	Liverpool, Dolgelly, Mac- hynlleth, Holywell, Bangor, Aberystwith, Wrexham, Pwllheli, Bala, Den- bigh, Oswestry, Lland- loes, Ruthin, Llanrwst, Festiniog, Mold, New- town, St Asaph, Chester. Caernarvon, Llangefni, Conway, Welchpool Amlwch,	North and South Wales Bank,	526
May 13, 1836.	Northampton, Daventry Wellingboro', Kettering, Torpstone, Peterboro', Oundle, Higham Ferris. Stamford, Spalding, Mar- ket Harboro',	Northamptonshire Banking Company,	296
May 23, 1836.	Northampton, Daventry Wellingboro',	Northamptonshire Union Bank,	464
May 28, 1836.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne,	Northumberland and Dur- ham District Banking Company,	401
April 30, 1836	Liverpool,	Royal Bank of Liverpool,	215
May 20, 1836.	Sheffield,	Sheffield and Hallamshire Banking Company,	738
May 25, 1836.	Manchester,	South Lancashire Bank,	778
May 2, 1835.	Liverpool,	Union Bank of Liverpool,	523
May 6, 1836.	Manchester,	Union Bank of Manchester,	598

It may be thought, perhaps, that this unprecedented increase in the number of joint-stock banks will have been productive of a corresponding decline in the number of private banks, or of those having six partners or under; but such is not by any means the case. The latter have decreased: but their decrease has been quite inconsiderable compared with the increase of joint-stock banks. In 1833, 598 licenses were granted to private banks, and, during the present year, down to the 28th of

June, 559 licenses had been granted ; so that, while the number of joint-stock banks has more than doubled, or increased in a more than cent per cent ratio, the private banks have only declined at the rate of not quite four per cent. The issues of the latter have varied but little since 1833.

More than four-fifths of the existing joint-stock banks issue notes ; and, within the last two years, or since September, 1834, their circulation has been nearly doubled, or has increased from L.1,783,689 to L.3,094,025.

The country bank circulation, since December, 1833, is exhibited in the following table :—

An account of the aggregate amount of Notes circulated in England and Wales by Private Banks, and by Joint Stock Banks and their Branches, distinguishing Private from Joint Stock Banks. From Returns directed by 3 and 4 W. IV. c. 83.

Quarters ending	Private Banks.	Joint-Stock Banks.	Total.
28th December, 1833	8,836,803	1,315,301	10,152,104
29th March, 1834	8,733 400	1,458,427	10,191,827
28th June, —	8,875,795	1,642,887	10,518,682
27th September, —	8,370,423	1,783,689	10,154,112
28th December, —	8,537,655	2,122,173	10,659,828
28th March, 1835	8,231,206	2,188,954	10,420,160
27th June, —	8,455,114	2,484,687	10,939,801
26th September, —	7,912,587	2,508,036	10,420,623
26th December, —	8,334,863	2,799 551	11,134,414
26th March, 1836	8,353,894	3,094,025	11,447,919

This rapid increase in the number and in the issues of joint-stock banks has been in part a consequence, but in a much greater degree a cause of the late rise of prices, and of the existing excitement. But we should fall into the greatest possible error if we supposed that the influence of the banks in question was to be measured by the amount of their notes in circulation, payable on demand. These, in fact, constitute but a comparatively small portion of their obligations. Most of them have been in the habit of trading, not on their own capital, or on the deposits made with them, but on credit obtained in the metropolis and elsewhere. Instead of retaining the bills and other securities they have discounted in their coffers till they are paid, many banks have been in the habit of immediately forwarding them to London to be rediscounted. To such an extent

has this system been carried, that we are well assured that certain banks with less than £500,000 of paid up capital, have discounted bills and made advances to the extent of from *five to six* millions; and the engagements of others have been even more incommensurate with their capital! The banks who have acted thus have borrowed the funds in the metropolis at about three per cent, and have charged four or five per cent to those to whom they afterwards advanced them. But though recourse may, properly enough, be had to assistance of this sort, on extraordinary occasions, no bank can be justly said to be established on sound, or conducted on safe principles, that trusts habitually to such accommodation. It is always at the mercy of circumstances over which it has no control; and is not really more secure than a house of cards. So long as the exchange is favourable, prices stationary or rising, and credit good, there is little difficulty about obtaining pecuniary accommodation in London, and the system goes on smoothly; but the moment the exchange becomes unfavourable, or prices begin to give way, or credit sustains any sort of shock, consternation takes the place of confidence, and the usual assistance is no longer to be had. The provincial banks being, in consequence, disabled from making their ordinary advances to their customers, the latter are necessarily involved in the greatest difficulties, and being obliged to force sales, a ruinous fall of prices, and a state of general embarrassment, as destructive to the banks as to those who depended on them, unavoidably follows. Such has hitherto been the invariable result of the abuse of banking in this country, and instead of being lessened by the formation of joint-stock banks, they seem to have materially increased the chances of such disasters in future.

But there are other, and, if possible, still more suspicious circumstances. The shares in the greater number of the newly formed and projected joint-stock banks are very small, few being above £50, while others are only £25, and some not more than £10. Generally, too, it is understood, or rather is distinctly set forth in the prospectus, that not more than 5 or 10 per cent of these shares is to be called for; so that an individual who has 10s. or 20s. to spare may become a shareholder in a bank. And owing to a particular regulation, or rather a flagrant abuse introduced into the management of various banks, by which they make large advances or discounts on the credit of the stock held by the shareholders, not a few individuals in doubtful, or even desperate circumstances, take shares in them in the view of obtaining loans and bolstering up their credit! The great danger arising from such banks is obvious. Were a bank of this sort to stop pay-

ment, it is plain, supposing the claims on it to be ultimately made good, that they could be so only at the cost, and perhaps ruin, of such of its proprietors as had abstained from resorting to the abusive practices followed by others. It may well, indeed, excite astonishment, that any one who can really afford to make a *bona fide* purchase of shares in a bank, should be fool-hardy enough to embark in such concerns.

We believe, however, that many, perhaps we might say the majority of joint-stock banks, have been established after due consideration, and are discreetly and honestly managed. But the vice of the system is, that it affords no means of distinguishing between the good and the bad, and that, in the estimation of the public, unacquainted with local peculiarities, they stand nearly all on the same footing. It may be doubted, too, whether the reserve and discretion of some banks, however advantageous to themselves, be not publicly injurious. It makes a greater number of persons resort to banks of a different character, proportionally extending their influence, and the sphere of their operations. Few, indeed, unless they be pretty familiar with such matters, can form any notion of the sort of agency through which some joint-stock associations have been established. The following may be taken as an example :—

During the course of the present year, the Stamp Office prosecuted a person at Manchester for carrying on the forgery of stamps on a large scale, and had him convicted and transported. Now, what will our readers think when we tell them, that there were found on the person and in the repositories of this notorious culprit, several letters addressed to him by an individual who was, at the time, engaged in the formation of a—great joint-stock bank ! The letter-writer knew perfectly well what his friend at Manchester was about ; and the burden of his letters is to press him for loans, to enable him to get his scheme matured and fairly set afloat. It may, perhaps, be imagined, considering the sort of project the party had on his hands, that he would have required large advances ; but no ! His utmost demand was for some £15 or £20, and he sometimes modestly limits himself to a pressing solicitation for a sovereign, or even half a sovereign ! He had, to make himself respectable, taken a house looking into — Park ; and, provided he could continue to hold that, and get his prospectuses printed, and advertisements paid, he had no doubt, and in that he was right, that he should in a few weeks be rolling in wealth ! Only think, says he to his correspondent, of a person without a shilling establishing a bank ! There were to be ,000 shares, and a deposit of £5 was to be paid on each. And this very bank is *now* in the field. Its suc-

cess has not been quite so great as that of some others; but considering its parentage, we need not be surprised if, at first, it should be a little rickety. No doubt, however, if the present facilities continue for another year, it will get fairly under weigh. Its directors will declare large dividends, and give white-bait dinners at Blackwall; and those who have dealt with them will, of course, lose every thing!

We beg it may not be supposed for a moment that we mean to insinuate that any thing half so bad as this is commonly practised in the getting up of even the worst description of joint-stock banks, or joint-stock associations of any kind. But what are we to think of a system of banking that admits of the possibility of such swindling schemes being publicly organized? Of the correspondents and confidants of convicted forgers being allowed to usurp the royal prerogative, and to supply a part of the currency of the country?

III. We believe that those who have read thus far will have little hesitation in thinking that the House of Commons has done right in appointing a committee to enquire into the state of joint-stock banking in England, as carried on under the act 7 Geo. IV. cap. 46. The proceedings of that committee having been carried on in secret, we are not aware of the nature of the evidence that has been laid before them. But though the committee may establish some minute particulars, and expose and elucidate some of the details connected with the system, it is not easy to imagine that they should be able to supply any information not already known with respect to its general principles and probable consequences. These are all sufficiently well understood by those moderately conversant with such subjects; and the report will be looked to rather for the suggestions that it may be expected to contain for obviating the defects in the existing system, than for any new light it can be expected to throw on its practical working.

Mr Clay, upon whose motion the committee was appointed, gave, in his speech on that occasion, a very striking statement of the disadvantages of the present system of banking, and of the wide-spread mischief and ruin it could hardly fail, if it were allowed to run its full course, to entail upon the country. The honourable gentleman did not, however, confine himself to an exposition of this sort, but undertook the more difficult task of showing how the impending danger might be averted. But in this department he was not equally successful. Some of his suggestions are valuable, and should be adopted; but there are others of a very different character, and the adoption of which, as it appears to us, would infinitely aggravate all that is pernicious.

cious in the banking system as it now exists. We do not know whether Mr Clay's views have been adopted by the committee; we hope they have not; but, at any rate, the countenance they have already met with, as well as the importance of the subject, will excuse our making a few remarks with respect to them.

According to Mr Clay, all that is necessary, not merely to obviate the defects in our banking system, but to give it all the perfection of which it is susceptible, may be attained by enforcing the principles of *limited responsibility*, *paid up capital*, and *perfect publicity*. In other words, Mr Clay proposes, 1st, That partners in joint-stock banks should be liable only, in the event of their bankruptcy, to the amount of the shares held by them; 2d, That the capital of the banks should be all paid up; and, 3d, That the most perfect publicity should be given to their affairs by obliging them periodically to publish accounts of their debts and assets. Let these things be done, says Mr Clay, and all that is vicious in the present system of joint-stock banking will disappear; and it will at once be rendered secure and beneficial!

Of these proposals, the first, or that for limiting the responsibility of the partners in banks, is by far the most important. But, in our view of the matter, its adoption would be productive of the most injurious results, and would go far to annihilate whatever there is of solidity in the present system. If partnerships with limited responsibilities are to be introduced into the banking business, it will be impossible, on any fair principle, to refuse allowing their introduction into all other businesses whatever. Now, undoubtedly, the evils of the present practice would require to be of the most formidable description, and the fitness of the proposed plan to obviate these, without substituting equal or greater evils in their place, would require to be incontrovertibly established, before any prudent legislator gave his consent to so great a change—to the abolition of a law under which the manufactures and commerce of the country have grown up to their present unexampled state of prosperity; and to the introduction in its stead of a new and untried system, alien to our habits, and all but unanimously objected to by all the best informed practical men. Hitherto, however, in so far at least as we know, nothing of this sort has been done. We are not prepared to say that partnerships with unlimited responsibility are perfect institutions, or that no inconveniences of any sort attach to them: But we contend that these are comparatively trifling; and that the inconveniences that would inevitably result from the formation of partnerships with limited responsibility would be a thousand times greater. Indeed we have no idea, supposing

that these were once introduced, that they would be allowed to continue for any length of time.

The only argument brought forward by Mr Clay in vindication of his project for establishing banks with limited responsibility, proceeded on the assumption that the unlimited responsibility of the partners gives banks a greatly increased facility of getting credit, and consequently increases their means of administering incentives to speculation. Now, we admit, that in certain cases this is true. An association in which it is known there are many or some wealthy individuals, liable to the whole extent of their fortunes for the debts of the concern, must, of course, enjoy a great degree of credit. But is it not at the same time obvious that these wealthy individuals, knowing the heavy responsibility they incur, the ruin, in fact, that must overwhelm them, if the affairs of the bank be improperly managed, will occasionally look into its conduct, and prevent the credit it enjoys from being misemployed or abused? To suppose that it should be otherwise, is to suppose what is contradictory and absurd—it is equivalent to supposing that the care of their fortunes, and their preservation from beggary, is a matter about which most persons are little solicitous! It is not necessary, however, in order to the efficiency of this check, that all the partners in a bank should be perpetually interfering with the details of the management. The safety of all is, in the majority of cases, sufficiently insured by the interposition of a few only. When the partners are wealthy, that is, when they have a great deal at stake, the fair presumption is that they will seek out and appoint managers of character and ability; and that they will exercise such a general inspection over them, that they will seldom be able to go very far wrong without the fact being known, and an effort made to have the abuse corrected. It should be our object not to lessen, but rather to increase responsibility. It is it which gives confidence to the public, and makes a provident caution, no less than a bold spirit of enterprise, a constituent part of the commercial character. It is ludicrous, indeed, to imagine that any system of checks can ever be half so effectual for the prevention of fraud or mismanagement, as the obvious interest of the parties concerned.

The chief defect of the present system is, that the public have no accurate knowledge of the parties with whom they are dealing. They know that a bank has a certain number of partners, but they do not know who these partners are—whether they are men of straw or *millionaires*! If this indispensable knowledge were supplied, then every one would be able to judge for himself as to the degree of confidence to be placed in the concern. And the fact of their names being held forth to the public as the

responsible parties, would make all those partners who had any thing to lose more alive to the risk they incur, and more attentive consequently to the way in which the affairs of the partnership are managed.

Mr Clay contends, that if the responsibility of the partners in a bank be limited to the extent of their shares, and these shares be paid up, their credit will be proportioned only to this amount of capital, so that their failure could never prove considerably injurious. But this is altogether fallacious. Suppose that a bank commences business to-day with a capital of L.100,000 or L.500,000, and limited responsibility: what security is there that it will be possessed of this amount of capital a twelvemonth, or a couple of twelvemonths, hence? It conducts its business on false principles, or having conducted it on sound principles, still it incurs heavy losses: but of these the public can know nothing; and it is all but certain that the same amount of credit will be given to it after the whole, perhaps, of its capital has been dissipated, that was given to it immediately after it commenced business! So that, when the imposition is discovered, it may have incurred a vast amount of liabilities without having a sixpence to meet them.

But, says Mr Clay, my check of *perfect publicity* will apply in all cases of this sort, and prevent the possibility of their occurring. Now truly it astonishes us that any one living in London and having any intercourse with practical men, should have been found to lay the least stress on the publication of balance-sheets, or accounts of assets and obligations. They are worse than worthless, being eminently calculated to deceive and mislead. We have access to know that individuals, certainly the most experienced in such matters in the empire, have stated that they could never form any just estimate of the means, nor predicate what would be the situation of any bank or other partnership six months hence, from the most careful inspection of their books! But Mr Clay does not propose that commissioners should be appointed to control the affairs, or to inspect the accounts of every bank in the empire. Besides being perfectly useless, this would be too inquisitorial, too cumbrous, and too costly a device to be thought of for a moment. How then, it may be asked, does Mr Clay intend to give perfection to his publicity scheme? Why, by leaving it to the *honour* of the parties; that is, by allowing each bank to report as to its own credit and solvency! It is difficult to suppose that Mr Clay can be serious in making such a proposal. We have already laid before the reader a specimen of the sort of agency by which a joint-stock bank may be set on foot; and we hardly think that Mr Clay would lay

much stress on a balance-sheet produced under such auspices. The fact is, that in all cases in which a disclosure would be really useful, Mr Clay's perfect publicity would be a perfect juggle—a means, not of detecting, but of concealing fraud. Even though the parties were perfectly honest, the publication of a balance-sheet would be good for nothing. Every one knows how sanguine people are in relation to their own affairs; and that debts and obligations that other parties would hardly reckon worth any thing, are estimated by them as if they were so much bullion. But independently of this, the futility of the thing is obvious. A bank with a capital of L.100,000 discounts bills and other obligations to the amount, perhaps, of L.300,000 or L.400,000. The fact that it has discounted them, shows that it believes these bills and obligations to be good; and they will consequently be returned among its assets. But should a revulsion take place, or any circumstance occur to shake credit, these bills may not be worth L.100,000; and those who, trusting to the 'perfect publicity' scheme, have dealt with the bank on the hypothesis of its having a capital of L.100,000, will find to their cost that it is not possessed of a shilling, but that on the contrary, it is some L.200,000 or L.300,000 worse than nothing!

It is, we think, almost unnecessary to dwell at any greater length on this part of the subject. The partners in a bank or other trading concern are voluntary adventurers who reap all the profit, and it is obviously just and reasonable that they should bear all the loss. They, too, have—which the public have not, and *never can have*—the means of knowing the exact situation of the concern. If it be making a loss instead of a profit, they may change the management, or wind up the affairs of the association; so that *it is their own fault if they ever sustain any considerable loss*. But the public can have no real insight of any sort into the affairs of the concern; no means of deciding whether it be really prosperous or the reverse; whether its managers be able and honest, or fools and swindlers. All that it has to trust to is the character and responsibility of the partners; and, according as we diminish that responsibility, so shall we diminish the securities for integrity and good conduct. Under the law as it now stands, a rich man who takes one or a few shares in a joint-stock bank, must look to its management under the penalty of losing not his shares merely, but his *all*! But the moment you limit his responsibility, the mode of its management is a matter of comparative indifference to him. The loss of the capital he has paid into the bank is a contingency which, were it to happen, would give him little or no disturbance; and provided he receive his dividends he will seldom, knowing that his respon-

sibility is limited, give himself the trouble of enquiring whence they are derived, or how the concern is conducted. Those who wish to substitute carelessness for attention, and to open a wide door for the commission of fraud, and none else, will advocate a system productive of such results.

If there were any disinclination—any backwardness on the part of individuals to engage in joint-stock associations with unlimited responsibility, something might be found to say in favour of the scheme for its limitation—But every one knows that there is no such disinclination. The most hazardous projects, provided they afford any thing like a chance of ultimate profit, never stand still for the want of associations bold enough to undertake them. There is, therefore, no inconvenience to be obviated by an interference with the present law. And no wise statesman will ever consent to introduce fundamental changes, when there is nothing to complain of in the existing state of things, especially when the proposed changes are of the most dangerous and mischievous description.

But it is said that the system of limited responsibility has been introduced into France and the United States, without having been found to be so injurious as we have supposed. France, however, is a country with little capital, less trade, and little or no speculation; so that a law that might answer well enough in it, might be totally unsuitable in a country like England. It would not, moreover, be very difficult to show that both France and the United States would profit materially by the abolition of the limited responsibility plan. Its introduction into banking concerns in the United States has led to the adoption of an infinity of regulations for the prevention of fraud; but, as might have been anticipated, these have proved quite ineffectual for their object. The American legislatures have not trusted, as Mr Clay would do, to the declarations of the parties; but have appointed inspectors to see that the returns are correct, and that the regulations are complied with. The following example will show the dependence to be placed on this sort of control:—

The Sutton joint-stock bank was incorporated in the moral and religious city of Boston in 1828. The act of the legislature of Massachusetts, incorporating the bank, provided, that before it commenced business, half its capital should be paid up, and be ‘actually existing in gold and silver in the coffers of the bank;’ and that it ‘should be inspected and examined by three commissioners, to be appointed by the governor for that purpose, who should examine the money actually existing in the said vaults, and ascertain, by the oaths of the directors of the said bank, or a majority of them, that the said capital stock

‘hath been *bona fide* paid in by the stockholders of the said bank, towards the payment of their respective shares, and not intended for any other purpose, and that it is intended there to remain as part of said capital.’ In compliance with this enactment, the inspectors named by the governor visited the vaults of the bank on the 28th of September, 1828; found in them a certain sum in dollars; and ascertained by the *oaths of four of the directors* that this specie was the first instalment paid by the shareholders, and that it was there as part of the capital of the bank, and to be employed as such.

Here was all that Mr Clay could desire, and more. Here was paid up capital, limited responsibility, and perfect publicity—as perfect, at least, as an actual inspection and oaths could make it! Every thing being thus apparently sound and substantial, the bank began business, obtaining, as Mr Clay would say, credit and confidence in proportion to its capital. Now, what will our readers think of the value of these precautions, when we tell them that this bank, with its paid up and inspected capital, its perfect publicity, and so forth, was from beginning to end a pure fraud, a downright swindling scheme? Having got itself largely indebted to the public, it exploded—and then it was ascertained, on an investigation by a committee of the Senate of the State, that it never had possessed a sixpence of capital. The dollars which the inspectors had seen *were borrowed the previous day from other banks, and were returned to them that evening!* The directors and others privy to the trick had, of course, bolted; and the individuals who had dealt with them found to their cost that the securities on which they had depended were in reality baits by which they had been lured to ruin! *

There have been *very many instances*, though none, perhaps, have been quite so striking as this, of frauds practised by banks in the United States, notwithstanding the multiplied precautions of the state legislatures—and, with such instances staring us in the face, would it not be the climax of folly were we to set about introducing a similar system into this country? Let us not deceive ourselves by supposing that the swindlers of Boston are more dexterous than those of London. If any thing, we apprehend the balance of ingenuity will be found to incline in our favour. At any rate, we have not heard that the friend and correspondent of a convicted forger, and without a shilling in his pocket, has succeeded in founding a great joint-stock bank in the United States. *This was an exploit reserved for British genius!*

* Gouge's History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States, pp. 156-158.

But it may be asked, do we therefore say, that the present system of joint-stock banking in this country is the best that can be devised, and that it should not be interfered with? Assuredly we do not! We have shown that the adoption of the principle of limited responsibility would go far to annihilate all that is sound and healthy in the present system; but we do not, therefore, contend that the maintenance of this principle is of itself sufficient to give it adequate stability. The principle of publicity must be brought to its assistance; but not that spurious publicity which Mr Clay calls ‘perfect’—which, however, we take leave to characterise as being altogether imperfect and deceitful. The public are clearly entitled to know who are the partners in joint-stock banks—that is, to know the individuals with whom they are dealing, and publicity to this extent may be made effectual. To obtain it, all that would be required would be to order quarterly returns to be furnished by every bank, containing a list of the names and addresses of all the individuals holding shares in it, with the number of shares held by each partner, and the sums paid on them. To make these returns available, they should be published, if not in the Gazette, at least in the provincial papers; those as to each bank being sent for publication to the journals most largely circulated in the districts where it carries on business. By this means, the public would know exactly to whom they had to look, and would act accordingly. They would not be deceived, as they are liable to be at present, by supposing that, because a bank has a number of partners, some of them must be opulent and trustworthy. They would know the precise state of the facts; and if it were seen, from the quarterly returns, that opulent and intelligent individuals were withdrawing from any bank, every body would be put on their guard, and would naturally conclude that the parties had very sufficient reasons for quitting the concern. Thus far publicity may be made perfect, and its attainment would be of the very greatest importance. Neither is it possible to allege a single plausible objection to the proposal. It interferes in no degree, nor in any way, with the proceedings of the parties—all that it does is to declare who and what they are. And to this degree of publicity no honest man will ever object.

The returns of the circulation of those banks that issue notes, made under the 3d and 4th William IV., cap. 83, ought also to be separately published in the provincial papers alluded to above. But to all attempts to carry publicity farther than this we decidedly object. Accounts of assets, debts, and obligations must, for the reasons previously stated, be at the best worthless, and can serve only to gloss over and give a false aspect to the condition of unprosperous, or bankrupt, or fraudulent concerns.

Mr Clay laid much stress on what he called paid-up capital.

But how is he or any one else to know that capital is paid up, or that, if paid up, it has not been lent out, in one form or other, to the partners? Perhaps it might be good policy to enact that no shares should be issued below a certain specified sum, as L.50; and that no loans should be made to the partners on the credit of their stock. But we should not be inclined to lay much stress on the first regulation; and the latter might, and no doubt would be, defeated in a thousand ways. We are, however, not merely indifferent, but decidedly hostile, to a proposition we have heard mooted, for obliging all banks to establish a guarantee fund, that is, for obliging them to accumulate a *portion of their profits* as a reserve stock. But where is the security that such reserves would be always deducted from profits? The truth is, that bankrupt and fraudulent concerns, and none else, would gain by such a regulation; inasmuch as it would enable them, by appearing to be prosperous, the better to deceive the public, and to blind them as to the real state of their affairs. It is, plainly, a good deal worse than absurd to depend on guarantees that it is certain cannot be enforced, and which consequently must be good for nothing. The knowledge of who the parties are in a bank, and their unlimited responsibility, are the only securities that, speaking generally, are worth a pinch of snuff. If these cannot protect the public from fraud and loss, nothing else will; and the question will come to be, not whether the system should be reformed, but whether it ought to be entirely abolished.

In so far, therefore, as respects banks that do not issue notes, it may be doubted whether the public has any right to interfere further than to enforce periodical disclosures of the partners, and to maintain the cardinal principle of unlimited responsibility. Admitting, however, that the public is warranted to interfere further, we have shown that the interferences, alluded to above, would be wholly useless, or worse; and that, instead of preventing frauds, they would increase them a thousandfold. But in respect of banks of issue, the case is different. They supply what is really and practically a part of the ordinary currency of the country, quite as much so, indeed, as either gold or silver coin; and it is as much the bounden duty of Government to make sure that their notes shall be truly of the value they represent, as it is their duty to make sure that coins are of the standard weight and purity. Now, to effect this, there is, as we have shown on several occasions, but one way, and that is to make the issuers of notes *give security for their payment*. This would do what nothing else can; it would prevent the possibility of the holders of notes losing by the bankruptcy, mismanagement, or bad faith of the issuers, and would do the most that can be done to perfect the paper currency of the country.

It has been said, indeed, that the adoption of this plan would make an unfair distinction among the creditors of a bank; and that those who have deposited money in its coffers are as well entitled to protection as those who hold its notes. But this is to confound things that are radically distinct. It is the duty of Government to provide that the currency of the country, or, which is the same thing, that the measure of value be maintained as invariable as possible. Certainly, however, it is no part of its duty to guarantee or provide for the solvency of those to whom people lend money or any thing else. That is the affair of the parties, with which the public have no concern whatever. If the borrowers be known, and be made to answer to the utmost extent of their fortunes for their engagements, the public may safely be left to use its own discretion as to trusting them. Very little discretion can, however, be used in places where notes are current as to whether one will take them or not. An opulent individual might perhaps refuse them; but the generality of tradesmen, and all descriptions of labourers, have no such option. Their refusal of the notes would be equivalent to a refusal of custom or of employment. Women too, minors, travellers, and all classes of people, though without the means of judging of the character and solvency of different banks, deal in money, and must take their notes. They are, in fact, in many places, substantially legal tender. And it is, therefore, in every point of view, the imperative duty of Government to *make sure* that they are what they pretend to be, and that they will be paid when presented.

Another abuse has grown up, under the existing law as to banks of issue, that ought to be provided against. Some of them, as has been already seen, have established an extraordinary number of branches, dispersed at great distances from each other, all over the country. It is not very difficult to discover why the banks are so very anxious about the establishment of these outworks. They are bound, it seems, by the present law, to pay their notes *only at the parent establishment*; so that, by issuing them at a branch bank, perhaps a hundred miles distant from the head bank, the chances are ten to one that they will continue for a much longer period in circulation, and that they will, consequently, be able to carry on business with a much less amount of capital, than if they were, as they ought to be, obliged to pay their notes at the branches as well as at the principal office. It is obvious, indeed, that the convertibility of the paper, even of first class banks, into either cash or Bank of England notes, is at present exceedingly imperfect. One of the existing banks has establishments in Aberystwith and Bristol, Ipswich and Yarmouth, its head office being, we believe, in

Birmingham ! Suppose now that an individual residing at Ipswich has got a parcel of the notes of this bank, and that he is desirous of exchanging them for cash or Bank of England notes, he has no way to effect his object except by sending the notes, at a considerable expense, to Birmingham, or by paying a premium to an agent at Ipswich who may undertake such negotiations ! The facilities that this plan affords for getting the worst class of notes into circulation, and for keeping them afloat even after their quality may be suspected, are too obvious to require being pointed out. This state of the law ought to be obviated forthwith, by obliging all banks that issue notes to pay them indifferently at any of their offices. But we incline to think that Parliament might go farther than this ; and that it should enact that no branch be established, whether for the issue of notes, or otherwise, beyond a certain distance, say fifty miles of the head office.

We do, therefore, hope that the legislature will embrace the earliest opportunity of taking the state of the joint-stock and other banks into its most serious consideration ; and that by periodically disclosing the names of the partners in all banks, by taking security for the notes of those that issue paper payable on demand, and enforcing their payment at the branches as well as at the head offices, it will do the most that can be done to provide for the stability of the system, and to protect the public from loss. The circumstances previously stated are such as warrant an immediate interference. The ultimate solvency of some of the existing banks may be fairly questioned ; but, though no doubt could be entertained on this point, the necessity for interference would not be materially affected. The stoppage of one or a few joint-stock banks could hardly fail to produce a panic, which must, in the mean time, occasion very great public inconvenience and distress. And though the banks that had stopped were in the end to make good their engagements, the process by which this would be effected would be painful in the extreme, and would unavoidably lead to the ruin of many of their most opulent partners, and to a vast extent of calamity. The legislature ought, therefore, to interpose, while it is yet time, to obviate the occurrence of such destructive vicissitudes. The checks we have suggested involve no vexatious interference with the affairs of individuals ; they may be easily applied ; and all joint-stock banks conducted on sound principles would be materially benefited by their adoption. But, though this were otherwise, regard to the public interest is the paramount consideration, and that requires that they should be enforced with as little delay as possible.

The disclosure of the partners ought to be enforced in the case of all joint-stock associations, whatever may be the object for

which they are formed. But it would be enough, in ordinary cases, to make the quarterly returns of the partners be suspended in the office of the association, or in some public place in the town or vicinage where it carries on business. Companies for the prosecution of commercial or manufacturing businesses, or for undertaking the formation of railways, canals, &c., have seldom the same means or opportunities of doing mischief as banking companies, and it is not, therefore, necessary that the same pains should be taken to disclose the partners; but, at the same time, it is essential that every one who feels any interest in the matter should have a ready means of learning who they are,—and this would be accomplished by exhibiting the returns, as above stated.

It has been proposed, in order to prevent the gambling that so generally takes place during the formation of all companies, particularly if they be got up by jobbers or with a fraudulent intent, to prohibit all transference of shares in them till the capital has been fully paid up, and the company has been brought into operation. A regulation of this sort would certainly prevent much gambling and fraud; and it might be advantageously enforced in the case of banks, and of such other institutions as may be speedily organised or set on foot. But there are many important undertakings, peculiarly fitted for being carried on by joint-stock companies, that require a lengthened period—several years, perhaps—for their completion. Now, there cannot be a doubt, that unlooked-for circumstances might frequently arise that might make it extremely inconvenient to prevent individuals transferring their shares in such companies; and we must have a care lest, in endeavouring to obviate what is bad, we check that spirit of enterprise and combination that is so essential to the national prosperity.

We are clear, however, that Parliament should reserve to itself the power to control the charges of all companies for the formation of canals and railways, and for the supply of towns with water, gas, and such like objects. In these, competition either does not exist at all, or but in a very limited degree; and very great inconvenience and loss has resulted to the public, from Parliament neglecting to supply this want by reserving the power of revising the rates of charge. This, however, is a subject of too great importance to be disposed of by a side-wind. We may probably revert to it on some future occasion. In the mean time; such of our readers as take any interest in these matters, may read the able and conclusive speech of Mr Morrison on this subject: we are confident they will not think they have misemployed their time.

ART. VII.—*Die Deutsche Literatur*. Von WOLFGANG MENZEL,
Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Stuttgart: 1836.

THE name of Menzel, though familiar to English admirers of German literature as that of a pleasing poet and eminent critic, is as yet scarcely known to the English public; while the work of Heine, on German literature, a publication written in the most despicable spirit of personal hostility to individuals, affording the most distorted pictures of many of the most eminent men of Germany, and inculcating views and principles equally at variance with truth, good taste, and morality, has been abundantly read, criticised, and even lauded by our English Reviewers, the corresponding work of Menzel, which has now reached a second (and very enlarged) edition, has been, so far as we are aware, but once noticed. This seems the more singular, that the work is not only one of high talent, originality, and comprehensiveness of view, but one which, from its manner of treating the subject, and its freedom from many of those defects which deform even the best specimens of German criticism, was peculiarly likely to have found in England fit audience, and that not few. Menzel has in fact steered clear of the two rocks on which so many of his critical predecessors have foundered, mysticism of views, and tediousness in their developement. In the compass of two volumes, of no great bulk, we are presented with a full, and even minute view of the peculiarities of the German literary character, the rise of German literature, the points of distinction by which it is differenced from those of other nations, the changes impressed upon its spirit from time to time by political or social changes within, or the influence of foreign nations from without, the reaction in favour of a national taste, its causes and gradual developement; and lastly, a very eloquent, masterly, and discriminating view of the present direction of literature, its connexion with the character of the time, its beauties and defects, the circumstances which are likely to purify and elevate its tendencies, and those which are at work to corrupt and debase it. It is almost needless to remark, that the literary historian who accomplishes this task effectually, without wandering beyond the confines of two volumes, cannot be a tedious writer. Dr Menzel has in fact the somewhat rare merit, particularly in Germany, of ‘coming to the point.’ He does not insist on laboriously evolving his conclusions by strict demonstration, through every step of his proposition. He ventures to rely a little on the intelligence and previous reading of those whom he addresses; he communicates, by hints and allusions, many things which

others would have made the subject of a formal discussion or explanation; and is generally content to leave his opinions, when stated, to operate by their own weight and force, without supporting them by a formal array of arguments or citations. Thus only could a characteristic of the literature of Germany be brought within the compass to which it is here reduced. As a consequence, however, it will be at once understood the book is by no means adapted to an elementary student. It is not, in truth, so much a history, as a bold and philosophical sketch; a map of the literature of Germany, from the survey of an adventurous, yet experienced navigator. It presupposes, indeed, a pretty extensive though not profound acquaintance with German literature, and aims chiefly at furnishing the student, somewhat bewildered in the tangled mazes 'of that wild wood,' with a clue which may lead him safely through its intricacies. In perusing it, we feel as if we were conducted out of the crowded and confused streets of a city, where we had long been tolerably familiar with every object taken by itself in detail, but could form no clear idea of their positions and proportions, and were suddenly placed on some commanding eminence, from which the lines of the streets, the relative heights of the domes and steeples, the breadth and mass of the buildings, the whole lights and shadows of the scene, were first made distinct and palpable to the eye. To the student, however, who already possesses this general and desultory knowledge of German literature (and this, we believe, is the situation in which most English scholars stand), the work of Menzel will be found a valuable assistant. For, in the next place, Menzel is, of all German critics with whom we are acquainted, the one who can least justly be accused of those vague, indefinite, or fanciful views, which (for want of a better term) we are accustomed to designate by the general name of mysticism. Without the mocking spirit and persiflage of a Heine—without his indifference to all enthusiasm and nobleness of view—for, on the contrary, no one kindles into a warmer admiration of genius and greatness, devoting themselves to the cause of goodness, than Menzel);—his strong and vigorous understanding—never separating theory from practice, never permitting itself to deviate into the regions of abstract speculation, but sticking close to the highway of actual life, and of nature as he finds it, always clearly perceiving its object, and aiming at it by the most direct means—has entirely banished from his works that indistinctness of speculation, which sometimes so painfully interferes with the pleasure arising from the wide reading and acute views of Tieck and the Schlegels. Whether we agree with

the opinions of Menzel, or dissent from them, we always know clearly with what propositions we are dealing; into the more theoretical and abstract questions of taste indeed he seldom enters; nor can we pretend to say with what success the attempt would have been made, for Menzel by no means appears to be the man to plunge 'extra flammantia moenia mundi' into the region of the metaphysics of taste; but in the sphere to which he confines himself, he sees clearly, thinks vigorously, and writes with singular force, precision, and vivacity.

We believe Menzel to be a man of warm feelings, which have in some instances left their traces in his work, and not in the most favourable form. He has long lived in an element of strife, having at an early period of life drawn down upon himself the hostility and abuse of Voss and his partisans, by his work entitled 'Voss und die Symbolik;' * and by undertaking, after the retirement of Adolph Mullner, the directorship of the *Morgenblatt*, one of the most able of the literary journals of Germany—a task which he has performed, so far as we can judge (by an experience of some years standing), in a fearless, honest, and impartial spirit, but of course with the usual consequence of making more enemies than friends. He was the first man of real ability who, undeterred by the literary despotism exercised by Goethe, ventured to question the grounds of his supremacy, and to reduce to their real meaning the high but somewhat hollow-sounding panegyrics of his admirers. Nothing can present a stronger contrast, or better illustrate the different characters of the two minds, than the way in which Heine and Menzel have dealt with the literary character and pretensions of Goethe. Both have done their best to dispel the *prestige* which attached to that great name,—

'And put to proof his strong supremacy,
Whether obtained by strength or chance of fate;'

but the latter employs the honourable weapons of fair argument—the former contents himself with the discreditable missiles of ribald wit, and personal abuse. Menzel, while he refuses to bow the knee in indiscriminating adoration with the common worshippers of Goethe, gives honour where he really thinks honour is due; nay, tenders warmly and willingly the tribute of respect and even admiration to which he conceives him in some respects to be justly indebted. He does not, like Heine, endeavour to disparage his unquestionable powers by mere sarcasm, any more than he condescends

to imitate the vulgar insolence of Börne, who boldly denounces Goethe as 'the cancer of the German body,' 'a very pattern of baseness,' 'the first of despots,' and so forth. But he assails with the weapons both of wit and reasoning, and with the generous warmth of one who feels the evil consequences in literature of a spirit of moral indifference—the spirit and tendency of Goethe's works; and though here, as in one or two other instances, his former polemics on the subject have led him too far, and tempted him to maintain positions which had been at first rashly taken up, we must admit, that in the main his view of the moral worthlessness of Goethe's poetry, and of his evil influence upon the age with whose vices and weaknesses he deals so gently, if indeed he does not beautify them over by his genius, is painfully true. We should doubt whether even the most thoroughgoing idolator of Goethe could peruse the articles of impeachment against him as drawn up by Menzel without being led into some uneasy doubts of his divinity; and sure we are that those who are not idolators will be abundantly satisfied that this marvel of the nineteenth century is but a man—a great man, doubtless—and, in the ordinary relations of life, a good one; but whose genius, exercised indifferently on all subjects, never warming into enthusiasm for excellence, never revolted by the exhibition of vice, polishing with the same careful and finished elegance his pictures of both, and taking refuge in an ideal world of art from the labours, and duties, and sufferings which it is our proper task in life to bear and overcome, however much it may have done to refine the taste of the German public, and to improve the poetical form, has done but little towards elevating or bettering the substance.

In the case of Voss, against whom another of his attacks is directed, the justice of his remarks is far more doubtful. Indeed, we believe the feeling has universally been, that they are overcharged in the highest degree. The recollection of the treatment he had himself experienced at the hands of Voss and his partisans, has obviously guided the pen of Menzel in his criticism upon the author of *Louise*, which, by its very extravagance, and over-anxiety to present the object in a ludicrous light, produces an opposite result, and merely satisfies the reader, not that Voss was, in all he wrote or translated, a miserable pedant, but that Dr Wolfgang Menzel is not, in this instance, an honest critic; and that, forsaking that principle of impartiality by which he is in general guided, he has here written, not for the world or for futurity, but for the present gratification of personal hostility. He does not, indeed, like Heine in his criticism on the Schlegels,

carry his attacks into the domestic relations of life; but he scruples not to present his person *in caricatura*, 'walking towards eternity in a damask dressing-gown, and white-washed 'night-cap.' He is accused of the most pitiable vanity; of flattering princes and nobles, at the same time that he pretended to be a friend of the people; of converting the idea of 'patriotism' into the life of a narrow family circle, and that of religion into a 'rancorous old Protestant polemic;' of preaching to the Catholics that tolerance which he was never disposed to exercise towards them. In the same temper, and with the same justice, is his literary character treated. 'His Idylls, his celebrated 'Louise, and his Letters,' only deserve to be immortal, because they are the records of the whole *Philisteici*,* and family cockerings (familien hätschelei) of the last century. He is accused of dislocating every limb of the German language, in a vain attempt to approximate it to the measures and construction of the Greek; of labouring for half a century at the Sisyphus task of rolling up the rough old Runenstein of the German tongue to the summit of the Greek Parnassus, from which, however, it speedily comes thundering down again upon the head and shoulders of the philologist. His translations, it is said, are so slavishly true to the words and false to the spirit, that they only become intelligible by a reference to the original. 'Whether he translate from Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Shakspeare, or an old love song, we still hear nothing but the stiff tramp of his own prose. Even the mighty genius of Shakspeare cannot lead him out of his regular monotony. 'The worthy poets of old are plunged into his witch-caldron 'fresh and healthy, and they come out again miserable changelings—all converted into little Vosses, all marching in buckram uniforms.' 'This is 'pleasant but wrong,' containing some truth, but mixed with monstrous exaggeration. If Voss did not penetrate so deeply as some others into the spirit of the classic literatures—if he did at times attach too great an importance to the mere form, and in the pursuit of verbal strictness of translation, suffered the fire and spirit, the ethereal essence, of the original to escape him, such at least is not the case with his works in general. His Louise, notwithstanding the sneer at its homely pictures and trifling details of a

* *Philistinism*. This word is untranslatable by any single English word. But it may be said to mean every thing old fashioned, pedantic, absurd, and common-place.

village life, will always, from the real truth and simple beauty of those scenes, have a charm for the lover of nature; and so Goethe appears to have felt, when he so obviously framed his 'Civic-epic' of Hermann and Dorothea on this model. Voss's Homer remains at this moment the best translation of that poet into any European tongue; and he must have a jaundiced eye indeed, who cannot, in Voss's translations, distinguish the peculiar manner of Theocritus from that of Homer, or of Hesiod from Virgil. His Horace we grant is less successful. The *curiosa felicitas* of the Roman lyrist was of a nature too subtle and too delicate to be caught and reflected in his somewhat unbending strains. In like manner, his translation of Shakspeare, though in point of mere verbal rendering of the text it far surpasses even that of Schlegel, cannot be compared with it as a poetical version of the original. It is true, that had Schlegel not proved how far it was possible to combine even close accuracy with the graces of the most poetical expression, and the most harmonious and natural arrangement of works, we should probably have been well contented with the translation of Voss. But we fairly admit, that in Voss's Shakspeare there is a want of the spirit of poetry—of the power of seizing and giving back the very impression produced by the changing tone of the original; while in Schlegel's we are surrounded by the very influences which are awakened by the perusal of Shakspeare himself—by the southern glow and purple light of love in Romeo and Juliet; the glimmering haze in which elves hover, and through which bewildered lovers wander in *Midsummer Night's Dream*; the sentiment of wayward gloom in Hamlet—a reflection as it were from the lowering and changing skies of the north; the feeling of dew-besprinkled woodland freshness 'and pastoral melancholy' in *As You Like it*; the magic atmosphere of virgin solitude and purity that envelopes the *Tempest*; the elements of music and moonlight in which *Twelfth Night* and the *Merchant of Venice* appear to float; and the broad flood of gaiety and wild humour which is poured over the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and the two parts of *King Henry IV.* But with the exception of Voss's Horace and his Shakspeare, his translations are excellent—his Homer, in many respects, truly admirable; and Dr Menzel may rest assured, that his prejudiced and petulant observations in regard to Voss are far more likely to be injurious to his own reputation than to that of the distinguished philologist.

Another person, against whom his censure appears to be of a one-sided and unmeasured nature, is Kotzebue. Not even Menzel can feel more strongly than we do, that the vast reputation which Kotzebue once enjoyed was a hollow and unfounded one; that

his influence upon the literature of his time was most unfortunate; that the tendency of his works was to introduce a sophistry of the heart—a mixture of frivolity with a sentimentalism, in which all our conceptions of virtue and vice are confounded; that his innocent adulteresses, generous footpads, forgiving husbands, unsophisticated innocents, who throw themselves into the arms of every man they meet; virgins of the sun, so pure and unconscious of evil, that they know not that they have lost all claims to the title:—that these, with many other favourite characters in his dramatic gallery, are conceptions equally revolting to good taste, good sense, and decent feeling. We assuredly do not go the same length in regard to Kotzebue, with his enthusiastic admirer Mr Taylor of Norwich, who, in his history (!) of German Poetry, has the courage to make the following astounding avowal: ‘According to my judgment, Kotzebue is the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has evolved since Shakspeare.’ ‘His power over space already transcends that of Shakspeare; it remains to be seen whether his power over time will also stand the test of centuries.’ With all deference it does not remain to be seen; the fame of Kotzebue, once of European extent, has diminished, is diminishing, and, so far as concerns his claims as a *great dramatist* or *true poet*, will probably at no distant period be extinct. But granting all this, we think there is much needless vituperation wasted upon the unlucky dramatist, as if because the tendency of his works was to introduce a kind of moral chaos, such had also been his constant object and design. The truth is, Kotzebue lived in a corrupted period; he possessed within himself no very elevated standard of moral excellence, and none such presented itself in the world with which he was familiar; but this seems the extent of his offending, that he was neither better nor worse than his age; that he adopted its weaknesses, vices, and follies as he found them, and imparted to his dramatic world no higher principles of action than those which he found to operate in a state of society, which irreligion and the vicious influence of foreign example had thoroughly demoralized. That he made the most of his materials, and executed the task he had prescribed to himself with consummate cleverness and address, it were mere folly to deny. Indifferent as his tragedies may be, and even to these a considerable degree of dramatic effect must be conceded, his comedies are unquestionably marked by a rich fund of humour, and frequently by extremely novel and happy conceptions and oppositions of character. Nor is there any justice in the view which the work of Menzel would lead a reader to adopt, that *all* the works of Kotzebue are tainted with the moral stain to which we have alluded; or that he had in view

any systematic attack on the bulwarks of social order, or the principles of morality. Menzel says of him, with more coarseness than either wit or truth, 'He made Parnassus a bagnio, and secured the post of go-between for himself. No one so well understood how to operate on the weaknesses and evil inclinations of the educated, and to flatter the vanity of the uneducated public. It was only in the attempt to catch the tone of high refinement that Kotzebue failed. His nature was too common to enable him to discover that tenderness of expression behind which vice conceals itself in more delicate natures.' Menzel is no doubt consistent with himself, for he does not exempt Goëthe from the censure which he thus bestows upon Kotzebue; he merely awards to the former the palm of success in attaining that refinement which Kotzebue failed to seize; but the singularity is to find that many of those who are loudest and most indignant against the immoral pictures and vices of Kotzebue, are the very same who can see nothing but the most instructive moral lessons in the licentious frivolities of a Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, and perfect purity, both in aim and execution, in that work, to which Menzel ascribes the 'bad eminence' of being the archtype of the class of 'adultery romances'—a very numerous one in Germany;—we mean the Affinities of Choice.

Leaving, however, these instances, in which the feelings or prejudices of Menzel have carried him beyond the fair bounds of impartial criticism, let us see how he deals with his subject, when no such influences distort his views, or impart an undue rancour to his strictures. We have, within the last few years, so fully stated our views in regard to German literature, that any formal disquisition on the subject as a whole would be out of place. We shall confine ourselves, on the present occasion, to a few extracts from the more striking portion of Menzel's work, merely connecting them by such remarks as may render their relation to his general views intelligible. We shall take the liberty, therefore, of passing over parts first and second of the work, in which he discusses, 'The Mass of Literature, The Nationality of the Germans, The Influence of School Learning, of Foreign Literature; The Trade of Literature; Religion; Philosophy; History; Education.' They abound with striking and valuable remarks; they are written, in many parts, with a glowing enthusiasm, and in a spirit of the utmost liberality and toleration; but they refer to matters which would require a good deal of preliminary discussion, and would seduce us, in more points than one, into controversial questions which we would at present avoid. Our extracts shall therefore be made from that portion of the work which is devoted to the progress and present prospects of belles lettres in Germany.

A dreary period of inaction, and, as it may be called, poetical death, followed in Germany the bright, but brief flash of the Minne-Singer Poetry (from 1138 to 1268), and the vast revolution in society effected by the Reformation. Favourable as that great change may have ultimately proved, even to the interests of literature, its first effects were undoubtedly far otherwise. It seemed as if that spirit of polemical discussion, of critical enquiry, of aversion to all those arts which were supposed to 'make the 'reason prisoner,' were fatal to all pursuits connected with the imagination. Reason had done so much in that great struggle, that men began to imagine she could do all; and, absorbed in the investigation of the truths which the understanding could detect, they had no ears for the equally certain, and often profounder truths (as regards man and his destiny), which genius calls forth from the recesses of the imagination. The objects which had most attracted their veneration and love during the early period of wonder and belief, suddenly lost their charms, nay, were viewed with disgust, as links in the chain by which reason had been fettered. From idolators they became iconoclasts. Churches and cloisters were destroyed; the ministers and cathedrals, which were shooting up their aspiring domes into the air, remained unfinished; painting was denounced as a monkish device leading only to the violation of the second commandment; the music of the pealing organ ceased with the fall of those 'studious cloisters 'pale,' through which it had echoed; for popular belief, came general doubt; for the steadfastness of former days, a constant looking for of change; science flourished; learning increased with the rise of universities; but manners, morals, poetry, decayed. In two strongholds only indeed did literature attempt to maintain a struggle against the rationalizing spirit of the time, in the spiritual lyrics of Luther and his successors, and in the popular songs, plays, and farces of Hans Sachs. Luther's whole adventurous career, like Sidney's, might be said to be poetry put in action; but he has peculiarly impressed the stamp of his poetical sensibilities upon his devotional songs, which, glowing with the fervor of piety and enthusiastic feeling, had an irresistible fascination for the people.

The plays of the honest old Shoemaker, again—in number nearly equalling those of Lope de Vega,* and treating, in a style of a broad, coarse humour, the Catholic legends of the middle ages, harmonized with the mocking spirit of the time,

* The list of his productions, as given by himself, contains 4200 songs, 208 comedies and tragedies, 1700 farces, fables, and other poems, besides 73 spiritual lyrics. Of this vast collection, however, only a small part has been printed.

and supplied the popular taste with the only imaginative nutriment which in this period of poetical inanition it seemed capable of digesting. Then followed, after a troubled and louring period of suspense and preparation, the 'Thirty Years' War, crushing the rising progress of learning and civilisation, and trampling under foot the monuments of art and the institutions of science. The peace of Westphalia left Germany both in a state of intellectual and political exhaustion. From this period to the death of Louis XIV., the aspect which Germany presents, in a literary point of view, is deplorable. From Dan to Beersheba all is barrenness. Scarcely do some feeble, farthing-candle lights, such as Opitz, the dramatist Gryphius, and Hoffmannswaldau, glimmer through the gloom. Literature, so far as it existed in a vernacular form, had sunk into a lifeless imitation of the ancients; borrowing the form, but incapable of apprehending the spirit of the classics; reproducing, but only with less success, the ideas of the French: profuse of mythology, penurious of feeling, destitute of nationality. 'Apollo,' says Menzel, with liveliness and truth, 'sat on the German Parnassus in a full-bottomed peruke, and with fiddle in hand led the concert of the well-powdered Muses.'

The first great name which greets us on the threshold of the reviving German literature, is that of Klopstock, whose merits and defects, as well as his influence on his age, are characterised by Menzel with great acuteness and truth. After alluding to the Horatian imitations of Ramler, the anacreontics of Gleim, and the Idylls of the Swiss Theocritus, Gessner—with their French coquetry of sentiment, and sheepish modesty, he proceeds:—

'Far before these German Horaces, Anacreons, Pindars, Theocrituses, and Æsops, stands the German Homer, Klopstock. It was he who, by the strong influence of his Messias and his Odes, established the supremacy of the antique taste, not, however, to the prejudice of German and Christian associations, but rather to their advantage. Religion and patriotism were with him the highest of conceptions; but in reference to the form, he considered that of ancient Greece to be the most perfect, and hoped to unite the greatest beauty of substance with the greatest beauty of form, by attiring Christianity and Germanism in the garb of Greece; a singular error, yet not unnaturally arising out of the singular character of the social developement of his time. . . . Klopstock, though in the form of his works a Greek, was still in their spirit a true German, and he it was who introduced that inspiration of patriotism, and that adoration of Germanism, which amidst all changes of taste has never disappeared, or rather, has often, in its oppo-

'sition to all things foreign, deviated into injustice and extravagance. Strangely as it sounds at first to hear *him*, the offspring of the French peruke-period (*periicken-zeit*), styling himself a *bard* in his *Alcaic* verses, and mingling three heterogeneous periods, the modern, the antique, and the old German together, yet here we trace the commencement of that manly confidence, which enabled German poetry to cast aside its foreign fetters, and to drop the humiliating attitude which it had maintained since the peace of Westphalia. It was, indeed, time that one should come, who could strike his hand upon his breast, and say, "I am a German." His poetry, like his patriotism, was deeply rooted in that lofty, moral, and religious belief, which sheds such lustre over his *Messias*, and it was he who, next to Gellert, imparted to modern German poetry that dignified, earnest, and pious character, which amidst all the excesses of fancy and wit, has never entirely deserted it, and which foreign nations have always continued to contemplate in us with admiration or awe. When we recollect the influence of the frivolous old French philosophy, and of the ridicule of Voltaire, we are first made sensible, how strong a bulwark was opposed by Klopstock to those foreign influences upon the taste of Germany.

'His patriotism and his exalted religious feeling have contributed more to the high position which he will always occupy, than his improvements on the language. It is true he loses every thing when we examine him too near and in detail. He must be viewed in the mass, and at a certain distance. When we read him, he often appears pedantic and tedious; when we have read him, when we think of him in recollection, he appears great and majestic. Then his two dominant ideas of patriotism and religion shine forth in all their simplicity, and leave on our minds an impression of majesty. We seem to look on some gigantic spirit of Ossian, stretching forth a monstrous harp into the clouds. If we approach him nearer, he dissolves into a broad mass of unsubstantial vapour. Still the first impression remains, and attunes our minds to elevated and elevating feeling. Although too cold and metaphysical, he has taught us two great lessons: the one, that our un-germanized poetry, long a stranger to its natural home, must again strike its roots into that soil, if it would grow into a healthy and majestic tree; and next, that all poetry, as it has its source, must also find its "being's end and aim" in religion.'

This just appreciation of Klopstock is immediately followed by the extravagant and prejudiced attack upon Voss, to which we alluded in the outset. With one observation, however, of Menzel as applicable both to Klopstock and Voss we concur:

namely, that neither of them penetrated beyond the form and into the spirit of antiquity. The first impulse in that direction was given in the arts by the well-known and imaginative work of Winckelmann. In poetry, it first appears distinctly in the graceful strains of Wieland. We rejoice to think that this true poet and amiable man, whom it has of late been too much the fashion to decry as a mere German Voltaire, dedicating his talents to the advocacy of a French taste, and corrupting the literature of Germany by a licentious pruriency of description, has found in Menzel an eloquent, and as we think successful, defender.

'It was Wieland,' he observes, 'who transported into our German woods and Gothic cities, the light spirit of Athens, though not without an admixture of the still greater levity and playfulness of French genius. Wieland united in his character the Gallo-mania with the Greco-mania. He was born in the first faith, he passed at a later age into the latter; but he perceived at once the deviations of Klopstock and Voss from the true path, and led back the German poetry from its pompous stiffness to the free and natural graces of France and of Greece. The German muse, moving with cheerful freedom in the days of the *Minnezeit* (Lovetime), attired in starched linen by the *Meister Sängers*,* disguised in a periwig and hoop petticoats after the 'Thirty Years' War, knew not how to dispose of her hands, and continued to play lackadaisically with her fan. To assign to grace its due place and importance, a genial spirit was required, in whom this tendency should be exclusively developed. Wieland appeared, the cheerful, amiable, refined Wieland, a genius exhaustless in grace and lightness, in wit and jest. We must first be acquainted with the stiff, disjointed, mannered, and puling period which preceded him ere we can appreciate the free movement of his genius. Wieland first restored to German poetry the free and fearless glance of a child of the world; a natural grace; a taste for cheerful merriment, and the power of affording it. Bold, humorous, imposing, he cut off relentlessly the pigtailed Philistines, stripped the blushing muse of her hoop petticoat, and taught the honest Germans of his day not to spend their time in playing with lambs in an ideal Idyllic world, like their predecessors the pastoral poets, but, by banishing the unnatural, to discover nature in the world as it is, and to let the limbs restored to liberty move easily, firmly, and in harmony.

'The genius of Wieland was most strongly attracted towards

* The period of the *Minnesingers*, or Swabian period of German literature,

' Greece. There he found the ideal of his graces ; there he im-
 ' bibed the clear stream of life and nature. Few minds have
 ' domesticated themselves in that home of the beautiful—and each
 ' after his own fashion. An existence like that of Greek society
 ' is too great to be comprehended by a single mind. Only a life
 ' commenced and continued under such a form of existence could
 ' fully prepare us for the task. But we stand at a distance from
 ' that world ; to few pilgrims is it vouchsafed to visit it, and even
 ' to these as to passing strangers. Wieland made the harmony
 ' and grace by which the whole life of Greece was interpenetrated
 ' his own. What Winckelmann did for the plastic arts, Wieland
 ' achieved for poetry. He taught us, by the example of the
 ' Greeks, to reacknowledge and to reproduce the beauty of nature.
 ' But while it is undeniable that he had successfully seized one of
 ' the prominent sides of Grecian existence, it is impossible to
 ' maintain that he has entirely penetrated either the spirit of
 ' Greek genius, or fathomed the profundity of the romantic.
 ' The plastic beauty of Greek architecture and statuary, the
 ' gaiety and harmony of the Grecian enjoyment of life ; and the
 ' mirror-like smoothness, mingled with depth, of the Greek philo-
 ' sophy ; all these seemed to stretch their rich and flowery
 ' blossoms to him partially as it were over the wall of Time,
 ' but nothing more. His Greek romances connect themselves
 ' only in a certain limited sense with the genius of Greece ; in
 ' other respects, they are completely the productions of Wieland
 ' and the offspring of his time ; in the creation of which also the
 ' French taste was by no means without its influence.

' His taste had turned towards the French in that original
 ' period of need which Frederick the Great and others of his time
 ' had felt so strongly. In knowledge of the world ; in a taste for the
 ' clear treatment of the subject, and of all its relations, the French
 ' had then far surpassed the Germans. Since Voltaire, however,
 ' these writers had followed in so imitative a routine track, that be-
 ' tween them and the wittiest author of later antiquity, Lucian,
 ' there was actually but little difference. When we find then that
 ' Wieland, in his romantic poems, takes for his models not only
 ' Ariosto, but also Voltaire and Parny : in his romances, not only
 ' Lucian and Cervantes, but also Crebillon, Diderot, and Cazotte,
 ' we cannot but admire the address with which, in the midst of all
 ' his levity, he lays aside the filthiness, the moral poison of these
 ' talented but depraved Frenchmen, and places beside the grace of
 ' antiquity and the grace of France, a younger German grace, fair,
 ' naïve, coquettish, but innocent with all her coquetry. The skill
 ' with which Wieland moderated the French frivolity does more
 ' honour to his taste than his adoption of it does discredit to him.

‘ He has been often censured, often denounced as the destroyer of the moral purity of our nation, and in particular, our modern old German Nazarenes and Whiners (Seufzrer) have long made him the mark for their special condemnation. When I first ventured to vindicate and to praise him, the world was astonished, as the numerous and absurd reviews of the first edition sufficiently proved. Our wise generation really thought themselves entitled to look down on Wieland. That gentle spirit, nature’s confident, through whose sun-illuminated existence a smiling genius seemed to move, and touching with Oberon’s lily sceptre the every-day realities of life, converted them into beauteous wonders: him whose clear calm-thinking spirit found in wisdom the measure of happiness, and moved towards the temple of Venus only through that of Urania; him, the graceful Apollo among the shepherds, a very present deity beside our German coteries, with skulls of more than Bæotian thickness; him did these prudish and malicious back-biters, with hanging mouth, blinking eyes, and folded hands, attempt to slander and defame. No! so long as the world knows what it is to smile and kiss, immortal Wieland, it will defend thee against these apes of the middle ages; and if ever a grace walked or shall walk on earth, in Wieland will she recognise her favoured son. It is not this natural and harmless merriment, but hypocritical sentimental unchastity, that we should condemn. Far from being the seducer of a nation from its purity, Wieland has rather brought back a people, already corrupted by the Gallomania, to decency and moderation, to cheerful and intellectual social enjoyment; it was the later sentimental and romantic writers, who, under cover of lofty and irresistible sensibilities, circulated that poison of morbid voluptuousness which was entirely foreign to the sound-hearted Wieland. It is not smiling pleasure we have to fear, but voluptuousness—earnest, brooding, weeping and praying—voluptuousness such as we find it in Goëthe’s, Heinsé’s, Frederick Schlegel’s, and similar writings.’

What Wieland did for poetry, Lessing performed for German prose. He gave it ease and strength, combining pellucid clearness of expression with profundity of thought. He has the clearness of Leibnitz, with a variety and consummate finish of style which his predecessor wanted. He works out his thoughts with the precision and polish of sculptured marble. Yet the labour is not visible, for he leaves on them no mark of the chisel. Menzel assigns him an almost equally high rank as a poet and as a critic, a view in which we cannot concur. Lessing himself fairly confessed that to poetry he had no claim; that he did not feel within himself ‘ the living spring working its way out by its

‘own strength, and shooting forth in pure fresh and glowing ‘streams. Every thing must be pressed out by dint of springs ‘and wheel-work.’ The true bent of his mind was not towards the creative art, but towards the investigation of its laws, and in this department he is a giant. It is true, that even in his criticism something of the same coldness is perceptible which we feel in his poetry. He does not readily warm into enthusiasm; he is too rigidly demonstrative, too anxious to be the Euclid of criticism.

Perhaps, however, this rigid and polemical style of criticism was a necessary consequence of the existing state of the public taste. Lessing seemed formed by nature for the task of clearing the ground for the reception of the good seed, by eradicating without mercy the noxious weeds which then encumbered the soil. To awaken the slumbering imagination of his country, and to give it a proper direction, it was first necessary to reform the intellect itself, and to teach men to think and reason rightly ere they gave the reins to their fancy: otherwise the probable transition would have been from the extreme of rigour to that of extravagance; from the cant of classical propriety and correctness, to the cant of romantic license and offensive sentimentalism. Hence the criticism of Lessing is naturally more of a destructive than of a constructive character; it is a continual crusade against the literary Philistines of his time. Single as he stood in the contest, he bore up with Atlantean shoulders against all opponents: wherever he turned in the conflict of opinions he made a wide and fearful opening in the ranks: in the struggle he neither gave nor took quarter. He bore down all opposition before him, and during the latter part of his life bestrode the world of criticism like a colossus in unquestioned supremacy.

His poetry, however, as we have already said, appears a less spontaneous product of his mind—a work of logical skill rather than of imagination. Emilia Galotti, for instance, is worthy of all praise, so far as regards the compactness of the plan; it has wit, eloquence, an appearance of symmetry and strong reasoning, but no one can be deceived into a belief that it is otherwise than prosaic. ‘We start, for soul is wanting there.’ Nathan the Wise appears to have more of the character of a great work of art. It flowed more naturally from the heart of Lessing, for it was the poetical developement of certain ideas of religious toleration which lay at the bottom of all his philosophy; in painting Nathan he painted himself or his friend Moses Mendelssohn, from whom many of his philosophical opinions took their rise. There is a certain pure Idyllic tone of serene wisdom, a Bramin-like character about it, which will always render it pleasing—but we find it

impossible to regard it with the same admiration with which it seems to be viewed in Germany. Menzel speaks with peculiar admiration of Lessing's management of the Iambic verse in this play. Goëthe, he says, thought only of melody and outward glitter, Schiller of impetuous force, and both deviated much from the natural and unpretending simplicity with which the Iambic had been treated by Lessing. 'The dramatic Iambic of modern plays has become too lyrical; with Lessing it approaches more nearly to prose, and is more dramatic.'

Passing over the interesting and well-written characteristic of Herder, we come to that portion of Menzel's work which has excited most attention and opposition in his own country—we mean his view of the genius and influence of Goëthe on German literature. The passage is too long to admit of being extracted as a whole, but the substance of his criticism we shall endeavour to exhibit in an English dress, before making any remarks of our own on his opinions.

'In Goëthe we perceive the exact contrast to Lessing. As Lessing emancipated the German mind from foreign influence, so Goëthe subjected it to this influence anew; as Lessing, with the whole powers and graces of his mind, combated sentimentalism, so Goëthe did homage to this womanish weakness of his time, and recommended it by his sweet strains, to all hearts . . . The only good connected with this tendency, and by means of which he attained his influence, was his mastery of *form*; the talent of language, of representation, of adornment. When we penetrate beneath this variegated cloud of form, we perceive the internal essence of his poetry, as of his whole life, to be egotism, not, however, the egotism of heroes and heaven-defying Titans, but that of Sybarites and players, the egotism of love of enjoyment, and of the vanity of an artist. Goëthe made himself the central point of creation, excluded all his neighbourhood whom he could not render serviceable to him; and, in truth, exercised, by means of his talents, a magical influence over weak minds; but he availed himself of his powers and of his lofty position, not to elevate, to improve, or to emancipate mankind; not to reveal or to advocate a great idea; not in the conflicts in which he was a contemporary, but not an actor, to combat for right, freedom, honour, or patriotism . . . If he found applause, he cared not for the sufferings of his country; he even vented venom against the free and manly movements of the time, the moment they began to disturb his tranquillity . . . Adoration of himself forms the substance of all his poems; his ideal was himself, the weak-hearted, voluptuous, vain child of fortune. In all his works, with the exception of some which are

‘mere imitations, this miserable ideal appears prominent, and is flattered and dandled with a truly apish affection. Werther, Clavigo, Weisslingen, Fernando, Egmont, Tasso, the Man of Forty Years, Edward in the Wahl-verwandtschaften, and Faust, all these are reflections of his ideal. At first he seems to have been somewhat ashamed of it; and if he paints Werther, Clavigo, and Weisslingen with evident partiality, as highly amiable and interesting, he represents them as punished for their weaknesses; for he thought that the public, to whom he appealed, still consisted of *men*, before whom he must blush, and to whom he felt it necessary, at least at the conclusion, to sacrifice his heroes. At a later period, when he perceived the growing influence of women and womanish men, and that the few true men who remained were driven into the background, he no longer gave himself that trouble; he no longer punished or made sacrifices of his heroes, but represented them with all their weaknesses and vanities as triumphant, particularly in his two great works, in which he has painted his own peculiarities, Wilhelm Meister and Faust.

‘Lessing was a man in a womanish time: Goëthe remained a woman in a manly one. How otherwise can we explain the position which he maintained in regard to his age? Had he not been so completely immersed in his vanity, love of comfort, and desire of enjoyment, he must have taken a part in the great interests of his country during the storms by which it was agitated.

‘Every word of his had the weight of an oracle, but he has never uttered one to incite his countrymen to honour, to animate them to noble thought or deed. He saw the world’s history pass before him with indifference, or only fretted a little when his hours of ease were broken in upon by the alarum of war. Till the French Revolution Germany had slumbered: by this event it was fearfully awakened. What feelings did it awaken in the heart of our poet? Should we not expect that he would either, like Schiller have been excited to enthusiastic sympathy with the new order of things, or, like Görres, glowing with shame for the treachery and deep misery to which Germany was subjected, have striven to rouse his country to the recollections of its ancient honour and greatness? Yet what did Goëthe? He wrote some trifling comedies, the *Bürger General*, and the *Aufgeregten*, the weakest assaults which Germany has made against the French Revolution, the most worthless which in that hour of divine indignation could have been conceived by human brain. Then came Napoleon—What did the first of German poets think and say of him? Surely either, like Arndt and Körner, he must have invoked curses on the destroyer of his country, and placed himself at

‘ the head of the Tugendbund ; * or if, in German fashion, he was more a cosmopolitan than a patriot, we might at least expect him, like Lord Byron, to seize and embody the deep tragic meaning of the hero and his fortunes. But what did Goëthe ? He waited till Napoleon bestowed on him a few flattering expressions, and then he indited for him a spiritless epithalamium. Napoleon fell : and Germany shook with the roar of battles, in which the people were the combatants ; since the conquest of the world by Attila, nothing so vast, so overpowering, had been witnessed by man ; since the destruction of the legions of Varus, the German breast had never been heaved so high by the awful inspiration of freedom. What was then the employment of the first of German poets ? What did Goëthe ? He shut himself up : he studied Chinese, as he himself complacently relates, and first found it convenient, after peace was concluded, and after solicitation from high quarters, to compose something patriotic, viz. the Waking of Epimenides, a miserable patch-work, a piece of constrained and simulated sympathy. To conclude, he was intrusted with the duty of composing an inscription for the monument of Blucher, and the first of German poets wrote a few paltry verses, which would have done no credit to the last of German poets. . . .

‘ That Goëthe never entered the lists for the honour of Germany was of less injurious consequence than that the resources of his rich mind should have been lavished in favouring the progress of its debasement. He was the creator of that widely diffused modern poetry, which, under the pretext of abiding by and exhibiting the fair side of reality, had for its true object the embellishment and defence of all its weaknesses, vanities, follies, and sins. Goëthe has not laboured to ennoble the present by any poetical idealization ; he has not even adhered to that Homeric simplicity and openness of delineation which adheres truly and closely to nature as it is, but his prevailing tendency is to take under his protection, on the one hand, the sentimental absurdities, the womanish weakness of character, which made us ripe plants for the giant scythe of Napoleon ; and on the other, the aristocratic privileges of frivolity, the polite exceptions from moral rules, the poetical licenses to which the Don-Juan nature is entitled. The one necessarily required the other. His aristocratic libertinism could only have been tolerated by the side of this civic sentimentality. So Goëthe

* A well-known patriotic association of the time.

‘ found his public : for his egotism whatever was right ; and
 ‘ so he wished it to remain. . . .

‘ He was the most perfect mirror of modern life—in his life as
 ‘ in his poetry. He had but to paint himself, to depict the modern
 ‘ world—its views, its inclinations, its worth, and worthlessness.
 ‘ The same *talent* which he shows in his works he rendered avail-
 ‘ able in life. And who can deny that his example has become the
 ‘ life-maxim of the modern world ? The talent of social existence,
 ‘ the knowledge of the comfortable, the light, the refined ; the
 ‘ connoisseurship of enjoyment was his talisman in reality, and
 ‘ seemed to him also the worthiest subject for poetry. To this he
 ‘ owed a popularity which no ancient or romantic poet, with the
 ‘ exception of Schiller, ever attained. The noble, the humane,
 ‘ gave their voices for Schiller—the reigning opinion, the fashion
 ‘ of the moment, was in favour of Goëthe. Schiller writes for the
 ‘ noble of all time ; Goëthe was the idol of his own, and he was,
 ‘ and could be so only by opening his mind with the same pas-
 ‘ siveness and indifference to its weaknesses and its unnatural
 ‘ character, as to that remnant of nobleness which it still retained.
 ‘ The tone of modern society he represents to the life. The
 ‘ external decency, the politeness, the mask of cheerfulness in
 ‘ social intercourse, the insinuation, the *delicatesse*, the thinly
 ‘ disguised malice, the *aqua toffina*, which circulates like cold
 ‘ blood through the veins of educated and polished society—these
 ‘ magic arts of talent we may find developed by Goëthe with con-
 ‘ summate mastery. His works form a school of polite culture,
 ‘ from which manners may be refined, and round him flocks an
 ‘ innumerable army of young men—the disciples and apostles of
 ‘ this gospel of politeness, the indefatigable opponents of the
 ‘ ancient rudeness, the *jeunesse dorée* of Germany. Under this
 ‘ smooth and smiling mask is concealed a refined epicurism, a
 ‘ sensuality and appetite for enjoyment, which, refine it as we
 ‘ may, still remains thoroughly mean and unworthy, which jests
 ‘ at every thing earnest and sacred, and allures its lightly seduced
 ‘ votaries into an earthly paradise—into that Venusberg, from
 ‘ which there is no issue to the light of day. . . .

‘ Goëthe has always trod in beaten paths. His first work, the
 ‘ Sorrows of Werther, is nothing but a clever imitation of Rous-
 ‘ seau's new *Heloise*. This visionary sentimentalism proceeded
 ‘ not from Goëthe but from Rousseau ; and Goëthe wreathed
 ‘ his brows with a laurel, which of right belonged to him of
 ‘ Geneva. With all this, Werther is inferior to the *Heloise*,
 ‘ however attractive some of its pictures may be.

‘ In his slighter comedies, such as the *Accomplices*, Goëthe

‘ copied Molière and Beaumarchais, without equalling them. In his earliest prosaic-tragedies, he took Lessing, and partly Shakspeare, for his models. Clavigo is a weak copy of Emilia Gallotti. Goetz of Berlichingen, and Egmont, betray a mixture of the styles of Lessing and Shakspeare. The beauties of Goetz are chiefly owing to the well-known and true-hearted autobiography of the knight; yet in these prose tragedies there is nothing which can entitle them to take their place beside those of Shakspeare and Lessing—they are deformed by coquetry and affectation.

‘ In his lyric poems, Goëthe copied the ancient popular songs, and scrupled not, while he adopted these, occasionally to claim for himself the merit of their invention. In this department he was influenced by Herder, as in those already alluded to by Rousseau and Lessing. In Hermann and Dorothea he copied old Voss.

‘ Goëthe is truly original only in Faust and Wilhelm Meister, because here, as already mentioned, he copied—himself.’

That there is much in this estimate of Goëthe's character, moral, intellectual, and poetical, which is of questionable truth, and some things which are unquestionably not true, we believe; but, on the other hand, there is much in it to which the warmest and ablest of his admirers have never yet made a satisfactory answer. It matters not much whether we give him credit only with Menzel for the perfection of mere talent, or whether we, with more justice, admit his claim to a large portion of poetical *genius*. In either case, we cannot ascribe to him the highest and purest quality of genius, that which regards poetry as a divine gift, a talent intrusted to human hands to be put to account, and to be employed only on the noblest subjects, to be expended only in forwarding, elevating, and purifying the heart, and the great destinies of men. There is an unholy admixture of egotism and selfishness in that mind, which, instead of interesting itself in the great interests of the time, shuts itself up forever in a passive tranquillity; there is a want of that diviner spirit which shines conspicuous in Milton and Schiller in him, whose source of inspiration is but a refined materialism, and from whose writings no other principle of conduct is to be derived, but that of conforming ourselves to the world, and making its weaknesses and worthlessness tributary to our enjoyment. A Milton and a Schiller would have disdained to influence their age by ministering indifferently to its virtues or its follies, gilding over its hollowness, and placing the chief aim of existence in the cultivation of the beautiful, and the substitution of a fanciful system of refined Epicurism, an atheism of art, as Novalis happily styles it, for the

solid bulwarks of religion, and the active duties which Providence has prescribed to us in this 'weary working world.'

So far, then, as regards the spirit and tendency of Goëthe's works, we concur with every thing which Menzel has said. He was assuredly not one of those, 'whose soul was as a star, and dwelt apart.' He was content to lend himself to the influence of the spirit of his age, that he might, within his own favourite, but by no means elevated sphere of operation, influence it in turn. He has been its organ, but when has he been its legislator, its reformer, or its guide? A mind of the very highest order would not, from the mere pride of showing its plastic powers on all subjects, have betrayed in its pictures of life that indifference to the moral qualities of actions, and to the moral effect of the situations represented, which Goëthe manifests in all his novels, where the malice, the selfishness, the secret vices, the grovelling motives of society, are portrayed with the same indulgence, the same complacency, the same graceful finish of pencil—(which led Novalis to call Goëthe the Wedgewood of German literature)—as its traits of generosity, and kindness, or redeeming feeling; all being seemingly regarded as matters in which there lies no essential beauty or deformity, but which are to receive their character from the artist-like skill with which they are handled. Nay, sometimes, as if by a peculiar degree of moral perverseness, he seems purposely to have selected (as in some of the scenes of the *Wahlverwandschaften*, which we are glad to see, for the credit of the public taste, has *not* yet found a translator) that class of delineations which he knew that the common feelings of right-minded men would have proscribed, merely to exhibit a literary *tour de force*, and to make the skill of the artist more apparent, by contrast with the almost revolting groundwork on which it was to be exercised. Goëthe certainly gained by this means the immediate popularity and patronage of that part of society whose vices he touched, with all the delicacy of one who never mentions hell to ears polite, and around whose better qualities he had thrown the charm of an inimitable style, and of the utmost subtlety and refinement of delineation. They hastened to return the obligation, by elevating their apologist at once to the high-priesthood of poetry, well aware that they had little to dread from the strictness with which the law was likely to be enforced at his hands. But to all who feel the close, the inseparable connexion which should subsist between the aim of literature and the cultivation of the heart, there is something in these novels of Goëthe which is chilling and deadening in a high degree. Amidst all the polished beauty and marble grace of their execution, we regard them with cold admiration, not with sympathy; we feel that they

contain nothing by which we can be made wiser and better ; and we turn in disappointment from the man who, when we ask for bread, coldly presents us with a stone.

But while we thus subscribe to the truth of most of Menzel's opinions in regard to the moral defects of Goëthe's works, and the injurious effect on literature which is likely to have been produced by that supremacy over the German mind which he has enjoyed without a rival since the death of Schiller, we cannot but feel the injustice and prejudice which is apparent in the concluding observations of Menzel on the want of originality, or even merit in a purely literary point of view, in most of his productions. To say that Werther is a mere echo of the *Heloise*, that the inspiration which gave birth to that remarkable production was entirely derived from Rousseau, is almost ludicrously unjust. Rousseau's *Heloise* embodied only the passionate longings of a single morbid and most peculiarly constituted mind : Werther was the organ through which the complaints, the restlessness, the hopelessness ; in short, the whole spirit and essence of a most remarkable era in the progress of human existence was vented in burning words, and with all the sincerity of one to whom (though at the moment of its composition he had outlived that morbid state of mind, in which it had its rise) the moral and political chaos which ushered in the close of the eighteenth century was still, in its stern and awe-inspiring reflections, painfully present and familiar. Werther is no copy from a French original ; it is a portrait, painted as *we*, no doubt, are apt to think, in startling outlines, in theatrical colours, of what Goëthe himself, in the first flush of youth, had been,—of what half the youth of Germany had been during those days of reckless enquiry and self-satisfied illumination ; the image of youthful presumption, full of gigantic projects for the reform of a degenerate world, which, however, result in no action, but evaporate in a puling and washy sentimentalism ; aspiring to rule over others, yet incapable of controlling a single passion, vice, or propensity of its own ; dashing itself with a vain effort against the barriers of society, yet without the manliness to endure the wounds and bruises which are the necessary result. A painful picture, no doubt, and to us—as we have said, far removed from the scene of action, or rather of confused babble, ending in no action whatever,—dashed, as it now seems, with a tinge of fierceness and extravagance. But the immediate and universal sensation which it produced on all who had been spectators or actors in this troubled scene, is a sufficient proof that the picture was one of strong resemblance and of deep interest and significance ; and one for which Goëthe was indebted, not to Rousseau, but to his own

accurate and acute poetic vision, which enabled him to discern with instinctive and prophetic eye the brooding and convulsive spirit of the age, as it floated before him; and with a gloomy but fascinating eloquence to give to its dim and uncertain lineaments colour and form.

In the observations on Goëthe's comedies, there is more justice. To Molière's, indeed, they have little resemblance; but a likeness to those of Beaumarchais is not unfrequently perceptible. In any view they are not entitled to a high rank. Of the *vis comica*, Goëthe had extremely little. He was always too intent on preserving his dignity, to abandon himself with sufficient nature and unreserve to the comic capabilities of his subject. 'Even his commonest thoughts,' says Menzel, not without truth, 'he used to dress up in silk stockings, and made them a low bow at parting.' But from the observations on Clavigo, Egmont, and Goetz of Berlichingen we entirely dissent. We believe Menzel monopolizes the opinion that Clavigo is either a weak copy, or indeed has any one point of connexion with Emilia Galotti. Egmont, if it be inspired by the spirits of Shakspeare and Lessing, has at least a decided and substantive individuality, and, with all deference, appears to us to be much superior to any drama which Lessing has ever attempted. It is still more prejudiced and ridiculous to ascribe the merits of Goetz of Berlichingen to the old autobiography of Goetz himself. The chronicle might, indeed, suggest a hint; but where, in the autobiography, were to be found the materials for this brilliant, comprehensive, and moving picture of the sixteenth century, with its contending religious creeds; the one defended with all the constancy of determination, founded on time-honoured faith, the other advocated with the equally conscientious zeal of newly-awakened Protestantism;—of the sixteenth century, with its struggles between feudal power and imperial despotism, the spirit of chivalry and the spirit of commerce;—the sixteenth century, with its iron-handed yet gentle-hearted warriors, like him of the iron hand himself; its noble matrons; its pure and simple-minded maidens, who, where they have once placed their hearts, with such bewitching and trusting openness bestow their hands; with its luxurious abbots; its weak and wavering court minions; its sweet and natural transitions from the battle and the banquet, to the stillness and household seclusion of ancestral castles, overhanging the silver-blue Maine or the winding Rhine; a pageant which first awakened the powers of Scott, and which Scott himself, in his brightest creations, has scarcely surpassed?

Of his lyrics we shall only say that while they may have owed something to the popular ballads, which Goëthe thoroughly studied,

and the spirit of which he has caught with peculiar tact and beauty, their beauties, their peculiar charm, is in a great measure their own. We find, however, that our own opinion, in regard to Goëthe's lyrical pieces, has been so well expressed by the most eloquent of his English critics, that we beg to substitute his estimate of them for our own. 'Goëthe is no where more entirely original, more fascinating, more indescribable, than in his smaller poems. One quality which very generally marks them, particularly those of a later date, is their peculiar expressiveness, their fulness of meaning. A single thing is said, and a thousand things are indicated. They are spells which cleave to our memory, and by which we summon beautiful spirits from the vasty deep of thought. Often at the first aspect they appear commonplace or altogether destitute of significance; we look at the lines on the canvas, and they seem careless dashes, mere random strokes representing nothing save the caprices of their author; we change our places, we shift and shift, till we find the right point of view, and all at once a fair figure starts into being, encircled with graces and light charms, and by its witcheries attracting heart and mind. In his songs he recalls to us those of Shakspeare; they are not speeches, but musical tones; the sentiment is not stated in logical sequence, but poured forth in fitful and fantastic suggestions; they are the wild wood-notes of the nightingale. They are to be *sung* not *said*.'

We feel the necessity, however, of breaking off somewhat abruptly from the subject of Goëthe, in order to spare room for a portion of Menzel's remarks on Schiller, who is his poetical ideal, and whom he delights to exhibit in favourable contrast with his great, but, as he thinks, over-estimated rival. We confess, in this respect, we most cordially and warmly second his views. The fame of Schiller is now placed on the sure basis of experience; and it may be safely said it has not declined since the close of his earthly career. We shall be much mistaken if that of Goëthe, great as it will always justly remain, be not shorn of many of its beams within an equal period. No two writers or men could be more decidedly contrasted in the character of their minds, or the principles of their composition. What Goëthe's views in these matters were, we have already seen; Schiller, on the contrary, though the experience of manhood modified the vehemence of youth, never ceased to his latest hour to regard literature, not as the object of his plastic dexterity, not as a mere airy allegoric dream, but in its most earnest and exalted aspect; he turns with disgust from the mean, the commonplace, the transitory; he invests all he looked upon with grandeur even the barest realities of

life come forth from his hand with an ideal 'colouring of beauty and love ; he clothes, like his own Wallenstein,

‘ The palpable and the familiar
With golden exhalations of the dawn.’

What Goëthe wants, he possesses in perfection ; he cannot be indifferent to the subject of which he treats ; he seems to have thought it impossible to bestow the name of poetry on that which, while it imitated, did not also exalt and idealize humanity. His earnestness of character, the depth and sincerity of his convictions, rendered it impossible for him to descend to an æsthetic coquetry with the great interests of literature and of mankind. He resembles Goëthe only in this, that as Goëthe in his ideal creations draws from himself as his own ‘ great original,’ so Schiller lends his own nobleness of soul, his own simplicity, purity, and unstudied dignity to all the creations of his genius. All of them resemble each other, for all of them resemble him. They may be compared to the spectres of the Brocken, for they are all shadows of himself, magnified upon a sun-gilt medium of cloud.

This is the source of the deep charm of Schiller's writings ; their wonderful blending of passion with purity ; of the liveliest, the most enthusiastic sympathies, with a philosophic breadth and comprehensiveness of view. But all we could say on this subject has been said so truly and so much better by Menzel, that we shall conclude this desultory article by extracting the conclusion of his noble panegyric on Schiller, with every word of which we concur.

‘ The heroes of Schiller are distinguished by a nobleness of nature which acts on us like the pure and perfect beauty of a picture of Raphael ; by something regal which awakens in us a holy awe. This beam of higher light, cast into the dark shadows of earthly ruin, only shows the clearer ; under the mask of hell the angelic countenance shines forth the more resplendent and lovely.

‘ The first secret of this loveliness lies in the angelic innocence which always forms the deep basis of the noblest natures. This nobility of innocence reappears under the features of a pure youthful angel in all Schiller's creations. In sun-like transfiguration, in the form of pure childhood, wholly unarmed, and yet invulnerable, it manifests itself in Fridolin, like the king's son in the story, smiling and playing with the wild beasts of the forest, and yet uninjured by them.

‘ The moment they become conscious of their own bliss, that moment the envy of destiny is awakened against them. In this new and pathetic aspect, we contemplate them as Hero and

‘ Leander. Adorned with the warlike helmet, their cheeks flushing with the glow of noble passion, youthful innocence advances confident against all the dark powers of hell. Thus has Schiller represented them in the Diver and the Surety—in the unfortunate lovers Charles de Moor and Amelia—in Ferdinand and Louisa—above all in Max Piccolomini and Thekla. Above these touching forms, floats a magic of poetry which has never yet been equalled; it is the note of a flute amidst a peal of wild and dissonant music—a glimpse of blue sky amidst a storm—a paradise upon the edge of a crater.

‘ If Shakspeare's female creations appear to possess more of the charm of a lily-like purity, the virgins of Schiller possess more of that soul of the lily, its powerful and lively perfume, and approach nearer to the creations of Sophocles. They are not weaklings, like the saints of Carlo Dolce or Correggio; they have in them a sacred fire of strength, like the Madonnas of Raphael; they do not merely touch, but inspire us.

‘ The purity of the virgin appears most prominent at the moment when she stands forth as the champion of God. It is the deep mystery of Christianity and of Christian poetry that the salvation of the world proceeds from a woman—the highest power from the purest innocence. In this sense has Schiller composed his Maid of Orleans; and she is the most perfect embodiment of that warlike angel who wears the helm and bears the banner of heaven.

‘ Schiller has succeeded also in portraying this virgin innocence in union with the noblest developement of genuine manhood. Among these, three holy and heroic forms stand out pre-eminent; the warrior youth, Max Piccolomini, pure, unspotted by all the vices of the camp and of his home; the Marquis Posa, whose soul, though adorned by all intellectual culture, has yet remained the unsullied temple of innocence; and lastly, that strong and simple-hearted son of the mountain, William Tell, a fit companion to the Maid of Orleans.

‘ If in them innocence shines forth in its purest glory, Schiller knew also how to represent the conflict between this original innocence and the guilty stain induced by strong passions; and he has called up before our souls the representation of this contest with the same love and the same perfection of art. How deeply does the Magdalen-like character of Mary Stuart sink into our hearts! What can be more touching than Karl Moor's conquest over himself! How incomparably talented, true, and agitating is the mental conflict which shakes the great souls of Fiesco and Wallenstein!

‘ We turn now to the second secret of beauty in Schiller's ideal

' characters ; this is their nobility, their honourable nature. His
 ' heroes and heroines never belie that pride and dignity which are
 ' the appanages of noble natures ; every thing that emanates from
 ' them bears the stamp of magnanimity and inborn nobleness.
 ' They are the antipodes to all that is common, and to all the
 ' conventional rules by which common natures are led and fet-
 ' tered. Powerful, free, self-relying, original, following only the
 ' impulse of a noble nature, Schiller's heroes tear in sunder the
 ' nets in which common men drag along their everyday exist-
 ' ence. It is highly characteristic of Schiller's poetry, that his
 ' heroes bear along with them that stamp of genius, that imposing
 ' majesty of deportment, which in actual life distinguishes the no-
 ' bility of nature. The seal of Jove is impressed upon all their
 ' brows. In his first poems, no doubt, this freedom and boldness of
 ' bearing displays itself in a somewhat rugged and uncouth form ;
 ' and in the elegant Weimar the poet himself was afterwards in-
 ' duced to attempt the task of bestowing some tincture of refinement
 ' upon his Robbers. But who could fail through the rough crust to
 ' discern the pure diamond of the noble nature that lay beneath ?
 ' Whatever weaknesses we may point out in Moor, in Cabal and
 ' Love, and in Fiesco, I can look upon them only as those of the old
 ' German hero Perceval, who, even as an untutored boy, and in
 ' childish garb, manifested his noble and heroic heart, to the con-
 ' fusion of all scoffers ; nay, the power of moral beauty in a noble
 ' nature can never be more touching, more fascinating, than when
 ' it so unconsciously exposes itself to a one-sided ridicule.

' The third and highest secret of the beauty of Schiller's crea-
 ' tions is the fire of noble passions. This is the fire which ani-
 ' mates every noble heart ; it is the fire of the ascending sacrifice
 ' to the powers of heaven—the vestal flame guarded by consecrated
 ' hands in the temple of God—the Promethean spark brought
 ' down from heaven to infuse a godlike spirit into mankind—the
 ' Pentecost fire of inspiration in which souls are baptized—the
 ' phoenix flame in which our race renews its youth for ever. With-
 ' out the glow of noble passions, there can be nothing great either
 ' in life or poetry. Genius ever bears within it this celestial
 ' fire, and all its creations are interpenetrated by it. Schiller's ideal
 ' creations are the legitimate offspring of his own noble heart ;
 ' parted beams from his own central fire. The honour of pos-
 ' sessing at once the purest and the strongest passion belongs to
 ' Schiller above all other poets. None with so pure a heart ever
 ' possessed so much fire ; none with so much fire possessed such
 ' purity. Thus we see the purest of earthly substances, the
 ' diamond, when once inflamed, burn with a splendour and a
 ' glow, beside which all other fire seems dim and troubled.

‘Where, we ask, is love to be found more chaste, more sacred, than that which Schiller felt and breathed into the souls of his lovers? And where, on the other hand, do we find it so glowing and powerful—invincible against a world in arms—awakening the deepest energies of the soul—patiently enduring the most trying of sacrifices? From its earliest and softest charm—from the first meeting of the eyes—from the first light beating of the heart to the most convulsive tempest of feeling—from the overpowering deed of virgin valour to the sublime sacrifice of two loving souls,—love here unfolds before us the incalculable riches of its beauty—like a sacred music rising from the softest note into the fullest storm of pealing chords.’

With this eloquent tribute to our favourite Schiller we take our leave of Dr Menzel. The quotations we have made will, we admit, give little or no idea of the views which he entertains of German literature at the present day, or his hopes and fears in regard to its future prospects; but we hope we have quoted enough to satisfy our readers that his views on these subjects are not likely to be commonplace in conception, deficient in comprehensiveness, or feeble in expression, and to induce them to satisfy themselves on these points by a perusal of his volumes.

ART. VIII.—*The most Striking Events of a Twelvemonths' Campaign with Zumalacarre in Navarre and the Basque Provinces.* By C. F. HENNINGSEN, Captain of Lancers in the Service of Don Carlos. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1836.

THE subject of these volumes has, at the present moment, an interest of a very painful kind to every person of humane and generous feelings. General reflections upon the character of nations, casting blame upon men in the mass, are at all times, if not to be avoided, yet to be cautiously and temperately applied; for they have a tendency to exasperate communities against each other, and seldom work any amendment in those who are the subject of them. Indeed, when men are plunged in crime, or sunk in error, by thousands and hundreds of thousands, they are pretty much removed above the reach of what to individuals is public opinion; they form themselves the public, and look to no other judge of their conduct. If then we shall, either from the pages of this book, or in speaking our own sentiments, be led to express the indignation and disgust so generally felt in the more civilized parts of Europe at the late proceedings in Spain, it is rather in the hope of affecting individuals, than bodies of

men—whom, if these pages ever could reach, they assuredly never would touch, and who may yet be influenced by the conduct of those above them, both belonging to their own country and to ours. But before making any reflections upon the contest in question, the execrable manner of carrying it on, and the practical inferences arising out of it, we shall direct the reader's attention to Mr Henningsen's book; which, whatever we may think of his principles (and it would not be easy to find a person with whom we are less disposed to agree in almost all of his opinions), is, we are bound to say, a very entertaining one, and well worth reading. We are, moreover, quite ready to give credit to his narrative, because, with all the leaning possible towards those whom he served under, he tells truths which are extremely unfavourable to them, in almost every page of his volumes. We must observe, however, that there is, probably owing to the difficulty of keeping a journal, great want of particularity in many portions of the work; and as for dates, these are scattered very sparingly through the book from beginning to end. Nay, there would be no small difficulty in telling when he went to Spain, and when he left it. We are only informed that he served a year; and it is chiefly by laying things together, as Lord Elliot's mission, and Zumalacarre's death, that we are enabled to conclude this year was from some time about the expiry of 1834 to the like season, or something later, in 1835. He speaks of a battle on the 2d May, soon after he joined.

Before beginning his narrative, Mr Henningsen discusses, in some preliminary chapters, the state of Spain, the character of the Spaniards, and the general aspect of affairs, as regards the existing contest. Into these subjects we do not mean to enter at length; but we shall advert to some of his statements.

Notwithstanding his strong Tory opinions, he certainly is no adulator of the upper classes, at least in the Peninsula. After remarking that the classes in England which we consider as the most respectable, 'produce nothing, and therefore live on the 'sweat of the labourer's brow,' and concluding from this, that those classes, instead of having 'predominant weight, ought 'rather to be subservient in every country, but especially in 'Spain,' he proceeds to describe the aristocratic or superior classes, as 'totally degenerated and demoralized—selfish, treacherous, 'and effeminate.' He paints them in yet darker colours. They retain of their former high spirit only 'a Moorish ferocity,'—their national love of honour has 'dwindled to a self-sufficient vanity; avaricious, licentious in manners and in morals;' 'cold-hearted, sordid, and dastardly, without either the vices or virtues of barbarians,' 'universal corruption has destroyed their 'civilisation.' He then tells us that this description applies to

‘about one-tenth’ of the nation—including, however, ‘all that we are wont to term the *respectability*, and possessing the wealth, the commerce, and the government of the state.’ And he affirms, with a confidence which certainly can be justified by no intercourse that he could possibly have had with the upper classes during his campaign in the Basque provinces, although he certainly may have been in Spain at other times—that those will not find his picture overcharged, who have ‘mingled with their titled nobles, their statesmen, their high orders of clergy, their commercial classes, their citizens generally, their military and their rabble.’ The rest of the people, by which he means the peasantry, he praises highly for independence and high spirit. It is true he admits there are defects. ‘The Spanish peasant,’ he says, ‘is indolent and cruel, but his faults are redeemed by many noble traits.’

The author’s opinion, both of the one class and the other, has, we take it, been not a little biassed, and in his situation naturally enough, by finding the whole strength of the Carlist party to be among the peasantry. We suspect, however, that he somewhat exaggerates the proportion in which they are devoted to Don Carlos. Indeed he broadly asserts that they are all for him; not merely in the north, but in every part of Spain, while it is only in the great towns that the majority is for the Queen; and even there, he thinks, favour her cause either from interested motives, or from republican principles, which they expect will be advanced by what he terms the usurpation. It certainly would not be at all fair to judge of Mr Henningsen’s information, or, in general, of the merits of his book, by the opinions which he gives on parts of the country where he does not appear ever to have been:—certainly not of late. The account of what he saw himself is the portion of the work to which we attach value, and to that, therefore, we now proceed.

Nothing of the kind can be better or more lively than the account of seeking his way across the frontier, from Bayonne, to join the army. The roads were so strongly guarded, that he had to put himself under the guidance of an experienced contrabandista, or smuggler, and they had to make a great circuit, though the direct road is not more than five leagues.

‘It was now nearly dark, for he had chosen the period of the new moon for our expedition. As he rode along whistling, he was joined by an old woman, to whom probably he had been making a signal. She spoke a few words in Basque, which appeared so little satisfactory to him, that we struck off into another road, when he informed me that we must sleep in France that night, but it would be very near the frontier.’

there is a material difference between a war carried on by a foreign enemy, in a country where he is hated, and becomes the more odious the longer he remains, and a civil war in which the established government gains strength by every month it continues to rule. He therefore made the war as harassing and destructive as he could; and our author affirms that the loss of the Queen's troops was upwards of 50,000, during his command against them—in the course of which they were forced to evacuate sixteen fortified places. We are now to see a little more nearly how this frightful contest was carried on. It must be premised that we avowedly abstain from all attempts to decide between the two parties the question, constantly raised by their adherents, of which began the system. Nor shall we make any endeavour to apportion the blame, by examining how it was carried on by each. Mr Henningsen, being a zealous Carlist, of course imputes the whole to the Christinos, or Queen's party, and treats whatever was done on the side he fought with as just reprisals. The Christinos throw the whole upon Don Carlos, and naturally enough cite his execrable proclamation published at the beginning of the hostilities. We leave the question where we found it, and join the great body of our fellow-citizens, we may say of our fellow-creatures on this side the Pyrenees, in holding the conduct of both parties to be detestable beyond all former example.

One of the earliest traits of the spirit in which this hateful contest has been carried on, is to be found in the treatment of Zavala's two daughters. They had fallen into the hands of the Christinos, and were dragged about with the corps opposed to Zavala, for the purpose of preventing him from firing upon his enemies, in the daily skirmishes that took place with him.

'Zalva' (says our author), 'fearful of injuring his own children, was obliged to prevent his partisans from returning the enemy's fire, and precipitately to retreat. At length, driven almost to desperation between the reproaches of his party and his paternal feelings, he sacrificed the latter to his duty; and having harangued his followers, placed them in ambush near a little village, of which I have forgotten the name, situated between Guernica and the sea. The enemy, being informed of the circumstance, advanced along the road, leading forward as usual his two daughters. Zavala, in a firm voice, but with tears in his eyes, ordered his men to open their fire; and, instantly rushing in with the bayonet, was fortunate enough to recover his children unhurt: they had, however, narrowly escaped, two of those who held them being killed by the first discharge. His devotion was rewarded with victory; the enemy was dispersed and routed, and the regiment of Chinchilli left several hundred dead and wounded on the field.'

The first serious affair which occurred after Mr Henningsen

joined the Carlists, was that of Alsassua, in May 1834, when Quesada, the Queen's general, was defeated, with the loss of eighty-four prisoners; and a company of the guards taken prisoners, besides three hundred killed, and a great many more wounded. Among the prisoners was Count de Labispal, son of the well-known General O'Donnel, who happened to be in the engagement, from the circumstance of joining Quesada in order to have the benefit of his escort to Pampeluna, where he was going for the purpose of being married to a wealthy heiress of that place. He took part in the action, as our author observes, with all the courage which is hereditary in his family. According to our author's account, Quesada, in return for Zumalacarregui sending back two wounded Christino soldiers, had shot a wounded Carlist volunteer, and put an alcalde to death. Mr Henningsen shall relate what this ferocious chief now did by way of reprisals; or rather the chief himself shall be his own historian, for it is from his letter that the quotation is made. He wrote after the battle to the General of the Christinos, and 'declared his intention of ' shooting, by way of reprisals for the alcalde, Colonel O'Donnel, ' (Conde de Labispal), two officers of the guards, and one of carabineers; for a corporal shot at Pampeluna, six carabineers (who ' held the same rank in the line); and for each of two volunteers ' shot at Tolosa, six soldiers of the Guard; together with six ' others for a Carlist bayoneted at Calhatrova.' Mr Henningsen adds, 'he kept his word,'—that is to say, he butchered two-and-twenty wretched prisoners in cold blood. Labispal offered a ransom for himself, which would have equipped all his army; but he remained inexorable—and the old Count, his father, soon after died of a broken heart. It must be observed, in fairness towards the Christinos, that what Mr Henningsen relates of their proceedings, he necessarily has by hearsay, and by hearsay of their enemies; while all that he tells us of the Carlists he recounts as an eyewitness, and assuredly not one prejudiced against them. This statement we make without at all meaning to deny that atrocities have been committed upon the Queen's side as well as on that of the Carlists, any more than we are disposed to admit that their amount has been equal. The following circumstance gives, certainly, a picture of the Carlist General sufficiently repulsive. After a successful ambuscade, in which many were killed, and sixteen officers of the Queen's army, among others, taken prisoners, one of them, Count Via Manuel, was carried before Zumalacarregui, and greatly pleased him by the 'frankness and firmness' of his behaviour.

'He stated "that he always had and would entertain liberal opinions, which he considered it his duty to defend and diffuse, and for which he

had come voluntarily to fight; that he was aware that those who served the government had no right to expect mercy from the Carlists; but if mercy were shown him, he would give his word to take no further part against them, and consider his political life as concluded."

'Zumalacarregui was so well pleased with the openness of his character, that, although he followed as a prisoner, he was invited to his table, and treated with every distinction; and he wrote to Rodil, offering to exchange Via Manuel and others for an officer and some volunteers taken a few days before, giving man for man, and waiving the difference of Via Manuel's rank. This he never doubted a moment of Rodil's accepting. They were at dinner, at Lecumberri, when his answer was brought in to Zumalacarregui—that note contained only the following sentence:—"The rebels taken have suffered death already." This was clearly the sentence of the prisoner. Zumalacarregui handed it over to him with the same sang-froid with which he would probably have received it had it been the message of his own fate. Via Manuel changed colour. His host politely, but firmly, expressed his regret at being obliged to perform so unpleasant a duty, but informed him that he might be with his confessor till sun-rise. His life had been spared so long, that this intelligence came like a thunder-stroke on the unhappy grandee. At his request Zumalacarregui consented to delay his execution while he sent a message to the King intreating his clemency. He returned with the answer, that when soldiers and officers of inferior rank taken with arms in their hands had suffered death, it was impossible to pardon a Spanish grandee. Via Manuel was shot at Lecumberri, but did not die so well as his deportment at first announced—probably it was the shock of the sudden disappointment, after he had so long entertained hopes of life, which had unnerved him.'

The most considerable battle that this Carlist general ever fought was that of Vittoria, in October 1834, not far from the scene of the Duke of Wellington's famous victory, in 1813. The Queen's troops were commanded by General O'Doyle, who was totally defeated, and, with his brother, taken prisoner. The Royalists gave no quarter, but continued slaughtering their enemies till nightfall. Above 1700 were killed on that and the next day, when the battle was renewed with fresh troops, under another commander. 'Eighty-four prisoners,' says our author, 'were brought in (on the first day), whom the soldiers had made, when tired of killing; for, excepting in these few cases, no quarter was given. Even two chaplains of the Queen's army had been slain upon the field, as hitherto all the prisoners taken had been shot by the Christinos, not sparing even the sick and wounded, often as Zumalacarregui had set them the example of pardon.' These eighty-four prisoners were, however, all pardoned except the general and his brother, and several other officers. This exception, as regards O'Doyle, our author ascribes to Zumalacarregui having discovered that he had lately given his vote at a court-

martial for shooting some wounded Carlist prisoners. He is represented as having behaved without much firmness, and when he earnestly begged for his life, the Royalist 'turned his head in disgust, and said, "*un confessor luego*"' (a confessor for him immediately). A priest was brought accordingly, and after half an hour spent with him, the wretched man was shot on the place where he had been defeated.

At the battle next day the chief, by great exertions, stopped his men from slaughter, when they were refusing quarter. 'I do not think,' observes Mr Henningsen, 'that a hundred men were killed after he had given the order, although six hundred prisoners were taken.' The Carlist's humanity, however, was not of a very enduring cast, for the same day saw it out. An affair that evening took place, which, as our author allows, 'makes the blood run cold at the mere recital.' Between eighty and a hundred more prisoners were brought in, after those already mentioned had been sent to the rear of the army. The fresh ones were sent under a captain across the mountains; and having only thirty men to guard them through a rocky defile, he felt embarrassed when two made their escape, and sent to Zumalacarreghi for instructions. Let it be observed that their escape, or rather the escape of part of them, was the very worst that could happen; for certainly thirty armed men had nothing to fear from eighty or a hundred without any arms. '*Get cords,*' was the General's answer; but he was told that there were none to be had. '*Then put them to death,*' was the rejoinder. The messenger returned with it; but an aid-de-camp was immediately despatched after him, and the reader willingly hopes that it is to countermand the barbarian's former order. Very far otherwise—it was only to say, that in butchering the prisoners, 'care must be taken not to alarm Ituralde's division by the firing.' Ituralde was another Carlist chief. Mr Henningsen must himself finish the recital.

'The captain, who was an old Navarrese of Mina's school, on receiving this order, sent for a serjeant and fifteen lancers, and causing his men to fix bayonets, commanded them to charge into the midst of the unfortunate wretches, who were all miserably slaughtered on the spot. The scene is said to have baffled all description; the unfortunate victims were shrieking for mercy, and clasping the knees of their destroyers and their horses—several young officers were amongst the slain. We passed the spot where the massacre had been, but I did not hear until the next day all its horrors recited. I have always wished that this page, which tarnishes the glory of that victory, could be blotted from the history of the war; but in sketching its prominent features, while I feel as the partisan, I have resolved not to swerve from the impartiality of the historian.'

A passage like this in his life, puts an end to all question regarding the character of the hero of Mr Henningsen's book. It is one of the occasions upon which, whether it regards the conduct of men in a civil or in a military capacity—of ministers who are pressed by a view to what is called 'great interests being at stake,' or of commanders, who, in like manner, refer to the 'fate of a campaign;' or, it may be, 'of the war itself;' the answer is plain to every one's mind who has the principles and the feelings of a man, and instantly dictates, not always what is to be done, but always what must, on no account, be thought of. '*Let him die first*,'—is that answer; and not only let him die, but let all his 'great interests'—all 'his campaigns'—all 'his wars themselves'—be utterly sacrificed, and any risk be run and any mischief encountered, rather than defile the earth, and outrage heaven, with such frightful enormities.*

The fate of an unfortunate Vendean officer, who had through honest, however mistaken zeal, joined the Carlists, after sacrificing himself in his own country for the same principles, merits a place in these extracts. He fell into the hands of the Christinos by an accident, and a countryman of his own in that service, perceiving he was taken for a deserter, endeavoured to save him. The Vendean, however, boldly declared who he was, and avowed his principles, concluding by crying out in Spanish, '*Viva, Carlos quinto*.' 'He was sentenced,' says Mr Henningsen, '*by a court-martial*,' to be '*shot as a rebel*,' and his execution took place at sunset. He refused to kneel, and gave the signal for the fatal discharge by 'throwing his hat in the air and crying "Vive le Roi." He bequeathed to the curate of the village, after embracing it for the last time, a medal and a small coin, bearing the effigy of the Duke de Bourdeaux, given him by the Duchess de Berri, which he had worn next his heart, and from which 'nothing but death could have parted him.' That a Frenchman serving Don Carlos in Spain should be shot as a rebel to the Spanish Queen, by sentence of a court-martial, seems almost beyond what even the proceedings in this warfare could have prepared us for.

The Carlists, after a vigorous attack, took Villa Franca; and the small garrison of fifty men took refuge in the church. They

* The argument that if one does not commit such crimes another will, is often used in various disguises (for it is too gross to be openly urged), in defence of those who engage in them. Even for defending the conduct of subordinate agents, this does not generally suffice; but it never can for a moment be suffered in the case of principal actors.

had been notorious for their cruelties and their exactions on the neighbouring district; and the 'public voice' required that an example should be made of them. Such is the reason assigned for the horrors which ensued. Probably the Carlist journals would have pronounced that 'they highly disapproved of such misplaced 'lenity,' had it been otherwise. 'The church gates were battered down, and the men retreated into the steeple, where they barricaded themselves. There was no time for undermining, our author says, and 'therefore it was resolved to set fire to it. Piles 'of wood, tow, goat skins full of brandy, and other inflammable 'matter, were collected at the foot of the steeple, and the Baron 'de Los Vallos, having just arrived with the King, had been 'intrusted with the commission of setting fire to it.' It was soon found, that beside the garrison, there were in the steeple eight women and eleven children of their families, beside two women and two monks, their prisoners.

'Here was a striking picture of the horrors of civil war, even to ourselves, who had been accustomed to them for several months in every shape. Those which occurred during the burning of the church of Villa Franca we had never pictured to ourselves even in imagination. At about ten o'clock at night the tower was all in flames; but the garrison retreating higher and higher, still obstinately held out, and kept up an incessant fire on every object that presented itself. The shrieks of some, however, who had taken refuge in corners of the building where they were reached by the flames, as well as the women and children who saw the devouring element raging below, were now heard at intervals, and although orders were given to fire only on the men, it was often impossible to distinguish the dark figures that flitted before the light, endeavouring to obtain an instant breath of air out of the smoky atmosphere. It was repeatedly proposed to them to let the women and children out, but this they refused.'

The fire continued all night; towards morning faint cries of '*Viva el Rey*' proceeded from the women; but in answer to a question from the commandant as to quarter, Zumalacarregui, who commanded the Carlists in person, said 'that the men had 'none to hope for.' However they surrendered, and it was found that three women, one of them a Carlist, and a prisoner, had perished, and four children, with thirty of the garrison. The details of horror which are added, upon the steeple being stript, we need not give. They had, Mr Henningsen says, an appalling effect on the 'soldiers, intent as they were on scrambling for the 'spoil obtained by this melancholy expedition. The inhabitants 'of Villa Franca, however, seemed to have no such feelings, and 'were with difficulty prevented from massacring the prisoners.' He adds that the women were, as usual, the most violent upon this occasion, and that if a tenth part of what they reproached

the garrison with were true, it richly deserved its fate. - What *did* become of the miserable prisoners after they were dragged, half burnt and stifled from the church, is not distinctly stated. Their commander and his lieutenant were, however, shot, although the father of the former was an officer with Zumalacarregui, zealous in the Carlist service, present on the spot, and had an affecting interview with his son previous to his execution. He was prevented from interfering in his behalf, it seems, by the prevalence at one time of groundless suspicions of his own staunchness in the cause. But no one can, for a moment, suppose that his entreaties would have produced any effect.

The arrival of Mina to take the command of the Queen's troops did not, as is well known, at all turn the fortunes of the war in their favour. The Carlists pursued their system with continued success. The battle of Segura cost the Christinos nearly 1100 in killed and wounded. No prisoners appear to have been made. A few days afterwards, a regiment, which had given great offence to the Carlists by its cruel conduct at Madrid, was surprised and cut to pieces, only seventeen, with the colonel, escaping. Soon after, 170 prisoners were brought to the place where our author was. 'They were all shot,' he says, 'including thirteen officers.' The peasantry, as usual, took part in this horrid execution. 'So exasperated were they,' says our author, 'that they hung them up in their uniforms.'

It must have been with reference to this disposition of the people, that Mina made the declaration so often commented upon, of his intention to punish the inhabitants in the first instance, and not the soldiers of the Carlist party. But our author's account shows that the latter did not escape his vengeance. After repulsing Zumalacarregui at Ocaña, forty wounded Carlists were butchered by Varrena, acting under his orders. His threat against the peasantry was, it should seem, executed with dreadful punctuality. At one place, he burnt a village to the ground, and shot every fifth inhabitant, by lot, for having neglected to give him intelligence of the Carlist movements.

When Valdes succeeded him, and for the second time assumed the command, the expectations entertained of speedy success, both in this country and in France, are in the recollection of most readers; as is also the commercial panic which succeeded from the failure of these hopes, and the consequent bankruptcies among the speculators in Spanish securities. Zumalacarregui defeated him with great loss immediately after he arrived; above 1200 were killed and wounded, and only 80 prisoners made,—'so unmerciful,' says Mr Henningsen, 'was the spirit which animated our men;—and between three and four thousand men threw away

their arms, and probably returned, after the panic, to their colours. Of the prisoners, the greater part, as usual, were put to death; but Lord Eliot having arrived at that time to negotiate the convention, he succeeded in obtaining mercy for seven-and-twenty of them who had not yet suffered. To the convention, our author ascribes the saving of 5000 lives, during the short period of about two months that he continued with the Carlist army. That in spite of it, the utmost degree of atrocity has since marked the proceedings on both sides, is a fact, we fear, far too certain and too universally known to admit any dispute. The name of Cabrera—deeply do we grieve to add, the illustrious name of Mina—have both been, fatally for the reputation of those who bear them, brought before the world repeatedly during the present year. The scenes, too, at Barcelona almost exceed any thing that we have had the pain of contemplating in the volumes before us. To one of them, Mr Henningsen has alluded. The mob there inhumanly murdered 160 prisoners, and among them one of the O'Donnells, a colonel in the Carlist army. The horrors committed upon his mangled remains by those fiend-like cannibals are known to the reader; and we must not stain these pages with any more particular mention of them.

Although the greater part of the atrocities which we have been surveying were enacted by the authorities on both sides, yet it has occasionally appeared that the people were by no means unwilling to share in them. There are, indeed, in this book ample proofs that the spirit of cruelty, in its worst form and greatest excess, pervaded the whole of the districts where the war is now carrying on. The interest taken by the peasantry seems hardly capable of increase. Wherever a siege was going on, they used to flock from miles round. 'They generally 'shouted with joy,' says our author, 'when the red dust was 'seen, if any of the shells struck on the roofs—at every place we 'afterwards observed this was the case.' The following passage relates to the conduct of the peasantry after Valdes's defeat:—

'All the wounded, excepting those at the defile near Artasa, where the 6th battalion was routed, had been abandoned, and numbers lost and dispersed in the Sierra, were afterwards taken, or murdered without pity, by the enraged peasantry, whose cottages were still smoking. I know positively, that above two hundred privates and officers perished in this manner; and on one side of the Amescoas, from the extent of the ground that was the scene of action, I believe at least double that number to have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people.

'Already reduced for one day to half-rations of bread—the next without bread or wine,—wet through,—benumbed by the piercing cold of the mountains—if Valdes could have been kept another night in the Sierra,

his sixteen thousand men would have surrendered without firing a shot. Those who were killed by the peasantry had suffered so much, that they made no resistance; though bearing loaded muskets in their hands, they were killed with clubs and stones. I saw a young shepherd, who showed us his knotted stick, bloodied at the end, with which he boasted of having killed, separately, three soldiers, who, lost in the mountains, had been driven from their concealment by hunger. He seemed to take as much pride in the deed as if he had been destroying wolves of his own forests, and was surprised when I turned away with an expression of disgust.

The same feeling pervaded the soldiers of all ranks in the army; they urged on their officers to acts of cruelty, if, indeed, any such incentive was wanting. But, at any rate, no excuse whatever can be made for the officers throwing the blame upon the men. This is a defence never to be listened to, whether it be made for a civil or a military chief, whose duty is to stem the tide of bad passions, and not suffer themselves to be borne away by it. Mr Henningsen gives us a remarkable example of the good consequences which are sure to result from commanding officers manfully discharging their duty, in his account of the siege of Echari-Arenas, which capitulated, after a very stout resistance, to the Carlist forces. A mine had been prepared, and every thing was ready for firing the train, when the besiegers sent in a summons, threatening instantly to light the train, if the garrison did not surrender. 'When our men,' says Mr H. 'knew that an officer, with a flag of truce, had been sent in, suspecting that some capitulation would be effected, they were loud in their outcries, and shouting that not a single life ought to be spared, demanded to be allowed to attack the place instantly.' It happened that the officers had not the option; for as soon as the garrison were apprised of a second mine being ready (one having before exploded), many of them ran out, and joined the besiegers; those who remained surrendered without making any terms. 'They were,' says our author, 'in a dreadful state of suspense and anxiety as to their fate, and Zumalacarregui was a long time irresolute as to how he should dispose of them'—that is to say, whether or not he should gratify his men by the butchery of 458 prisoners. The reasons which inclined him to spare them are given with great *naïveté* and candour by Mr Henningsen. 'Persuaded that having now some artillery, and his army having considerably increased, it would be impossible for him to continue the system of shooting, although in reprisal, all that fell into his hands—or, moved by one of those sudden impulses of generosity, which in the hour of success seemed to direct his actions, he resolved to grant to all, not

‘only their lives, but a free and unconditional pardon, and to allow them to go where they pleased.’ But did the men object? Quite the contrary. Those who a few minutes before had been calling aloud for their blood, now eagerly pressed through the guard to share their rations with them. Our author does not ascribe this to the merciful determination taken by the general, but rather to a previous change of sentiment; but upon the facts stated by him, it seems quite clear that his resolution produced the effect which always will attend the steady performance of their duty by those in authority.

We have purposely abstained from entering into the question as to the probable result of this struggle; confining our statements chiefly to the peculiar character of the hostilities, with a view to the practical inferences which may be drawn from a consideration of it. It is not, however, unimportant in this view, shortly to observe, that confident as we may be, and undoubtedly have reason for being, in the ultimate success of the Queen’s Government, still the Carlist operations are hardly to be characterised as a mere insurrection, a partial rebellion. The force of that party is sufficiently formidable to justify the apprehensions of those who regard the termination of the war as still remote, and assuredly, even if they are mistaken (as we sincerely wish may be the case), the case is already, and has for a long time been one to which all the laws of war may upon the strictest principles be applied. That a large army has been raised and disciplined; that it is provided with artillery as well as other arms; that it has undertaken sieges, taken towns, gained pitched battles; that it is in complete possession of an extensive mountainous district of peculiar strength, and only prevented by want of cavalry from undertaking operations in the level country; that in the territory which it occupies the hearts of the people are entirely with it, and that this territory, indeed, comprehends one of the ancient kingdoms of the Peninsula;—all this is undeniably true, and much less would suffice to bring the case within the principles of public law, which require us to consider a party in opposition to the established government of a country as enemies, and not rebels, when they have attained a certain degree of power, and their resistance has maintained itself for a certain time. Colonel Evans, in his letter to the electors of Westminster of the 8th of April last, may not treat the Carlists altogether as the author of these volumes does; but it is manifest that he regards them as a very formidable enemy, although one whose overthrow he confidently hopes will before long be effected. But his expectations are built upon the consequences to be derived from the levy of 70,000 additional men just completed, and ‘many thousands of whom,’ he

says, ' had within a few days reached the field of operations.' This, too, be it observed, is said after the war had lasted above two years and a-half ; it is said nearly a year after the Carlists had sustained the irreparable loss of their greatest leader ; and above half-a-year after the British force of 8000 men had joined the Queen's troops.

The success of the Queen's cause we cannot avoid regarding as of the highest importance to the interests of liberty and good government in every part of Europe,—an importance proportioned to the countless evils which would ensue from the Pretender's gaining his crown. But in the same degree in which all friends of liberty must be anxious for its success, must they also be solicitous that it should be sullied by none of the crimes, so revolting to every feeling of our nature, which have but too often been mixed with the actions of its champions, and which must speedily turn all good men away from it, unless they are speedily stopped with a strong and steady hand. We hold it to be clear beyond all possibility of dispute, that no subject of this country ought to remain one hour in an army of any foreign prince, be he possessed of a throne, or be he fighting for a throne, if the rules of civilized warfare are not observed, either by refusing quarter or putting to death prisoners taken in battle. These are not acts of soldiers, but of felons ; not operations of war, but deeds of murder. The lawfulness of war, conduct it how you will, rests, Heaven knows, upon sufficiently narrow foundation, even guarded by all the rules which have been introduced among civilized nations for mitigating its severity, and covering it over with an exterior somewhat less repulsive to the feelings of our nature. Kept strictly within these limits, it is barely to be suffered, and to be regarded as justifiable ; (that is, of course, when waged in self-defence, or in what may be equivalent to self-defence, as well as according to the rules laid down). But once transgress those limits—once break through the rules—and there is an end of all justification, and ordinary murder and rapine are less criminal, because they are carried on necessarily upon a more restricted scale. Therefore we consider it clear, that on which side soever of the contest now existing in Spain the practices so universally condemned shall be suffered to continue,—on that side, no foreigner whatever can be found serving without incurring guilt of the highest enormity. It is not his country ; he owes no allegiance to its authorities ; he is under no obligation to share in its proceedings ; he is free to choose whether he will be an accessory to murder or not ; and if he adheres to those who commit the crime, although technical matters will save him from paying the penalty of it, he takes upon himself the load of its moral guilt. That such should be the state-

ment very distinctly made on the part of our countrymen to the leaders on both sides we think no man of plain common sense can doubt; and we have as little doubt that a statement so made would preclude the necessity of being required to act upon it.

We have left no room for any detailed remarks upon the literary merits of Mr Henningsen's book. His narrative of his own proceedings is marked by great modesty and propriety, but it enables the reader to perceive that he acted the part of a very gallant and active officer; one whom we should be greatly inclined to grudge, not only to the Carlists, but to any foreign service. His whole work is full of entertainment; it is also written without affectation, and tells his story distinctly as well as plainly. We have given extracts enough to let the reader judge of this for himself; but we shall add the account of the curate Merino, a well-known Guerrilla partisan on the Carlist side. He had before told us that this personage is 62 years of age, and was bred a goat-herd, but receiving an ordinary education at a neighbouring convent, attracted the notice of an old priest, who brought him up for the church, so that he obtained orders, and afterwards was appointed curate of his native village, Villaviado. In the French war he became a Guerrilla chief, and resumed his occupation in the present contest.

Merino is the true type of the Guerrilla chief. Of small stature, but iron frame, he can resist the greatest fatigues, and is wonderfully skilled in all martial exercises. His dress is rather ecclesiastical than military, and reminds one more of the curate than of the brigadier-general. He wears a long, black frock-coat, round hat, and a cavalry sword. The only luxury in which he seems to indulge is in having a good horse beneath him. He has two magnificent black steeds, which are not only renowned for their excessive speed, but are said to climb among the rocks and mountains like goats. These are both saddled and bridled, and have been trained always to keep abreast, so that at whatever pace the mounted one may go, the other is always by its side. Merino, when he sees that one is tired, leaps from one saddle into the other, even when they are going full gallop. He always carries, slung by his side, an enormous blunderbuss or trombone, the discharge of which, loaded with a handful of powder and a number of slugs, is said to be like that of a piece of artillery, and would fracture his shoulder if fired in the ordinary manner. But he places the stock under his arm, and holds the barrel tight with the other hand. The last effort the Christinos made to take him was by sending against him a colonel named Moyos, who had also been a chief of partisans much in Merino's style. This man, of gigantic frame and stature, was well acquainted with the country, and of undaunted energy. Merino favoured him with an early interview, and in the first skirmish he met his death from the discharge of a trombone, whether from that of the curate I could never learn. The curate has seen sufficient of the fidelity of partisans, it appears, to trust only an old servant, who has been with

him for the last forty years. Every evening, when he has disposed of his men, he rides away for the night, no one, excepting his faithful servitor, knowing whither he has gone. This has given rise to a report that he never sleeps above a few minutes in the twenty-four hours, a story in which the Castilians place implicit faith, and, indeed, they may well believe any thing of a countryman who neither smokes nor drinks wine. He is simple, and even patriarchal, in all his habits; but the successes he has obtained have always been tarnished with cruelty. An indefatigable and faithful adherent to the cause he has adopted, he has ever been found a bitter and merciless enemy; and his stern and inevitable decree against his prisoners is death. In his disinterestedness and bravery he resembles Zumalacarregui; but beyond that, their characters bear no comparison. The latter only put his enemies to death after long forbearance, and by way of reprisal, which had become almost an act of justice to his own army; constant and repeated instances of mercy and generosity illumine the darkness of this sanguinary page of his history, contrasting with deeds to which he was forced by the obstinacy of his opponents.

Merino, as I have said, is a mere Guerrilla chief, and as ill calculated to command any large bodies of men, as the genius of Zumalacarregui was well suited for their organization. The curate of Villaviado is no doubt one of those uncommon characters who take the lead in the walk of life where chance has thrown them; but Zumalacarregui was a great man, and formed to play a conspicuous part in those scenes of higher interest and importance, where thrones and empires are disputed. His early death—early in reference to his brief but glorious career—was alone able to snatch away the triumph he had earned so well.*

* Mr Henningsen's military habits exempt him from any very rigorous criticism as to language, else we should certainly object to the Gallicisms in which, like so many other writers, he indulges. 'Parlementary,' for 'flag of truce,' 'murderous' (for bloody) battle, &c. Among Gallicisms, however, cannot be reckoned the placing Nantes upon the *Seine*. A kind of poetical phraseology has also of late crept in, chiefly from the writers of romance,—*'the distance,'—'battle-field,'—'bearing.'* These phrases are a great deal too frequent, even in professed novel-writing, but any where else they are very unpleasant. We flatter ourselves we of Scotland may claim Mr Henningsen for a countryman, when we find him speak of *Heather,—Southron,—'in a mistake,'—and joking* (for in jest).

ART. X.—1. *Extracts from the information received by his Majesty's Commissioners as to the administration and operation of the Poor Laws.* Published by authority. London. B. Fellowes: 1833.

2. *Report from his Majesty's Commissioners for enquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws.* Published by authority. London. B. Fellowes: 1834.

3. *First Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales.* London. Printed for his Majesty's Stationery Office: 1835.

FROM time to time we have called attention to the progress of pauperism, until further speculation on the remedies for the moral plague appeared to be fruitless. But now speculation is reduced to practice, and an experiment for its cure is in operation on a vast scale, to which the attention of all Europe is directed. We feel it to be our duty to give a statement of the principles on which it is conducted, together with some account of the results already obtained, and of the prospects which it opens for the future.

If we examine the legislative measures which have been applied as remedies for the evils of indigence in England—if, without reciting the statutes before the reign of Henry the Eighth, or the striking accounts of their failure repeated in the preambles of the succeeding statutes, we review the history of the legislation in England from the statute of Elizabeth, we shall find that it is a history of failures fraught with valuable instruction to the legislator. There is scarcely one statute for the administration of relief to the indigent that has produced the effect designed by the legislature, or that has not created new evils, and aggravated the evils which they were intended to counteract.

The chief objects of the statute of Elizabeth were to make the able-bodied, who were indolent and turbulent, conform to habits of industry. The effects of the law, as it was recently administered throughout the country,—were to render the industrious indolent, vicious, and turbulent—to endanger the safety of all property, and by its unequal pressure, and by the temptation which it afforded for speculation, to promote corruption and generate animosities between one part of the community and another. A further object of the statute was to prevent vagrancy and mendicity. We read the early failure of this object in the sanguinary

statute against vagrancy passed in the next reign. The work-houses and prisons have served as nurseries, and the poor rates, as recently managed, furnished a large share of the sustenance of vagrants and mendicants, against whose progress (in default of the police) numerous voluntary associations have in our own times been brought into operation throughout the country. The great number of hospitals, almshouses, and other charitable institutions maintained by voluntary contribution, for the sick, the aged, and the impotent, denote the proportion of the more especial objects of the statute, who, as the law was administered, failed in obtaining the relief which was intended for them by the Legislature.

The objects of the law respecting bastardy were to punish and check unchastity, and to prevent the state being burdened with the offspring of illicit intercourse. The effects of the law, as it was administered, were to add greatly to a wretched pauper population, and not only to license, but to give bounties for the promotion of the vice intended to be restrained.

The objects of the statutes of the 3d and 4th William and Mary, and the 9th Geo. I., were to check the profusion of overseers and to enforce economy. Not only has the law as administered, failed of those objects, but the positive effect has been to defeat a more rigid and economical administration.

The proper object of the legal provisions with relation to settlement, was to prevent any district becoming burdened by fraud or accident with an undue proportion of the indigent, or of those liable to fall into that condition. The immediate object of the first statute was to prevent parishes being so burdened by the immigration of the paupers of a vagrant character. The preamble sets forth:—‘Whereas, by some defects of the law, poor people *are not* restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those parishes where there is the *best* stock, the largest commons or wastes to build cottages, and the most woods for them to burn and destroy, and when they have consumed it, then to another parish.’ It has been observed by Mr Power, that the evils entailed by this enactment might now be remedied by a provision with a preamble setting forth that ‘Whereas, by reason of some defects in the law, poor people *are* restrained from going from one parish to another, and therefore become settled and congregated in those parishes where there is the *least* stock to support them.’ All the legal provisions on this subject have failed of their intention, or have produced mischief. They afforded no useful protection to the weaker parishes, whilst they afforded considerable facilities and temptations to the more wealthy to rid themselves of burdens

by throwing them on the defenceless. By these provisions a large class of labourers were rendered *adscripti parochiæ*, and confined to spots where there was no demand, or where there was the least demand for their labour.

The intention of the clauses in the act of the 5th Geo. IV. cap. 85, under which vagrants are passed from prisons to their own homes after trial, was to save them from the temptations to commit further crime. But the effect was, 'for the benefit of the 'pass,' to convey into prisons paupers and the families of poor persons, as if the Legislature intended that they and their children should have all the terrors of a prison obliterated from their minds, and receive instruction in the worst schools of vice—as if the provisions were made to increase the stock of juvenile delinquents who afflict the country and crowd the gaols. 'It is,' says a gaoler, in giving his evidence before one of the Commissioners, 'a melancholy thing that poor people are sent into prison as 'vagrants that they may be passed home. There is now a mother, a widow with five children, under my care—the boys are 'from five to fifteen years of age. The mother was committed, 'not for any crime, but for having been found sitting in the open 'air. Now what, I beg to ask, can be the effect of sending 'these children with their mother to a gaol? What may they 'not learn? In general vagrants are told that they are sent to 'prison, not for their punishment, but for their benefit. Prisons 'should not in any case (as I humbly conceive) be held as 'places where they are to be *benefited*! The great mischief is, 'that prisons are now looked upon as places of relief, and the 'large class of vagrants are told that they are sent to prison 'avowedly for their *benefit*.'

The ruinous effects of others of the best intended laws for ameliorating the condition of the poor are recited in terms still more forcible.

Parliamentary committee after committee made enquiries into the subject with a view to check the progress of the evil, and, with the exception of the committee of 1817, each enquiry ended, as to any efficient remedy, in mist.

The institution of elective vestries under Mr Sturges Bourne's act, giving to the chief rate payers some better control over the expenditure, in many instances checked the progress of the evil. But from the results of the whole of the cases where select vestries were adopted, it is evident that the general adoption of the measure would have left the evil still progressive, whilst the adoption of the plans of cottage allotments and small farming sanctioned by that committee, would have gone some way to-

wards reducing the rural population to a condition of the population in that large theatre of cottage allotments and small farms—Ireland.

It appeared to Lord Grey's Government, that a commission furnished the most fitting means for ascertaining correctly the state of the administration of relief to the poor, and for devising legislative measures for a subject so important and complex. It was said, however, that evidence enough had been already collected; it was declared that the principles of legislation upon it were clear and undoubted; and the appointment of the unpaid commission was denounced as a job, and a pretext for delay.

Amongst the persons who would have preferred legislating without enquiry, were several able men, who, in their confidence of general principles, would have acted upon them alone; that is, upon principles deduced not from large aggregates of particulars, but (to use the expression of Mr Senior with relation to the subject of political economy) 'deductions from premises which consist of very few general propositions, the result of observation or consciousness, and scarcely requiring proof or even formal statement, which almost every man, as soon as he hears them, admits as familiar to his thoughts, or at least as included in his previous knowledge.' Here they would have remained. Now, admitting the general proposition or principle, that a man will seek that condition which is the most pleasurable to him; or the subordinate proposition or principle, deduced as the main principle of poor law management,—that the condition of the person relieved at the public expense must be made less eligible on the whole, than the condition of the person living on the fruits of his own labour, for otherwise the condition of the pauper will be preferred by the otherwise independent labourer; yet, without staying to enquire how large a mass of facts are included under these propositions, we may ask how extensive an enquiry does it not require to determine what is the relative condition of a whole class of the people; and where the principle may be undoubted, what a mass of evidence is requisite to convince a whole nation! From the results of the enquiry made under the Poor Law Commission, we might question whether there are any acknowledged principles of legislation on which it would be safe to act without a close enquiry as to what circumstances there are which modify the principle itself, or limit the means by which effect may be given to it; whether there are at present any established principles better fitted for extensive practical application, without previous examination, than are the established truths of geometry fitted for practical application without a previous examination of the

weight and density of the substances to which application of them is proposed to be made.

We shall recall attention to some of the principal doctrines which were so far prevalent before the appointment of the Commission, that the Parliament would in all probability have entertained proposals to legislate upon them. These conclusions come out in opposition, and almost in antithesis to, the previously received doctrines. We request especial attention to them; for, besides the important effects dependent upon their adoption, we deem the proceeding of great importance as a question of legislative procedure.

First, we would call attention to the application of the population principle to legislation upon the poor laws.

There was a numerous class of persons who, on the poor laws, as well as on the whole field of legislation applicable to the labouring classes, reasoning from the assumed inevitable tendency of population to increase, under all circumstances, beyond the means of subsistence,—believing in the existence of the necessary consequences of that doctrine when unqualified, a surplus population increasing beyond any conceivable demand for employment, a surplus of people the cause of the reduced wages and depressed condition of those who were employed, and themselves the exposed victims of crime and misery,—saw no prospect of alleviation but in the operation of the natural checks, war, famine, the plague, or their modifications. As a resource against these horrors, emigration was promoted with benevolent ardour. Those who doubted the efficiency of this remedy, advocated the necessity of an absolute abrogation of all legal rights to relief from funds raised by compulsory assessment, contending that this measure, which would operate as a check to the increase of population, was the only remedy which could stay the downward progress of the bulk of the labouring classes, or furnish means for their elevation.

But by the enquiry instituted by the Poor Law Commissioners into the circumstances of the rural population, and by parallel enquiry into the condition of a large proportion of the manufacturing population, instituted by the Central Board of Factory Commissioners, opposite conclusions were established. ‘We can state,’ say the Poor Law Commissioners, ‘as the result of the extensive enquiries made under this commission into the circumstances of the labouring classes, that the agricultural labourers when in employment, in common with the other classes of labourers throughout the country, have greatly advanced in condition; that their wages will now produce to

‘ them more of the necessaries and comforts of life than at any former period. These results appear to be confirmed by the evidence collected by the Committees of the House of Commons appointed to enquire into the condition of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, and also by that collected by the Factory Commissioners. No body of men save money whilst they are in want of what they deem absolute necessities. No common man will put by a shilling whilst he is in need of a loaf, or will save whilst he has a pressing want unsatisfied. The circumstance of there being nearly fourteen millions in the savings banks, and the fact that, according to the last returns, upwards of 29,000 of the depositors were agricultural labourers, who, there is reason to believe, are usually the heads of families, and also the fact of the reduction of the general average of mortality, justify the conclusion, that a condition worse than that of the independent agricultural labourer, may nevertheless be a condition above that in which the great body of English labourers have lived in times that have always been considered prosperous. Even if the condition of the independent labourer were to remain as it now is, and the pauper were to be reduced avowedly below that condition, he might still be adequately supplied with the necessaries of life.’

It might have been added, that the fact of the advance in the condition of the labourers, was confirmed by the general increased duration of life amongst them.

An aphorism deduced from the assumed inevitable tendency of population had gained currency, that ‘ poverty is the mother of crime ;’ and as the crime was extensive and increasing, so, it was held, was the poverty by which it was generated. Hence it became necessary to the Poor-Law Enquiry to ascertain what amount of destitution was so far unprovided for by the administration of funds for relief raised by compulsory assessment, as to impel the victims to the commission of crime, and also to enquire how it came to be unprovided for. Neither the prison-discipline societies, nor the association of persons who are so active in exciting the public sympathies, afforded any lights on these questions. The following examinations portray the tenor of the evidence with relation to them :—

‘ Mr Wontner, the governor of Newgate, was asked—

‘ “ Of the criminals thus impelled to the commission of crime by the immediate pressure of want, what proportion, according to the best of your experience, were previously reduced to want by heedlessness, indolence, and not by causes beyond the reach of common prudence to avert ?

—When we enquire into the class of cases to which the last answer refers, we generally find that the criminals have had situations and profitable labour, but have lost them in consequence of indolence, inattention, or dissipation, or habitual drunkenness, or association with bad females. If we could thoroughly examine the whole of this class of cases, I feel confident that we should find that not one-thirtieth of the whole class of cases brought here are free from imputation of misconduct, or can be said to result entirely from blameless want. The cases of juvenile offenders, from nine to thirteen years of age, arise partly from the difficulty of obtaining employment for children of those ages, partly from the want of the power of superintendence of parents, who, being in employment themselves, have not the power to look after their children; and in a far greater proportion from the criminal neglect and example of parents."

Mr Chesterton states, "I directed a very intelligent yardsman, and one who had never, I believe, wilfully misled me, to enquire into the habits and circumstances of all in the yard (sixty prisoners), and the result was that he could not point out one who appeared to have been urged by want to commit theft."

Mr Richard Gregory, the treasurer of Spitalfields parish, who for several years distinguished himself by his successful exertions for the prevention of crime within that district, was asked—

"We understand you have paid great attention to the state and prevention of crime; can you give us any information as to the connexion of crime with pauperism?—I can state from experience that they invariably go together.

"But do poverty—meaning unavoidable and irreproachable poverty—and crime invariably go together?—That is the material distinction. In the whole course of my experience, which is of twenty-five years, in a very poor neighbourhood, liable to changes subjecting the industrious to very great privations, I remember but one solitary instance of a poor but industrious man out of employment stealing any thing."

A source of the misplaced sympathy to the pauper classes arises from the impressions produced by the weekly bankruptcy list, and the belief created that numerous respectable families are reduced to pauperism by the vicissitudes of trade. There is a great mass of statistics when thus presented, which admit of whatever assumption as to their effect any person who uses them may choose to make. Whilst the Poor-Law Enquiry was proceeding, there was an enormous outcry about the distress which was said to pervade the trading classes in the metropolis—distress arising from the decay of trade, and that from the pressure of the assessed taxes, which it was contended must be repealed for the public preservation. It was roundly asserted, that in a populous street in the metropolis (Regent Street), every third

shopkeeper was; in consequence of this distress, either a bankrupt or an insolvent. The fact was also assumed to be an indirect but potent element of pauperism.

The truth, however, is, that the total amount of the cases of bankruptcy and of insolvency which are carried through the courts are trivial in themselves, as compared with the whole of the trading population, and form a decreasing quantity; but from some questions put to the official assignees, who must necessarily examine every case, it appeared that cases of blameless distress in trade were almost as rare as cases of unavoidable and blameless poverty. Mr Green, one of those officers, gives the following return:—

‘As far as I can collect from the books and documents furnished by the bankrupts, it seems to me that 14 have been ruined by speculations in things with which they were unacquainted; 3 by neglected book-keeping; 10 by trading beyond their capital and facile means, and the consequent loss and expense of accommodation-bills; 49 by expending more than they could reasonably hope their profits would be, though their business yielded a fair return; none by any general distress, or the falling-off of any particular branch of trade.

Another officer states,—

‘The New Court has been open upwards of eighteen months, during which period fifty-two cases of bankruptcy have come under my care. To the best of my judgment, not one of them can be attributed to what may be termed general distress. It is my opinion that thirty-two of these have arisen from an imprudent expenditure, and five partly from that cause, and partly from a pressure on the business in which the bankrupts were employed. Fifteen I attribute to improvident speculations, combined in many instances with an extravagant mode of life. Among these fifteen I find a tailor, in a very small way of business, borrowing money to become the owner of a West-India ship, trading to Jamaica, a concern of which he was totally ignorant; consequently he was cheated in every way, and speedily ruined. A London publican, having a slight knowledge of science, neglects his business here, goes over to France for the purpose of entering into a contract with the French authorities for the supply of Paris with water. A working goldsmith, never having had L.10, takes Saville House, Leicester Square, and engages singers and musicians, for the purpose of establishing concerts. The thirty-two classed as failing through imprudencies in their mode of living include many whose necessities leading them to resort to accommodation-bill transactions, have become the prey of money-lenders, and their attendant harpies, the inferior class of solicitors.’

These are exemplifications of the general tenor of the whole mass of returns, which were fully corroborated by enquiries re-

specting the cases of insolvency brought within the cognizance of the Insolvent Debtor's Court.

So, when enquiries were made in workhouses for persons of respectability, 'tradesmen, or creditable rate-payers,' who have fallen into decay, the instances were equally rare. In one large parish in the metropolis, comprising forty thousand inhabitants, it was determined by some benevolent officers to make separate provision for the paupers of deserving character, and give them appropriate rooms and treatment. Commencing with this intention of finding the class of objects, they nevertheless could not get more than *seven* cases out of about six hundred paupers, for whom a separate apartment could properly be assigned; and these were cases in which no *prima facie* objection was perceptible, rather than cases where the facts sought were established. Extensive investigations of other receptacles of paupers were corroborative of the conclusion derived from this particular instance. Age of itself, as being indicative of helplessness, is a circumstance which engages the popular sympathies, and in the course of the administration of relief, usually shuts out all enquiries as to preceding desert. But in such an investigation such considerations would be an obstacle to the ascertainment of truth, and could not properly have place. The aged inmates of workhouses were not found to be, as a class, such as poetry had represented them to be—the parents of meritorious and industrious labourers; but, with the exception of the cases of helplessness arising from disease, they were found, whenever they were examined, to be the parents of the worst part of the population, of the felon, the prostitute, the poacher, or the smuggler, who have no filial sympathies, having deserved none, and who had by misconduct worn out their welcome at every friendly home.

The operation of the great mass of public charities was also examined, for the purpose of determining how far the cases of those to whom they distributed relief were cases of unavoidable poverty, for which the compulsory system of relief failed to provide. The result of this examination was, that the present system of voluntary charity tends to create the distress which it proposes to relieve, but does not relieve all the distress which it creates. One of the Commissioners of Enquiry declared upon this evidence, that if any trustee of a public charity for the distribution of doles, instead of distributing the substance as intended, consumed it in good cheer for himself and friends; and that any trustee of a charity for foundlings, who, instead of applying

the substance to those purposes, kept a mistress with it, really produced less immorality by such a course of proceeding, as compared with a literal administration of the trust, and was *pro tanto* a benefactor to the public.*

Another opinion was that which insisted that it was requisite to establish Poor Laws in Ireland, not for the sake only of the Irish, but to protect the English labourers from being further depressed by the irruption of the Irish surplus. These inferences will elsewhere be dealt with: we only advert to the opinion upon which measures were prepared for the Legislature, that the English labourers were depressed, and depressed by the emigration of Irish labourers in our towns, and in the rural districts. The facts were brought out in examinations to the following tenor:—

‘Mr Joseph Whittle, one of the guardians of the poor and overseers of the poor, in the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields, stated—In our parish it is a very rare thing to find any labouring men working for less than twelve shillings a-week: indeed, the average rate of wages throughout the year is not less than from fifteen to twenty shillings a-week. A man could not be obtained to work job work at less than three shillings a-day. Are there many Irish labourers in the parish?—Yes; there is a great proportion of them, and especially about Spitalfields Market. Do they usually receive the average wages you mention?—Yes; they do. Why are English labourers not employed—or why are Irish labourers preferred?—Because English labourers are not to be had for love or money to perform the labour. I am sure, from my knowledge of the circumstances of the place and the employment, that there is not a sufficient supply of English labourers to take the work at any such wages. I believe the wages must be doubled to attract a sufficient supply of English labourers from other sources in the metropolis. Are you not aware that, within a day’s walk from any part of the metropolis, there are to be found English labourers, working as hard, or much harder than any other class of workmen, for wages of about one-half the amount of those received by the labourers in the metropolis?—Yes; I am acquainted with all the agricultural districts within twenty miles round the metropolis, and I know that is the case. Why do not whatever superabundant labourers there may be in those parishes, remove and avail themselves of the demand for labour now supplied by Irishmen?—Thousands of instances may be given, where the labourers will not stir for fear of losing their parishes. I think the law of settlement is the great means of keeping the English labourers confined to their parishes. It appears to them to be like running away from their heirlooms, or their freeholds. I am sure, from my own knowledge of the Whitechapel and other adjacent parishes, that there are not

* See, as to the voluntary charities, the evidence of the Rev. H. Stone, the Rector of Spitalfields. Extracts, p. 283.

enough of English labourers to be had for such wages, to perform the labour. Seven-tenths of the cases of alleged distress relieved are cases of imposture."

'Mr T. J. Holland, some time vestry-clerk of Bermondsey, stated,—There are great numbers of Irishmen employed in our parish; but they are only employed because English labourers cannot be got to do the same work for the same wages. And what sort of wages are those?—Not less than from ten to fifteen shillings a-week. An English labourer might live upon this. But English labourers would have more wages, if they were to be had for the work, because they are worth more.'

The persons who still acted upon the belief of the depression, were asked to explain the process by which the Irishman, working in the streets of London at sixteen or eighteen shillings a-week, depressed the English agricultural labourer, who belonged to one of the Middlesex rural parishes, who worked in his own parish at wages as low as eight or nine shillings per week. The operation of this emigration upon the agricultural districts was further investigated. It was shown that very few Irishmen ever obtained settlements, and that they generally came in in consequence of a demand, and generally worked at such high wages as entirely to exclude the suppositions of their depressing the wages of the English labourers below a proper level.

The enquiry was carried out into the manufacturing districts by Mr George Lewis, as an assistant commissioner to the Irish Commission of Enquiry, whose able report confirms the conclusion obtained under the English enquiry, and establishes the fact that the more cheap but adequately paid Irish labour brought into the manufacturing districts, has had much the same effect as machinery, in sustaining the skilled labour of the English workman. As the use of machinery has been extended, the amount of capital distributed as wages has been increased. Similar economical results have existed concurrently with the migration and settlement of the Irish labourers within the manufacturing districts. In the rural districts, the number of Scotch and Irish who had settled were found to be too few to have produced any effect on the rate of wages. The wages of many English labourers might no doubt have been increased by the scarcity of hands; but the increase was uncalled for by any serious privations, and, regarding the state of labour in other countries, would have diminished the demand for labour, and reduced the amount of wages distributed. There are, doubtless, moral and political evils connected with the permanent settlement of so undisciplined a race of people amongst

our labourers. These results were cited as illustrative of the effects of the allowance system, and the law of settlement in England. If they had their due weight, they would, of course, dissipate so much of the projects for legislation with regard to Ireland, that are founded upon the supposed mischievous effects of the immigration of Irish labourers into England.

The state of the facts on all the main points as to the condition of the population and causes of pauperism were found upon the detailed examination to be at all points essentially different from the prevalent notions of them. There were dangerous congestions of pauperism in particular places, but no real or general surplus beyond the average demand for employment throughout the year. These congestions, the apparent surplus of population, gave way under numerous variations of circumstances, where the parish was made the hardest taskmaster and the worst paymaster within the district. It has rarely been found that more than three or four per cent of the claimants sustained this test even temporarily, and this residue has been rather of cases where the real causes of distress could not be ascertained, than of cases which were proved to be of the character of which the mass of pauperism was assumed to consist. The Commissioners hailed, as one of the most encouraging results of their enquiry, the proof of the degree in which the existing pauperism arose from 'fraud, indolence, or improvidence.' 'If,' say they, 'it had been principally the result of unavoidable distress, we must have inferred the existence of an organic disease, which, without rendering the remedy less necessary, would have fearfully augmented the difficulty of the cure. But, when we consider how strong are the motives to claim public assistance, and how ready are the means of obtaining it, independent of any cause arising from real necessity, we are surprised, not at the number of the paupers, but at the number of those who have escaped the contagion.' To use medical language, the disease was pronounced to be, not disease of structure, but disorder of the functions.

It was asserted by Mr Ricardo, and has been maintained by many authors, that a compulsory system of relief must ultimately annihilate all property unless it were abolished; and this doctrine is plainly set forth in what is called the philosophical portion of the report of the committee of 1817.

The Commissioners of Enquiry defend the principle of a compulsory system of relief. The following is their statement of the principles of the remedies which they suggest:

“ If we believed the evils stated in the previous part of the Report, or evils resembling or even approaching them, to be necessarily incidental to the compulsory relief of the able-bodied, we should not hesitate in recommending its entire abolition. But we do not believe these evils to be its necessary consequences. We believe that, under strict regulations, adequately enforced, such relief may be afforded safely and even beneficially.

“ In all extensive communities, circumstances will occur in which an individual, by the failure of his means of subsistence, will be exposed to the danger of perishing. To refuse relief, and at the same time to punish mendicancy when it cannot be proved that the offender could have obtained subsistence by labour, is repugnant to the common sentiments of mankind; it is repugnant to them to punish even depredation, apparently committed as the only resource against want.

“ In all extensive civilized communities, therefore, the occurrence of extreme necessity is prevented by alms-giving, by public institutions supported by endowments or voluntary contributions, or by a provision partly voluntary and partly compulsory, or by a provision entirely compulsory, which may exclude the pretext of mendicancy.

“ But in no part of Europe except England has it been thought fit that the provision, whether compulsory or voluntary, should be applied to more than the relief of *indigence*, the state of a person unable to labour, or unable to obtain, in return for his labour, the means of subsistence. It has never been deemed expedient that the provision should extend to the relief of *poverty*; that is, the state of one, who, in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour.

“ From the evidence collected under this commission, we are induced to believe that a compulsory provision for the relief of the indigent can be generally administered on a sound and well-defined principle; and that under the operation of this principle, the assurance that no one need perish from want may be rendered more complete than at present, and the mendicant and vagrant repressed by disarming them of their weapon—the plea of impending starvation.

“ It may be assumed, that in the administration of relief, the public is warranted in imposing such conditions on the individual relieved, as are conducive to the benefit either of the individual himself, or of the country at large, at whose expense he is to be relieved.

“ The first and most essential of all conditions, a principle which we find universally admitted, even by those whose practice is at variance with it, is, that his situation on the whole shall not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class. Throughout the evidence it is shown, that in proportion as the condition of any pauper class is elevated above the condition of independent labourers, the condition of the independent class is depressed; their industry is impaired, their employment becomes unsteady, and its remuneration in wages is diminished. Such persons, therefore, are under the strongest inducements to quit the less eligible class of labourers

and enter the more eligible class of paupers. The converse is the effect when the pauper class is placed in its proper position, below the condition of the independent labourer. Every penny bestowed, that tends to render the condition of the pauper more eligible than that of the independent labourer, is a bounty on indolence and vice. We have found, that as the poor's-rates are at present administered, they operate as bounties of this description, to the amount of several millions annually.

'The standard, therefore, to which reference must be made in fixing the condition of those who are to be maintained by the public, is the condition of those who are maintained by their own exertions. But the evidence shows how loosely and imperfectly the situation of the independent labourer has been enquired into, and how little is really known of it by those who award or distribute relief. It shows also that so little has their situation been made a standard for the supply of commodities, that the diet of the workhouse almost always exceeds that of the cottage, and the diet of the gaol is generally more profuse than even that of the workhouse. It shows also, that this standard has been so little referred to in the exaction of labour, that commonly the work required from the pauper is inferior to that performed by the labourers and servants of those who have prescribed it: So much and so generally inferior as to create a prevalent notion among the agricultural paupers that they have a right to be exempted from the amount of work which is performed and indeed sought for by the independent labourer.'

We believe that modern history scarcely furnishes an example of a verbal ambiguity by which greater mischief has been done, than by the ambiguity of the word 'poor.' We are not amongst those who believe that the framers of the statute of the 43d Eliz. saw the main tendencies of its provisions; but that statute is not chargeable with the mischiefs which have crept into the administration by the indefinite and ambiguous use of the word 'poor.' By that statute it was provided that the overseers should take order for setting to work 'all persons using *no* ordinary and daily 'trade of life to get their living by,'—and these words must be taken to exclude those who are in work, and 'who *do* use an 'ordinary and daily trade of life,'—in short, to prohibit any thing of the nature of the allowance system. The further words of the statute, for providing for 'the necessary relief of the lame, 'impotent, old, blind, and such other among them being poor 'and *not* able to work,' as well as those 'who have no means to 'maintain them,' excludes those from relief who have *any* means, and confines the relief to those who are destitute. But all those who are not possessed of wealth being called 'poor,' the law has been supposed to comprehend them, and to render it the duty of the Government to provide a sufficiency of wages, and to become

the universal insurers of all classes against all the evils of indolence and improvidence. Out of this ambiguity has arisen no small proportion of the ignorant but honest opposition to amendment on the part of many of the wealthy classes. The Commissioners, having in view the paupers, or persons actually dependent on parochial relief, have described the frauds practised by them, and cited evidence in proof of their indolence and other vices of their condition. In answer to this evidence, pamphlets have been written to vindicate the 'poor' (meaning the bulk of the population) from these aspersions, and to prove that virtue and industry still exists amongst them. So, when measures are propounded for the regulation of the relief to the 'poor' (meaning the 'destitute'), as when the abolition of all out-door relief is spoken of, those good persons, whose hearts are larger than their heads, and who have fostered the notion that the State is the great dispenser of wages—in other words, that all the labouring population are to be maintained from some inexhaustible fund, regard such a proposition with horror, and are vehement in the expression of their conviction, that the 'poor' will not permit the 'poor' to be oppressed, or yield to a scheme for putting the 'poor' (meaning still the whole of the labouring population) into workhouses. The Commissioners might have added, that poverty, as above defined, is the natural, the primitive, the general, and the unchangeable state of man; and that as labour is the source of wealth, so is poverty of labour. Banish poverty, you banish wealth. Indigence, therefore, and not poverty, is the evil, the removal of which is the proper object of Poor Laws. Indigence may be provided for—mendicity may be extirpated; but all attempts to extirpate poverty can have no effects but bad ones.

Amongst other sources of mischief, was the habit prevalent throughout the country of governing the administration of relief by notions of the character of the applicants. A large proportion of the public having no sympathies for the indolent and vicious (who are assumed to be the exceptions), were willing that those classes should be placed under restrictions: but were desirous that the 'deserving,' the worthy and deserving labourers, should be well relieved, if not rewarded. Conceding that merit were a proper element of consideration in a compulsory system of relief, and that it were desirable to reward virtue, one thing established was that the parish vestry was not a tribunal where moral conduct could be well investigated. Even where clergymen who were chairmen did not see all the virtues in

their own poor, and hateful vices in the followers of the Dissenters, and where the small shopkeepers did not testify to the superior virtues of their own customers, all systems of relief upon the principle of rewarding the virtuous were pronounced to be entire failures.

‘I found,’ says one of the Commissioners, ‘that most attempts to administer public relief according to character, even when those attempts have been made under circumstances apparently the most favourable, have created great dissatisfaction. Character being made up of habits, and habits being made up of series of simple acts (which we sometimes find it difficult to determine on in our courts of law, even with all skilled appliances), it is not surprising that persons in wealthy or superior stations, who have rarely the means of observing or knowing the daily acts of the labouring classes, usually fail of estimating them, so as to adjudicate justly, according to the estimation of the claimants. The Rev. W. Bishop, the rector of Upton, Berks, stated to me: “When first I came to this parish, I instituted rewards for virtuous conduct amongst my parishioners, but I soon found that I did more mischief than good by the proceeding, and I was compelled to abandon it. I found that my parishioners, from their situation, knew more of the objects whom I selected for reward than I possibly could. They saw actions of which I could obtain no knowledge. With all my desire to do justice, there were actions which I forgot to take into account; and of those which I did take into account, they probably often made a more correct estimate than I could: under these circumstances, I probably was led to decide unjustly, and excited more ill feeling by my decisions than emulation by my rewards.” He gave up entirely the idea of rewarding according to character, and adopted other courses of proceeding.

‘In more rude hands, such attempts often excite fierce discontent, by the inequalities of the distribution amongst claimants, who conceive themselves at least equal in merit. I did not find one magistrate of extensive experience who had found it practicable to take character into account except on rare occasions.’

‘I,” said the Rev. Mr Whately to me, “always refuse a worthy man relief (meaning out-door relief), because I know him to be a man of good character, and I therefore think he deserves from me the refusal to allow him to be made a pauper.” And others of the best informed witnesses considered the practice equally mischievous, and at variance with correct principle. “One man,” it has been said, “may be a very worthy, good sort of man, but so ought we all to be; and if every man who is so were to bring in his bill for being so, who would there be to pay it? Another may be a very worthless fellow; but if he is really so, and can be made out to be so, it must be on account of this or that act of worthlessness that he has committed. If it be a crime, he will be punished according to the crime; if it be less than a crime, it will be too much to punish him with death by starvation.”’

The Commissioners laid it down as a principle, that it was

ruinous and demoralizing to offer to persons of the best characters more than a simple subsistence, and that the person of bad character, if he were allowed any thing, could not be allowed less. By this means a self-acting test was established, and a line was drawn between those who do and those who do not need relief. For if the claimant does not comply with the terms on which relief is given to the destitute, he gets nothing; and if he does comply, the compliance proves the truth of his claim, namely, his destitution. It is impossible to state briefly how much the practical working of this subject is facilitated by the clear perceptions and steady undeviating application of this principle. Not only every prevalent doctrine as to the condition of the labouring classes, but every prevalent doctrine as to the measures to be adopted as specifics for the disease of pauperism, were, upon close examination, proved to be unsound. It was urged by Mr Breereton and others, that if the power of the magistrates were abrogated, and the administration of relief were left entirely to the overseer, all would be well. On examination, it was proved that in whole districts this was done—that the power of the magistrates was never exercised—and that these districts were amongst the most degraded and pauperised. A favourite system, proposed and urged by agricultural associations, was the allotment of lands to the labourers, the preservation of the rights of common, and the application of the cow and single acre hypothesis, the pig and half acre hypothesis, and a multitude of others. On examination, it was proved that the population bordering on commons, and possessing these so called advantages, were, as compared with the labourers of the same class living in villages and possessing none of them, morally, socially, and physically, in a worse condition. It was proved also, that the owners of allotments were as frequently on the parish books as any other class, and were often the most wretched. It was demonstrated, the labouring man never works for so bad a master as when he works for himself; that the poor man must make a poor master, and that it is better for himself that he should serve a rich one; that it were as absurd that he should attempt to raise all his own food for the sake of independence, as that he should manufacture the cotton of his shirt, or tan the leather or forge the nails of his shoes, or make pins for the sake of ‘independence.’ One doctrine was, that the area of administration should be made smaller, and parishes divided. It was proved that the smallest parishes were the most pauperised, and that the great course of amendment, to which we shall subsequently advert, was to enlarge the

districts and the scale of management. The labour-rate hypothesis—the parish-farm hypothesis, though maintained by eminent statesmen, were proved to be practically unsound and mischievous.

The Commissioners declared that the heads of settlement might be reduced and simplified, the expense of litigation might be diminished, the procedure before the magistrates might be improved, a uniform system of accounts might be introduced, less vexatious and irregular modes of rating might be established, systematic peculation and jobbing on the part of the parish officers might be prevented, the fraudulent impositions of undue burdens by one class upon another class, the tampering with the labour market by the employers of labour, the abuse of the public trust for private and factious purposes,—all the other collateral and incidental evils might be abated; but they declared that if the vital evil of the system, relief to the able bodied on terms more eligible than regular industry, were allowed to continue, pauperism, with its train of evils, the demoralization of the labouring classes, the deterioration of their labour, the reduction of the demand for their employment, the decrease or efflux of capital, and the destruction of property, and all the elements of prosperity must steadily advance, as they were found to be advancing, in districts where all or most of those collateral and incidental evils enumerated were by incessant vigilance and exertion avoided or mitigated.

It was demonstrated that, to carry this principle, or, indeed, any uniform principle of administration into execution, a new machinery was requisite. We pass over the steps of the proofs of the necessity of the establishment of new agency, and of a central and independent control,—namely, the want of appropriate knowledge on the part of the overseers; the division of their authority, and conflicting action; the impermanency of their authority; the inadequacy of their motives to support a correct administration; the strength of their interest in abusive administration; and intimidation on the part of the rate receivers. We pass over as matters still prominent and fresh in the public memory, the proceedings in Parliament by which the measure was carried; observing, however, that it is now admitted by all, that it could have been carried by no other than a Reformed Parliament. To those, if any such there were, who, for any purpose, aided that change with the view of obtaining, instead of a stronger, a weaker government, we would submit for study the observation of Hobbes: ‘And whosoever

‘thinking sovereign power too great, will seek to make it less, must subject himself to a power which can limit it: that is to say—TO A GREATER.’

But every care befitting the present circumstances of the country was taken to obtain the strength of public opinion, of which we deny that the newspapers were the organs. Many thousands of circular letters were issued to the chief parishes, and to the benches of magistrates throughout the country. In these letters, opinions as well as facts were requested; and the facts and opinions were digested, examined, and weighed. Every district was thus consulted, and many thousands of individuals brought to a council, where each had an opportunity of being heard. (See the digests of the answers in the Appendix to the Report). The Commissioners and the Assistant Commissioners examined *in situ* the matters in question, and reported to the central board. The substance of each of the reports was, at the instance of Lord Brougham, printed in a cheap form, and many thousand copies were distributed. One of the Commissioners’ Reports contained an exposition of the principles of the chief remedial measures which were afterwards adopted. The Report of the Central Board supplied a complete exposition of the evils of the old system, and an ample exposition of the remedies. More copies of these Reports were sold than perhaps of all the State Papers put together that have ever been placed within the reach of the people; and, including those which were distributed to public officers, upwards of twenty thousand copies were put into circulation. The proceeding may be held out as an example, that, when any public evil is thoroughly probed, and the remedial measures are clearly expounded, and manfully supported, the course of proceeding by the influence of facts and reason upon the understanding, rather than by the action of power on the will, is most potent and enduring, and may be applied to the strongest prejudices.

The new Commissioners have proceeded much in the same spirit, and with the like success. It will be recollected that they are armed with the power of forming parishes into unions without the consent of any of the owners, rate-payers, or inhabitants. The Commissioners state in their first Annual Report:—

‘It has been a general practice with each assistant Commissioner, before finally determining upon his recommendations with relation to any district, to convene a meeting of the parties the most deeply interested in the proposed arrangements, namely, the principal owners, and rate-payers, and parish officers. At this meeting, he has explained the mea-

asures which it was his intention to recommend to the Board for adoption, and has invited the exposition of any objections, and the suggestion of any additions, to those measures. It is satisfactory to us to be enabled to state, that in scarcely any instance have the measures thus submitted for a change of system in any district failed of obtaining the concurrence of a large majority of the meeting. In the greater proportion of cases the measures proposed have met with almost unanimous approbation. Where dissent has been expressed in regard to the measures finally recommended by the assistant Commissioner (and such cases which have hitherto occurred in some single parish dissenting from a union with adjacent parishes), we have made it a practice to hear the statements of the dissentient parties, and to weigh any evidence which they have adduced upon the arrangement in question.

The effects of the measure, so far as it has hitherto been carried, have fully answered the most sanguine anticipations of its proposers.

About nine months of the time of the Commission at its commencement were spent in preliminary enquiries and other preparatory measures. At this time 6841 parishes are placed under the superintendence of new boards of guardians. As the worst managed parishes have been chosen for the first proceedings, the expenditure of more than one-half the rates is placed under the control of the Commissioners. But they have also acted extensively upon the parishes which remain ununited.

We shall state first the more important effects upon the labourers.

The effect of the progressive discontinuance of the allowance system, and the entire cessation of out-door relief to the able-bodied, has been to cause the absorption of almost the whole of the surplus of able-bodied labourers. For example, in the four following unions in the county of Kent, the effects of the measure have been as under mentioned :—

Name of Union.	Total number of able-bodied Paupers at the formation of Union	Number of able-bodied Paupers in June instant.	Population.
Milton, .	291	1	10,689
Bridge, .	272	1	9,244
Blean, .	241	1	10,639
River, .	150	2	10,837
Totals,	954	5	41,409

Close enquiries have been made as to what has become of these labourers, and it is found that nearly the whole of them

are accounted for as at work within their parishes. Only about half-a-dozen men in each union have quitted it in search of work elsewhere. These were fellows whom no one would intrust in their farms. It is presumed, that they have most of them gone to places where they may renew their characters. One or two of them have gone to seek glory and pay in the service of the Queen of Spain.

The county of Sussex is the one which was the most deeply pauperised in the whole country, and from recent official returns from that county, we are enabled to furnish a more complete exemplification of the operation of the new law.

Name of Union.	Population	Average Annual Rates at the formation of the Union.	Rates for the Quarter.	Rate of saving on Year.	No. of able-bodied Paupers at the time of forming the Union.	No. of able-bodied Paupers in March last.	No. of able-bodied Paupers in June inst.
Uckfield, .	16,109	16,643	1,479	61½	218	8	—
Cuckfield, .	12,017	17,139	2,136	46½	419	45	—
Chailey, .	6,977	9,576	1,114	30½	139	33	15
Eastbourne, .	7,823	11,964	1,410	40	265	12	—
Hailsham, .	11,825	18,951	No retn.	—	350	69	—
West Fisle, .	2,364	2,957	599	26	40	15	—
Tinhurst, .	13,347	10,915	1,569	50	960	12	1
Battle, .	12,068	14,235	1,413	33	608	—	—
Lewes, .	9,297	5,770	912	36	175	4	2
East Grimstead, .	11,476	12,053	3,162	—	658	43	3
Hastings, .	13,280	6,969	1,319	24½	266	13	6
Rye, .	11,418	11,588	1,377	52	372	42	14
Westbourne, .	6,585	8,095	1,753	32	90	6	—
Steyning, .	11,071	9,339	1,120	15	236	11	30
Thakham, .	7,311	9,796	1,313	30	542	25	—
Horsham, .	12,270	14,663	1,776	57	454	51	1
Medhurst, .	12,239	17,536	1,478	66	306	20	—
Petworth, .	9,042	12,226	995	32	382	71	52
Westhampnett, .	15,017	16,457	1,687	49	216	18	—
Newhaven, .	4,400	3,371	492	41	64	11	—
Totals,	205,936	229,643	27,044	45	6,160	554	124

The following return represents the results of the measure in the unions of the several counties which have come into tolerably complete operation.

COUNTIES.	No. of Unions.	Number of Paupers Relieved.			Workhouses.			Quarter's Expenditure up to 25th March last.	Estimated Annual Expenditure under the New Law.	Average Annual Expenditure previous to the formation of the Unions.	Saving on the Average Annual Expenditure.	Rate per cent of Saving.
		Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.	Old.	New.	Room for					
Buckingham,	5	514	6,421	6,935	14	2	1,385	9,118	36,669	79,758	43,089	54
Berks,	11	923	7,555	8,478	22	6	4,142	17,687	63,649	128,434	64,783	51
Kent,	21	2,597	20,416	23,813	51	14	10,104	28,891	118,292	241,726	123,434	51
Oxford,	4	139	5,343	5,482	8	4	1,650	7,158	33,577	70,687	37,110	50
Bedford,	6	682	5,792	6,474	18	6	2,575	9,492	42,427	83,532	41,105	49
Cambridge,	4	186	3,927	4,113	4	2	420	6,039	23,006	45,032	22,026	49
Dorset,	9	326	4,862	5,188	4	4	1,290	6,508	27,262	53,372	26,110	48
Worcester,	2	65	1,750	1,821	2		100	1,826	7,304	13,628	6,324	46
Sussex,	18	2,199	10,022	12,221	52	4	5,440	27,223	110,102	198,639	88,537	44½
Wilts,	15	1,003	14,872	15,875	22	6	3,601	17,041	78,089	139,917	61,828	44
Middlesex,	1	133	318	451	2		150	1,263	4,920	8,568	3,648	42½
Essex,	12	1,138	10,401	11,542	61	3	3,389	21,742	94,179	162,164	67,935	42
Northampton,	10	319	9,906	10,225	21	6	2,181	11,535	60,829	104,927	44,098	42
Suffolk,	12	1,423	13,572	14,995	57	3	5,718	24,909	123,236	205,571	82,335	40
Somerset,	3		4,326	4,326		2	140	3,424	22,866	38,279	15,413	40
Herts,	10	1,464	4,634	6,098	26	3	2,745	12,663	50,654	84,480	33,826	40
Hants,	22	1,623	14,181	15,804	42	7	4,780	28,824	93,997	151,484	57,487	38
Lincoln,	4	610	2,152	2,762	18	3	1,836	4,940	23,539	36,492	12,883	35
Gloucester,	6	579	3,093	3,762	11		990	5,511	22,046	32,699	10,653	32
Norfolk,	5	51	6,576	6,627		5	1,505	11,211	36,844	53,124	16,280	31
Leicester,	2	64	2,413	2,474	2		230	2,528	16,736	21,676	4,940	23
Devon,	5	15	1,868	5,564	8	2	625	4,798	42,532	52,980	10,148	19
Totals,	187	16,053	154,423	175,030	415	82	55,196	264,331	1,133,055	2,007,199	974,014	48½

An hypothesis, prevalent at the commencement of the enquiry, was, that the smaller the area for the distribution of relief the better ; inasmuch as it enabled the distributors of relief to ascertain the real wants and character of the applicant, and to adjust the relief accordingly. The principle of the distribution of relief upon opinions as to the character of applicants has already been disposed of. The Commissioners of Enquiry stated upon this part of the subject—

‘ But when instances are now of frequent occurrence where a pauper is found to have saved large sums of money, without the fact having been known or suspected by the members of the same family, living under the same roof, how should a neighbour, much less a parish officer, be expected to have a better knowledge of the real means of the individual ? We are not aware that our communications display one instance of out-door pauperism having been permanently repressed by the mere exercise of individual knowledge acting on a limited area. What our evidence does show is, that where the administration of relief is brought nearer to the door of the pauper, little advantage arises from increased knowledge on the part of the distributors, and great evil from their increased liability to every sort of pernicious influence. It brings tradesmen within the influence of their customers, small farmers within that of their relations and connexions, and not unfrequently of those who have been their fellow workmen, and exposes the wealthier classes to solicitations from their own dependents for extra allowances.’

The acknowledged inconveniences of the law of settlement were, it is said, counterbalanced by high and peculiar advantages arising from the circumstance of the obligation to maintain the destitute being commonly charged on narrow localities. These advantages were, that it gave to the wealthy an interest in taking care of the poor (meaning the labouring classes), in promoting their prosperity, in order that they may not become burdensome to their parishes. A further advantage stated was, that it gives to those at whose expense a superabundant population must be relieved, an interest in checking population, or preventing improvident marriages.

On a close examination of the facts, these hypotheses, which were advocated by writers of high character, and by members of the legislature who were prepared to act upon them, were proved to be unsustainable upon any sound theory ; and their practical application was every where fraught with mischief. It was seen that the interest created by the law of settlement, or by the imposition of the burden upon the proprietors in the narrow locality, was not interest to do all these things, any more than it could be said to be an interest on the part of a landlord to teach his tenantry geometry, if, by learning geometry or any thing else, a man might be enabled to gain his own livelihood ; the interest really

created was simply an interest in getting rid of the burden, and that, too, by the shortest means. Unfortunately, the shortest means were constituted by shifting the burden; and unhappily this process of shifting was always accompanied by the creation of additional burdens. From the operation of this much valued interest arose the extensive undue removals of paupers, and the great mass of expensive litigation, as part of the warfare. From that interest, moreover, arose the great mass of forced pauper marriages, which it were moderate to compute at one forced marriage per annum, and a pauper issue per parish in each of the fifteen thousand places separately managing their own poor in England and Wales. From this interest also arose the shifting of burdens by the parochial apprenticeships, and the demoralization produced by the mode in which the children were subjected to a legalized slavery. Notwithstanding the fact prominently brought out by the Commission of Enquiry, that those parishes in which this interest was (according to the hypothesis) the strongest—namely, the smallest parishes—were the most deeply pauperised, it has been actually proposed to apply the same hypothesis to Ireland. The excess of money expended beyond the lowest amount of the charge was every where an index of the excess of evil done. It appeared, upon examination, that of all England and Wales, the burden on the 100 absolutely largest parishes was 6s. 7d. per head of the population; in the 100 parishes intermediate between the largest and the smallest, it was 15s. per head; in the 100 absolutely smallest parishes, where, according to the hypothesis, the burden should have been the least, it was L.1, 11s. 7d. per head.

The results in practice have justified the soundness of every one of the principles upon which the large unions were devised. These results are indicated by the pecuniary savings in the larger, as compared with the smaller unions, which have been for any length of time in operation.

Of the 120 unions which have been the longest in operation—taking the 20 unions which are positively the largest as regards the population, area, and rates, and comparing them with 20 of the smallest unions—the results are as follows:—

20 Largest Unions.

Average Expenditure.	Saving.	Rate per cent.
L.336,172	204,618	60 $\frac{3}{4}$

20 Smallest Unions.

Average Expenditure.	Saving.	Rate per cent.
L.121,475	35,371	29

On extending the classes from which the results are taken, the effects of management upon a large scale appear to be proportionately striking. On comparing the effects of the 30 positively largest, the 30 intermediate, and the 30 positively smallest unions out of the 120, the results appear to be as follows:—

30 Largest Unions.

Average Expenditure:	Saving.	Rate per cent.
454,496	269,840	59½

30 Intermediate Unions.

Average Expenditure.	Saving.	Rate per cent.
L.282,090	121,808	43¼

30 Smallest Unions.

Average Expenditure.	Saving.	Rate per cent.
L.192,033	60,597	31½

It is expected that the total amount of savings effected in the year 1836, as compared with the year 1834, will be about two millions sterling.

The Commissioners of Enquiry stated that the effects of the application of their principles of administration upon the pauperised labourers would be as follows:—

1. That their industry would be restored and improved.
2. That frugal habits would be created or strengthened.
3. That the permanent demand for their labour would increase.
4. That the increase would be such, that their wages, so far from being depressed by the increased amount of labour in the market, would in general advance.
5. That discontent and crime would abate, and their moral and social condition would be improved.

Our space does not enable us to present the complete exemplifications of the working of the measure upon each of these points, but we can state that upon none has it failed.

We cite from the evidence of farmers, landowners, and others, their accounts of the absorption of this surplus. Mr G. Wickens, a farmer of Rotherfield, in Sussex, being asked to what he attributed this extraordinary absorption of the labourers, states—

‘The reasons why the labourers get employment better than they did before the new Poor Law came into operation are many, and many little make a large amount. The pauperised labourer now being put upon his own resources, comes to ask his employer for work in a differ-

ent way from what he formerly did ; when he formerly came to him, he would ask him in that off-handed manner that you knew he did not intend to do you justice if you set him to work—he would perhaps go to two or three in the parish in this way (and those two or three where he thought most unlikely to set him to work), then go to the parish officer for an order to go on the road, which was where he wanted to get, and make the parish officer pay him for his day going round the parish asking for work, and perhaps half the day at work in his own garden, or spending money at a beer shop. *Now* he will come to you and say, “ don’t you want somebody to do such and such a job ? I shall be glad to do it for you ; ” and the employer, finding he has not got half the rate to pay he formerly had, sets him to work, and the man going on better than he formerly did, induces his employer to keep him on. One instance I know of this in my next neighbour, a small farmer, employing one labourer formerly through the summer (excepting two living in his house), and turning him off the greater part of the winter. He one morning came to my house ; I said to him, “ Do you keep Farnes on to work for you this winter ? ” he said, “ Yes, I have set him to draining ; he (Farnes) said he did not know what he should do if I turned him off, and I, finding I had not half the poor rate to pay I have had, I thought I would keep him on.” I have known many of our rate payers send men to the surveyor to set them to work on a wet day, and tell them to come back again when it was fine ; *now*, if they turn them off on a wet day (if they are good workmen), I think, perhaps, they would not know where to find them on a *fine* one.”

The following is an extract from the report of the auditor of the Uckfield Union, which details the operation in this same parish more fully.

‘ When the overseers met in vestry, in November, for the purpose of making a rate for the winter half-year, it was found that instead of a 5s. or 6s. book, as had hitherto been the case, a rate of 1s. 6d. would be amply sufficient, it was much doubted whether it would have been necessary to have made a rate at all, had it not been to meet the sum assessed for the county rate, as, from the appearance of the Union accounts, the contribution called for to meet the expenditure for the quarter ending December 25th, would, contrary to all expectation, be sufficient to last to Lady-day, and it is probable that there will be a balance remaining in favour of the parish even at Midsummer next.

‘ Here, then, was upwards of one thousand pounds left in the hands of the rate payers, to meet the demands of such labourers as were willing to earn it ; on the other hand, there were the two houses for the able-bodied men, who were out of employment, with regular hours, regular diet, no beer, no tobacco, strict supervision, with the *sedentary*, and, therefore, to the agricultural labourer, *irksome*, employment of picking oakum.

‘ The effect was almost magical,—the rate payers who had been most violently opposed to the Union, had now substantial proofs in their own

pockets of its advantages, and the labourers, as well those who deserved that name, as those who had hitherto been only known by it, began to think, to use their own expression, it was high time "to look out." Employment was now sought after,—the farmers were reminded of the reduction,—their feelings were appealed to,—they honourably answered the demand, without taking advantage of circumstances to reduce the wages, and the gratitude of the workman was evinced by his civility, his attention, and his industry.

' I shall now quote from the memoranda I have by me, a slight examination of a small farmer in this parish, which I trust will satisfy the most sceptical of the effect produced, and the beneficial manner in which those who were formerly wasting their time are now employed.

' Q. What has become of the parish men and all those who used to be so constantly out of work?—A. It is difficult to tell, sir.

' Have they left the parish?—A. No.

' Q. Have you heard of any increase of pilfering or robberies in the parish?—A. No; and I don't think the hedges are pulled so much as before, for when they used to be *lopping* (idling) about on the roads they left off at what time they liked, and pulled the hedges in their way home till they had got a good bundle.

' Q. Then, as they don't live by pilfering, and have not left the parish, how do they obtain their subsistence?—A. They shift about and get work.

' Q. How is it they get work now, when formerly they could obtain none?—A. Why, you see sir, there's two things,—first they look out for jobs, and the farmers think that as they don't pay so much rate as they used to do they have a right to employ them.

' Q. And they do employ them?—A. Yes.

' Q. You say they all look out for jobs; now, when they are all applying for work, don't you think that will have a tendency to lower wages?—A. No; the wages are not lower, a good workman will always get work.

' Q. But surely where there are so many applicants, the wages must be lowered?—A. No, they are not. Take such a man as ———; that man was always an idle man until now, and used to draw his 12s. or 13s. a-week in flour and money, from the parish; he always was out of work; he never would work till now; he can neither reap nor mow, plough nor sow, thresh, cut wood, nor make hedges; he is only fit for what I call *fore-right* work, such as filling a dung cart, hop digging, and such as that.

' Q. Then how does he get work?—A. Why, he goes to a farmer for instance, and "puts it to him,"—he has got a large family, and they give him that sort of work which he can do.

' Q. Then, that description of persons does not interfere with what I call the skilled labourer, and his application does not lower their wages. Threshing at so much a quarter, hedging at so much a rod, and the prices of wood-cutting remain as before?—A. Yes.

' Q. But this *fore-right* work was formerly done by these labourers, and if that is taken away of course there is so much the less labour to be

performed by them?—A. There never was no want of work, *the thing is to get the money to pay for it*; and as I said before, *now the farmers have not got so much rate to pay, of course they can employ more people, and that gives every body a chance.*

‘Q. Do you know of any out of employment at present?—A. No, sir.’

The following extracts from the evidence of farmers in Berks will show the tenor of their statements as to the operation of the change:—

Mr Thomas Forshall, Malseyhampton, Cirencester Union, says—

‘I have farmed in this parish for the last ten years, and I find my labourers greatly improved since the Union. I have men working for me now who used to be always grumbling and insubordinate, and good for little as labourers—now they are contented and trustworthy, and go whistling to their work as happy as birds.’

Mr J. Frampton, Bradfield, says—

‘It is not necessary now to look after the labourers; you can give your orders in the morning, and come home in the evening and find them executed.’

Mr G. Smyth, Bradfield, says—

‘There has been a considerable change in the condition of the agricultural labourers generally since the Union was formed. Formerly the good and the inferior workmen were equally well off, and character was of little consequence to a man; now, character is of great importance, the inferior men are worst off, they receive less wages, and are not in such constant employment.’

Mr Thomas Godrich, farmer and tanner in the parishes of Bradfield and Stanford, says—

‘The wages must rise; if we don’t raise the wages we must lose all the good men; because, under the new system, they will go where they can make most advantageous terms. I asked a man, by name Hutchins, to work for me the other day—he had nothing to do. “He said he could come, but wished to know how long the job was to last.” I told him one or two days. “He said then I shan’t come, I shall go and find constant work somewhere.”

‘I think the effect of the new system, as regards bastardy, will be to raise the moral feeling of the people. Young people are less frequently to be seen in the public houses than they were, and many girls are now in service, who would never have left home under the old system; the parents are very much more anxious to obtain situations for their children.

‘It is considered a disgrace to go to the workhouse. There has been a wonderful alteration as regards improvident marriages; the poor are now much more careful not to marry till they have made some provision beforehand.’

Mr Newton of Pangbourn, in Bradfield Union, says—

‘As the labourers have improved, the masters have certainly become more considerate, and I think that whenever a man shows a disposition to exert himself, the master endeavours to meet it;—this is much more the case now than it was. The children are now sent out into service very early, and removed from temptation of idleness. There have been fewer improvident marriages lately than there used to be; young people do not like to marry without a provision, now that the workhouse is the only resource.’

Mr G. Godfrey, Basildon, says—

‘The surplus labour has already disappeared, the men will go now where they can get best off; and as the labour becomes scarce in the market, which I think it will as the measure works on, prices must rise. This makes the masters more careful to keep up a regular supply of men through the winter, as there is no parish supply to fall back upon; and if they did not provide for the summer in this way, they would be without hands.’

One distinct individual case will serve to aid the conception as to the operation of the change of circumstances upon the class of indolent and turbulent labourers.

‘Thomas Pocock, of Maple-Durham, in the Bradfield Union, single man, had been employed by the rector, Lord Augustus Fitzclarence, for nine months, at ten shillings per week. He left his master at harvest 1834, to better himself, with two suits of clothes, and two pounds which his master had saved for him from his earnings. Immediately after harvest he applied to the overseer in distress, having squandered all the savings and his harvest wages. He was admitted as a parish pauper, and remained on the overseer’s books from that time to the formation of the Bradfield Union (February 1835). At the end of January 1835, he went one night to the overseer’s house, after they were all gone to bed, and said that he must have some money, that he would have blood or money. The overseer and his wife reasoned for a time with him out of the bedroom window, and tried to get rid of him without money, but in vain. He said that he would fire the premises if they did not give him what he wanted. Terrified with the threat, the overseer’s wife persuaded her husband to throw him out two shillings and sixpence. The night was dark and Pocock could not find it, and he declared that he would burn the house and all in it, unless they found that money for him, or gave him more. They were so much alarmed at his conduct, that the overseer’s wife came down stairs in her night dress, and found the money for him, when he went away, satisfied for the night. How far this man’s conduct has been influenced by the operation of the new poor laws since the formation of the Bradfield Union, will be seen by the following account from Mr Hutchins, guardian of Maple Durham :—

‘Early in July 1835, Thomas Pocock applied to me for work. I employed him in turnip-hoeing; he worked very well, and has been going on very steadily for some time. He is much more civil and industrious than ever he was before. When the hoeing was finished, I gave him some reaping to do. One day when I was in the field, he came up to

me and said, "I should like to keep on for you, sir, if you please. I can go a-threshing, or any thing."—"Well," said I, "Tom, this is something new! This is a change! How comes all this about?" He began smiling. "Come, Tom," said I, "speak out, and tell me the truth."—"Why, sir," said he, "'tis regular work now." He has been working for me ever since, and he continues to be perfectly civil and industrious, and is very anxious to please. About a fortnight ago his wife (for he has married since he has been in regular work), came to me and said, "I am afraid, sir, my husband will be drawn in again to his old habits; he has been to the public-house twice lately, and I wish, sir, you would be so good as to speak to him about it. There is nothing he minds so much as the thoughts of that workhouse—'tis that which keeps him to his work; and if you would only tell him that you will discharge him if he goes to public-houses any more, I think he would be very careful how he got on; but don't you tell him that I told you." I complied with her request, and told Pocock that I would certainly discharge him if ever I heard of his going to the public-house again. He said he had only been to have one pint, but he would not do so any more; and, from his manner, I am inclined to think he will keep his determination.'

The testimony of clergymen as to the effect of the change in those districts where the principles of the new measure have been *strictly* applied is to the tenor of the following:—

The Reverend Thomas Pitman, minister of Eastbourn, says—

'Among the labouring classes there is a decided and progressive alteration; even the farmers themselves have observed to me that there is in the general conduct of the agricultural labourers, a civility of manner and attention to their master's wishes, which of late years has been little perceptible, and which, as we must acknowledge it to have been not only a useless but unwise conduct under a system which rewarded vicious deportment, has grown out of the present Administration, because it is one which, instead of upholding, punishes vicious behaviour. Perhaps the most marked difference in the lower orders, observable by us as clergymen, is the almost total cessation of early and improvident marriages, the necessary consequence of a well-timed and successfully operative plan which no longer makes the man the fittest claimant for relief who can present the largest number of ragged and miserable children. I should not forget also to mention, that, as far as I can form a judgment, there is also a decided improvement in the marriages that do take place. The altar is not now, as heretofore, disgraced by the appearance of a woman to take upon her the solemn obligation of matrimony in the last stage of pregnancy, a fact which I think goes far to show that the morals of the people are undergoing a change for the better, and promises that, ere long, we may hope for all that domestic happiness among our poorer neighbours which results from a match of pure affection, in the place of all that wretchedness, discord, and misery, which are the too sure produce of a marriage commenced in sin, and fostered only by a hope of procuring a means from the parish of carrying on, from time to time, sinful indulgences.'

The domestic habits of the pauperised labourers are equally changed as regards their offspring.

Mr Ticehurst, clerk to the Battle Union, says:—

‘It may already be perceived that parents are more anxious to get their children into service than formerly, and encourage them to continue there: that boys, and young men under twenty, are now learning all sorts of husbandry work, being employed with their parents, and bringing their earnings to the common stock: that they are anxious to get and to continue in such employment, and are aware that a good character is *now* of vital importance to them. The money earned in harvest and hop-picking was not last year dissipated as it often used to be; in short, the complaints which are general by the keepers of public-houses and beer shops, that it is the worst bill ever passed for them, will bear out that assertion.’

The Reverend James Beard, the Rector of the Parish of Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, thus sums up an account of the operation of the measure within the district in and adjacent to his parish—

‘Every thing about us was paralysed by pauperism; the land was cultivated by it—the children were nursed and rocked in the parish cradle, and mendicancy was the first thing they were instructed in by clothing them in rags, and turning them upon the high-roads without restraint. The farmers said “if we cannot manage the poor, I wonder who can;” and the overseers were so alarmed, by anonymous letters, and the constant dread of fire, that they dared not, in most instances, refuse a sturdy pauper’s demand.

‘Now the land is better cultivated—the labourer better paid—the children under better control—and I hope, ere many years have passed away, that the English labourer will be restored to what he was before 1796: that bees and poultry may be attended by the wife, the cottage garden cultivated in surplus hours by the husband, and we shall then have our places of worship filled with women dressed in red cloaks, the men in good coats with nosebags in their button-holes, and I am sure the general feeling will then be “to help those who help themselves.”’

Whatever impels a man into a course of steady industry must of necessity diminish crime. If a man be driven to work hard during the day, it is no small security that he will not be habitually upon the prowl as a pilferer or as a poacher during the night. It might have been expected that some of the more desperate characters would have endeavoured to support themselves wholly by plunder, and in this they would be arrested by a police; but although persons who have been opposed to the change of the law have ascribed to its operation every new variety of crime, yet it is well ascertained that the amount of crime is on the whole steadily decreasing in the new districts.

With reference to the wages, it is to be observed, that the continuance of the same rate of wages under circumstances where a fall was to be expected, and that increase of the employment be-

yond the usual amount, is to the workman *pro tanto* an increase. The chief means for improving the condition of the agricultural labourers, are those which favour the influx of new capital, and those which favour the afflux of redundant hands from the labour market. Now, an increase in the *steadiness* of the labourer, by which the results may be predicted with certainty, or an increase of the value of his labour in kind to the amount even of fourpence or sixpence a-day to his employer, will constitute the inducement to withhold or to invest large capital in such employments. We have yet to see the entire operation of these beneficial circumstances. The question as to the redundancy of population has been very fully solved in the homely statements of the witnesses. We have selected the exemplifications from the county of Sussex, because the change has not been aided there by any demand for employment on new railroads, or by that migration of the labourers' families from the rural to the manufacturing districts, which the commissioners have endeavoured to promote. The following extract from a report by Mr Hawley, the assistant Commissioner in the county, gives the tenor of the evidence on the subject of emigration :—

‘ It is true that the valve opened by emigration has partially assisted in removing the pressure from some of the most pauperised districts; but this factitious expedient for easing the burdens of the agriculturists has conferred a moral rather than a *relevant benefit* on the community, by removing many of those vicious characters who, steeped in vice and habitual pauperism, have preferred the uncertain advantages of expatriation to honest industry at home. If it be contended, that a *relevant benefit* has been derived from emigration, how happens it that the Petworth District (which is not disproportionably burdened with agricultural labourers in comparison with its acreage), from whence, in the space of the five last years, not less than 1456 individuals have emigrated, and where the Earl of Egremont, with that generous and public-spirited feeling for which he is so remarkable, has employed nearly 150 of the able-bodied poor during the last winter, is notwithstanding the most pauperised of any in the county; and that in the Petworth Union upwards of 70 men besides have been out of employment during the last quarter; whereas, in the Battlo and Uckfield Unions, which are quite as thickly populated, and where emigration has scarcely, if at all, been taken advantage of, the surplusage has entirely ceased to exist? How has it come to pass that in the Westbourne, Thakeham, Westhampnett, and other Unions, where emigration has been resorted to on too limited a scale to make the slightest perceptible difference in the pressure caused by an alleged excess of population, the extra hands have all, or nearly so, found employment?’

The institution of this new department, and the investment of the proposed powers, were vehemently opposed, on the ground that it was subversive of that habit of self-government which, it

was said, constituted the distinguishing characteristic and glory of Englishmen. Many of the advocates of the measure defended it on the plea of the necessity of appointing a dictatorship.

Now, in reply to these assertions we make bold to say, that hitherto, in the greater proportion of the country, nothing worthy of the name of self-government has heretofore existed, and that it is by the new act for the first time created in the districts where new unions are formed.

The parochial division, it should be observed, was made solely for ecclesiastical purposes; and the function of the administration of relief to the destitute, as a continuation of the practice of almsgiving, was assigned to the parishes as an incident to the ecclesiastical management. The expression of the 'self-government of Englishmen' usually implies the idea of the exercise of the various functions of a municipality. It is singular that nearly all the local courts—such as the Courts Leet, and the Hundred Courts, instituted for administrative purposes, have fallen into desuetude throughout the country. So much and so general has this hitherto been the case with all local government for the most useful purposes, that, except where corporations originated any measure, which they rarely did, unless the things originated were jobs, when any public work, such as the formation of a new road, or the lighting, paving, or watering of a town is required, it is usually found necessary to institute a new and special body for the purpose, called a 'trust.' All the multitudinous bodies, the lighting and watching, and paving and watering, and road-trusts, appointed at great expense and inconvenience by statute, not to speak of the number of voluntary associations, such as mendicity societies, associations for the prosecution of criminals, may be cited as evidence of the previous absence, *pro tanto*, of local government in those districts, where the trusts and associations were instituted, as well as of the actual absence of such government in districts similarly situated in other respects, where no such trusts or other associations now exist. But, with regard to parishes, a notion may be formed of the absence of the elements of any good government from the fact, that there are 5353 parishes in which the population is from 300 to 800 inhabitants; 6681, in which the population does not exceed 300 persons; 1907, in which it does not exceed 100; and 737, in which it does not exceed 50.

These parishes were generally found to be under the management of knots of obscure individuals, often having no other place of meeting than at public-houses. Mr C. Villiers, the member for Wolverhampton, states that when he acted as revising barrister for North Devon, he found not less than one-fourth of the

overseers unable to read, and one overseer who had not that qualification was intrusted with the distribution of funds to the amount of L.7000 per annum. The following are exemplifications of this so vaunted self-government. The Rev. Robert Ellison, the rector of Slaughtam, in Sussex,—

‘The accounts of eight or ten surrounding parishes should be audited by a person with a proper salary, resident in an adjoining town. It is difficult to get a proper person in villages to audit accounts. My vestry clerk is a pauper, and not a good character; the two last overseers could neither read nor write. Need I say more? The rates rose last year 9s. in the pound, which amounted to near L.700 additional. The poor cost upwards of L.1600; the population not 800.’

Major General Marriott, an acting magistrate of the Pershore division, containing sixty-six parishes of Worcester, states that some of the overseers (small farmers)—

‘Can scarcely write their names, and few can keep accounts (witness the returns made to Parliament), and are so ignorant or inattentive to the magistrates’ orders, wishing to slip through their half year with as little trouble as possible, that many appeals against removals and other expenses are very unnecessarily incurred, which would have been saved to the parish by a regular assistant, and at a trifling expense. In the above sixty-six parishes there may be twelve or fifteen where gentlemen or clergymen reside, and take part in parish affairs; in most of the rest, I fear, I might draw too exact a picture by saying, their affairs are managed by some few principal farmers and landholders, generally at open variance, and formed into two inveterate parties; the poor parishioners are obliged to take one side or the other, and are favoured or oppressed as their party prevails.’

The following communication, lately received by the Poor Law Board, is an exemplification of the style and spirit of a great proportion of the remonstrances against interference:—

‘It will never do we any good to alter the law in our parish, as our parish is very small, and there is no probability of altering our kearse at all. There is no persons fitter to manage the parish better than ourselves.
T. T., oversear.’

To talk of this as the self-government characteristic, and the glory of Englishmen, is despicable rant. To vaunt of it as superior to the local government of other nations in this respect is ignorant impertinence. The municipal government on several parts of the continent is, in popular freedom, in purity, in systematized and beneficial operation and efficiency, superior to any which has heretofore existed in our enlightened country. We question whether the village government in India will not in many essentials compete with our own, and whether the local headman there, and the Starost in Russia, who are freely elected by

the people, are not better appointed officers than our overseers, or our parish officers. According to Mr Urquhart, 'they manage these things better even in Turkey.' In England, Englishmen have not the right of appointing their own local administrative officer, the overseer. He is *of right* appointed by what, in speaking of another country, some politicians would call the minion of a satrap of royalty, namely, by the Justice of the Peace, appointee of the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. Compare the appointment and the functions of the officer in England, with the appointment and functions of the local officer in Turkey.

'In Turkey, the inhabitants selected from their own body the fittest persons for filling the office of assessors, collectors, and cashiers; for the collection of the taxes or tribute was the origin of the municipal bodies throughout the country. The absence of all exclusion and restriction under the common yoke left no grounds for strife—all had an equal right of suffrage, and the only question at issue was the personal merit and character of the individuals to be chosen. The Turkish system of direct taxation prevents what we should consider opposing interests from clashing together. Public opinion is made manifest through the public voice, and the elections are concluded in a few minutes, either in the church after the service, or under the village tree, without agitation, and without formality. The elders, when elected, hold their office for one year, yet they may remain in office for years, or even for life, without re-election; but if they lose the public confidence, no returning day of election is waited for—they are immediately ejected and successors appointed. [This is an improvement which we greatly want. We let a man work mischief until the expiration of his period of office.] Their principal functions are—the apportioning the tax imposed upon the whole community, to each individual according to his property. They must, therefore, be accurately acquainted with the property of each member of the community—his means of livelihood, his profits, and his industry. It is their duty, by timely counsel, admonition, or reproof, to prevent the negligence, inactivity, or misfortunes of any individual, from adding to the burdens of the rest. They assess and collect the poll tax, house tax, and land tax, and many others, which in their mode of collection or repartition, vary in almost every village, but always depend on a scale of property. They manage the municipal funds, with which they pay for lodgings and provisions afforded to Turks, soldiers, couriers, &c., passing through the place; for presents or bribes to governors, and other incidental expenses: also the interest of the debt with which almost every community in Turkey is burthened. Their civil functions are the following: These distribute lands left uncultivated, or without an heir. In transactions between merchants and members of the community for cheese, butter, wool, cotton, or any other produce, the contract is legalized by the signature of one or more of the elders, who thus become security for their town's folk. Purchases are only legal when witnessed by them. Together with the priests, they decide on all disputes—settle disputed water courses and successions—and maintain a

species of government rather preventive than repressive.'—*Urquhart's Turkey.*

To the agricultural labourers in the land of pretended liberty, England, under this system of so called self-government, the whole country was a prison. Englishmen were said to be free, and they were taught to believe that no other people were so. But what sort of freedom was that, where three-fourths of the people were confined to the limits of a parish? At this rate, imprisonment in the King's Bench prison may be styled liberty: for the rules of that prison are as extensive as some parishes, and the means of finding employment much greater than in most. We refer to such cases as the following, to serve to give a conception of the real thralldom of a large proportion of the labouring classes.

'The check to the circulation of agricultural labour,' says Mr Hickson, 'is too notorious to be talked of. The case of a man who has worked for me, will show the effect of the parish system in preventing frugal habits. This is a hard-working, industrious man, named William Williams. He is married, and had saved some money, to the amount of about seventy pounds, and had two cows; he had also a sow and ten pigs. He had got a cottage well furnished; he was the member of a benefit club, at Meopham, from which he received eight shillings a-week when he was ill. He was beginning to learn to read and write, and sent his children to the Sunday school. He had a legacy of about forty-six pounds, but he got his other money together by saving from his fair wages as a waggoner. Some circumstances occurred which obliged me to part with him. The consequence of this labouring man having been frugal and saved money, and got the cows, was, that no one would employ him, although his superior character as a workman was well known in the parish. He told me at the time I was obliged to part with him,—“Whilst I have these things I shall get no work. I must part with them all. I must be reduced to a state of beggary before any one will employ me.” I was compelled to part with him at Michaelmas—he has not yet got work, and he has no chance of getting any until he has become a pauper; for, until then, the paupers will be preferred to him. He cannot get work in his own parish, and he will not be allowed to get any in other parishes. Another instance of the same kind occurred amongst my workmen. Thomas Hardy, the brother-in-law of the same man, was an excellent workman, discharged under similar circumstances; he has a very industrious wife. They have got two cows, a well-furnished cottage, and a pig, and fowls. Now he cannot get work because he has property. The pauper will be preferred to him; and he can only qualify himself for it by becoming a pauper. If he attempts to get work elsewhere, he is told that they do not want to fix him on the parish. Both these are fine young men, and as excellent labourers as I could wish to have. The latter labouring man mentioned another instance of a labouring man in another parish (Henstead) who had once had more property than he, but was obliged to consume it all, and is now working on the roads.'

A part only of the poor, the improvident, reap the benefit of this self-government of poor laws; but all the working classes were subjected to these grievous obstructions and heavy burdens. The poor hard-working rate-payer, it has been well described, rises early, and retires late to his rest; he works hard, and he fares hard, to provide subsistence for his family. He would feed them better, but the prodigal must first be fed. He would purchase warmer clothing for them, but the children of the prostitute must first be clothed. He would, from what he has to spare of his hard earnings, give greater comforts to his own offspring, and to his own aged parents, but the parents of the pauper and of the criminal must first be comforted. It is too frequently seen in these so called local self-governments, a few overlooking the toils of the industrious and provident, indulge themselves in misplaced sympathies, and gratify their love of ease, and love of false popularity, whilst they distribute the produce of others' frugality, in corrupting the laborious and fostering the rapacity of the profligate, to whose condition and conduct they shut their eyes and ears. This unnatural course of exalting the hangers on in condition above those on whom they hang, is a process which the labourers never permit in administering the funds of their own clubs, and it would never have been permitted if the whole community were enabled actually to govern the funds themselves.

The present commissioners state in their Annual Report, that they found the parochial government to be essentially a government of minorities.

‘In the largest parishes, with the most numerous constituents, and with the greatest facilities hitherto offered to the rate-payers to exercise a general control over the management, we usually find that the greatest number of voters by whom any election is determined constitute only a minority, and usually a small minority, of the whole body of rate-payers; and in the rural parishes, where the population is widely scattered, we frequently found the management in the hands of a very small knot of individuals, whose residences enabled them to attend without inconvenience the place for the transaction of parochial business. The larger rate-payers and the persons the most deeply interested, those engaged in trade or otherwise occupied, could not abandon their occupations to attend to their interests in parochial management, without greater prejudice to their more immediate interests in the pursuit of their ordinary occupations. The results of these circumstances are too frequently found to be, that the most wanton profusion and jobbing were maintained in a state of notoriety to the whole of the rate-payers; and this profusion was accompanied by proportionate mismanagement of the paupers, and prejudicial influence exercised upon the condition of the labouring classes.’

This statement might with truth be made much stronger. '*L'état c'est moi*,' said the French monarch. The parish or the people are 'We,' say juntas of a dozen or two of individuals, composed of pot-house clubs, not unfrequently bands of jobbers, who distribute among each other the parochial funds. Originally, the applicants for relief and their wants appear from the older parochial rolls to have been few and simple. The overseer, the 'substantial' householder, assembled some of the aged and decrepit people, the widows of the place, at the vestry on Sunday, opened the poor's box, distributed the contents, saying, perhaps, 'take this and be happy.' As it was soon perceived that the fruits of industry might be obtained by fraud, fraud was resorted to, and ultimately by the employers in pauperising their labourers and paying their wages out of the rates. Revenues equal to those of some of the larger German principalities were left to be administered by promiscuous assemblages, called open vestries. In one large parish, a man, by peculating the sixpences and shillings doled out to the crowds of paupers, amassed a fortune of many thousand pounds, with which he absconded after having actually been put forward as a candidate for the shrievalty of the city of London. It had become a saying amongst the parish officers, that those who had the distribution of casual relief became rich; and instances were presented where men in low circumstances, from their distribution of casual relief, became possessed of rows of houses. The new commission has occupied itself with the work of prevention for the future, rather than in the detection of past frauds, and the pursuit of the offenders. But the simple institution of the control of a board of guardians without any diminution of the relief given to the paupers, has in many instances occasioned a reduction of the expenditure to the amount of nearly one half.

These bands formed in truth petty oligarchies, which we should call job-ocracies, who maintained their hold over the persons of the pauperised labourers, and the purses of the rate payers by pertinacious blackguardism and every low art. Rapine or violence is the characteristic of a rude age; fraud and jobbery of an age more advanced. To the strong and mighty local aristocrats have succeeded the local job-ocrats, and in the strength of the distant, well-instructed, and comparatively disinterested central authority, will the industrious many, in these times, as of old, find their protection from the active and peculating, but most powerful few. One of the ablest witnesses examined, speaking of the general character of the tax, observed, 'Ignorant or interested persons talk about the advantages of people applying their money and managing their own affairs, in opposition to any plan of cen-

‘tral management : but however great the mismanagement of this or any other government that I have ever heard of may be, there never was a tax so harshly and vexatiously levied, or so badly and corruptly expended, as the tax raised for the relief of the poor. It is the only one raised and appropriated immediately by the payers themselves’ [by minorities he should have said], ‘and it is in every respect the very worst.’ But where the administrators are honest and well-intentioned, the state of their interest appears to be at variance with their duties.

The commissioners stated, that

‘Persons engaged in trade have represented the management of parochial affairs to be analogous to the management of a bankrupt’s estate by creditors, where, although each creditor has an interest in the good management of the estate, yet, as the particular creditors who were appointed assignees had not an interest sufficient to incite them to exertions which necessarily interfered with their other and stronger interests, no estates were ever so extensively mismanaged, or so frequently abandoned to plunder, until a special and responsible agency was appointed for their protection. The common fallacy in which the management by overseers, that is, by two or three persons, is treated as a management by the people of the “people’s own affairs,” and an “attention to their own interests,” meaning the affairs and interests of some hundreds or thousands of other persons, may be exposed by a slight examination of the evidence. It will be found that the private interests of the distributors of the rates are commonly at variance with their public duties, and that the few pounds, often the few shillings, which any parish officer could save to *himself* by the rigid performance of his duty, cannot turn the scale against the severe labour, the certain ill-will, and now, in a large proportion of cases, the danger to person and property, all of which act on the side of profusion. And it must be recollected, that the consequences of a large proportion of the existing mismanagement do not fall on the parishes in which they have originated, but upon those against whom, under the present system of parochial warfare, they are aimed, and that much of that mismanagement is, consequently, mismanagement by the officers and by the vestries, not of their own affairs, but of the affairs of other parishes, or of the public at large. Even if the whole power were left to the vestry, and the vestry were composed of the proprietors as well as of the occupiers, it could not be said, except in very small parishes, that the governing body were the managers of their own affairs. Numerous bodies are incapable of managing details. They are always left to a minority, and usually, to a small minority ; and the smaller that minority, the greater, of course, is the preponderance of private and interested motives.

‘It must be added, as indeed might have been expected, that as parochial duties become more arduous, as they require more leisure and ability, those who have that leisure and ability appear less and less inclined to undertake them. This is shown in the great falling off in the number of representative vestries, in consequence of the difficulty of obtain-

ing the attendance of those who were the best qualified; although such vestries are amongst the best existing instruments for systematic management, with the least annoyance to those who perform the duties. It has been stated to us, that in one district where the income of the proprietors was reduced nearly one-half, chiefly by the progressive increase of the rates, several of them declared that they would abandon the remainder rather than encounter the annoyance of having to contend against the system. The property of the whole parish of Cholesbury was abandoned to pauperism, apparently without a struggle.

Such being the prevailing evils of the existing local administration, let the administration by which it has been superseded be examined. Instead of the overseers, or often the single overseer, who unites in his own person, and merges in himself all the checks afforded by the discharge of the functions of assessor, collector, treasurer, relieving officer, clerk, &c., the parish in union will have, at a less expense,

1. A paid collector, who assists in making the assessments, and collects the rates, who follows no other occupation, has no customers or tenants to serve, by excusing or delaying the collection of the rates, which, when collected, are paid into the hands of,

2. A treasurer, who, as he gives security (and in some instances interest will be given for the deposits), the rate payers are exempt from the inducements to profusion to obtain large balances, as well as from the risks arising from the frequent defaults of the unpaid overseers in trade making use of the money, or from the farmer turning it to account during haytime and harvest. This money is administered by,

3. Guardians, chosen, not by promiscuous assemblages in vestry, or by the magistrates, but freely by all the rate payers within the union, on a mode of election which enables every one to vote calmly and deliberately, without sacrifice of time in attending at a polling booth.

The guardians are, in respect of education, interest in good management, and station, far superior to the overseers, as might be expected from the choice being from a wider district. At these local boards, the chief occupiers and the chief owners, the yeomanry, gentry, and, we may add, the nobility, meet and act together. This is the first time, we believe, in the history of the country, that these classes have ever met habitually in the rural districts for the transaction of public business. Amongst the peers who act as chairmen to the Boards of Guardians are,—the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Kerry, Lord Barrington, Lord Radnor, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Salisbury, the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Ebrington, Lord Braybrooke, Lord Northampton, and a number of others

of every party in the state. This intercommunion of the most intelligent men of the different classes and parties within each district must itself be productive of the most beneficial consequences.

These guardians superintend and control the distribution of relief, and execution of the law by a staff of carefully appointed paid officers, consisting of a clerk, and of relieving officers, masters of work-houses, matrons, schoolmasters, who devote their whole time to the performance of their duties. To these are added medical officers and chaplains; and above all, an auditor.

The Boards of Guardians are aided by assistant commissioners, who have no local interests, and who, by visiting various localities, have become acquainted with the most efficient modes of management in each district. It has been found absolutely necessary, that these instructed officers should attend the first meetings of the Boards of Guardians to aid them with advice and instruction as to the management of the public business. 'Ignorance sees no difficulties. Imperfect knowledge describes them; perfect knowledge overcomes them.' It is found that the best informed of the guardians make the most frequent applications for aid and advice from the assistant commissioners, who, from their position, have the means of acquiring the most extensive information. It is also found, that, with few exceptions, districts left unvisited by assistant commissioners, or without instructions from the Central Board, soon display symptoms of a relapse in the management as compared with other districts. The history of the progress of the measure proves that, notwithstanding the continued exercise and mispending of several millions of money annually at the expense of the welfare of the labouring classes, nothing of any value in the way of self-government was learned by the parochial administrators; and that in every thing deserving the name of systematized management the instruction must begin *de novo*. Amongst other things instituted for the first time, upon which instructions have been given, was the commencement of a uniform system of keeping public accounts, comprehending not only the requisite checks against pecuniary malversation as to the amount raised and expended, but the checks against maladministration in the subject matter of the expenditure, and such a record of past occurrences as may measure the extent of the operation of the system and serve for future guidance—in other words, good statistics. The extensive diffusion of the knowledge and practice of this neglected art amongst so many leading individuals must of itself be productive of great advantages. The reports and correspondence of

several of the auditors and clerks of the new unions, will, in point of ability, bear comparison with the workmanship of some of the higher departments of the government.

One ignorant cry set up against the remedies was, that they were unprecedented; (how should they be otherwise?) and that being new they were unconstitutional. Lord Abinger took the lead in expressing repugnance to the unconstitutional character of that part of the measure which went to confer on the Commissioners the power of making rules and regulations, which he treated as an unheard-of delegation of legislative authority!—as if the whole country were not composed of a multitude of subordinate and conflicting legislatures!—as if the most important portion of the law which he himself was concerned in administering—all the rules of court, and all the decisions of the judges upon cases which the legislature has not foreseen, were not subordinate legislation!—as if in administration, the commander-in-chief as well as the Admiralty did not legislate by general orders!—as if the legislature had not habitually, almost in every local act for an incorporation for administering the relief to the poor, conferred the power of making rules and regulations! Amongst the discretionary powers conferred upon these bodies, were powers such as those of ‘letting out the poor maintained in the house’—‘as a servant for one year’—or ‘for work suited to their strength and ability, for such time and at such wages as the guardians may determine.’ ‘The poor or hired out to return to the poor-house with their implements and apparel (if furnished from the work-house), or, in default, to be apprehended and brought back, to be subjected to such punishment as the guardian shall please to inflict.’ In other cases, unrestricted powers of ordering whippings were given to the local boards.

The systems of mal-administration had been made up in detail, and it appeared obvious that they could only be removed in detail. But these details could not be made the matter of legislation by the supreme legislature, because they must be modified according to circumstances, as well as to time as locality; and to effect this, since every district differed, an immense enquiry must be entered into, and by the time it was completed the local circumstances would be so changed as to require a new investigation. The details on which good or bad management must depend were of a nature entirely inappreciable by the members of the legislature, and would absorb their time to the exclusion of other important objects. Unforeseen and *prima facie* unimportant errors in detail might baffle the best plans, if there were not the means of making an immediate alteration. If a general regulation as to diet were prescribed by act of Parliament, and

it were found to be inapplicable in all or in any cases, a year must elapse before the law could be repealed, or in the interval it must be broken.

By bringing all the information upon the subject to the Central Board, and charging the Board with the responsibility of framing regulations upon such information, a security of the highest value to the subject is taken. If the channels of information to the Central Board be well laid and free (a point to which the Parliament should look carefully), their subordinate legislation must be to a great extent self-acting; for the information, when brought to a focus, must indicate the good and the bad results so prominently as to drive the administrators into the courses which are beneficial, and warn them from those which are mischievous. This is an arrangement on which the Commissioners of Inquiry laid great emphasis.

‘ We must again state, that, while there is no province of administration for which more peculiar knowledge is requisite, than the relief to the indigent, there is no province from which such knowledge is more effectually excluded. The earlier part of our report shows the consequences of acting upon immediate impressions, or upon conclusions derived from a limited field of observation. At present the experience which guides the administration of relief is limited to the narrow bounds of a parish, and to a year of compulsory service. The common administration is founded on blind impulse, or on impressions derived from a few individual cases; when the only safe action must be regulated by extensive inductions, or general rules derived from large classes of cases, which the annual officer has no means of observing. Capacity for such duties comes by intuition even to persons of good general intelligence as little as an intuitive capacity to navigate a ship or manage a steam-engine. The influence of the information and skill which any officer may acquire may be destroyed by other officers with whom his authority is divided, and even though he may prevail, it usually departs with him when he surrenders his office. The improvements which he may have introduced are not appreciated by his successor. In petty and obscure districts, good measures rarely excite imitation, and bad measures seldom yield warning.’ *

* A curious history might be made of the same plans which have been invented, tried under different names, and have failed without any others than the communication of the experience to other districts. When the Commission was first put into operation, they had volunteer suggestions of this description. We have heard of one instance of an overseer who travelled upwards of two hundred miles on foot to impart to them a plan which he said would put an end to the burden—give the farmers prosperity and the labourers satisfaction; and he demanded a guarantee for a national reward before he imparted the plan. Being

The legislation (if it is so to be called) by the Central Board, is legislation upon the widest experience and the most complete knowledge. Instead of being jealous of the exercise of this power by the Commissioners, the patriotic direction of jealousy on the part of every member of the legislature, and of every subject, would be against any portion of it being exercised elsewhere, or at least being exercised elsewhere without having recourse to this depository of information and experience. In this view, when application was recently made to Earl Spencer, by the Board of Guardians, of which he is a member, to use his influence with the Government in support of a petition for the extension of the time of the repayment of loans for building workhouses, he declined taking that course as improper, stating, that, in his opinion, all such proceedings ought to be addressed to the Central Board, which, as necessarily possessing the greatest knowledge of the subject, should first be consulted upon every alteration of the law. For the same reason, even an adverse application to the legislature should be referred to them to examine and report before it is entertained. By this course ignorant legislation, which has heretofore proved so disastrous, would be checked, and the legislature would save much of its own, or rather of the public time.

The power of the Central Board is in fact the immediate power of the Legislature, and indirectly (inasmuch as the Commissioners are payable by an annual vote from the Commons representatives) it is the power of the public at large, the power of an instructed democracy, as against all local oligarchies or petty and adverse interests. This power will be found to be the best protection of minorities, and the independent labourer's best

informed that the Commissioners had no authority to give such a guarantee, he consented to intrust the plan to the secretary, and, lo and behold! it was a plan of a labour rate on which the overseer had been brooding. In his part of the country it had never been heard of. The secretary was compelled to undeceive him, by placing in his hands the evidence of the failure of all such plans; and of their having not merely failed to do good, but of having created extensive and deep-seated evil, and corrupted the distributors and enslaved and demoralized the rate-receivers. But he consoled the disappointed overseer, by telling him, that, only one year before, the same plan had been entertained by persons of rank and distinction, as members of the legislature—with this difference, however, he might have added, in favour of the poor, uneducated man, that several of them entertained the plan in the face of conclusive evidence of its mischiefs presented to them by the Commissioners.

safeguard against any tampering with the labour market. Indirectly, also, it is the power of public opinion.

We quote further, in connexion with this point, from the Commissioners of Enquiry, who recommended—

“ That the *same* powers of making rules and regulations that are now exercised by upwards of 15,000 unskilled and (practically) irresponsible authorities, liable to be biassed by sinister interests, should be confined to the Central Board of Control, in which responsibility is strongly concentrated, and which will have the most extensive information. Even if the Board were to frame bad regulations (and worse regulations than those now in practice they could scarcely devise), it would be a less mischievous arrangement than the present, inasmuch as the chances of opposition to a pernicious measure would be increased in proportion to the extension of the jurisdiction, and success in such opposition would be success throughout the jurisdiction. Those who are now maintainers of their own errors would be vigilant and unsparing censors of the errors of a distant authority. Under the existing system, when opposition is made to the continuance of a bad practice, and the opposition is successful, the success is limited to one parish, or to one fifteen-thousandth part of the whole field in which the practice may prevail. In the next parish, and in other parishes, the form of the abuse is generally varied, and requires a varied as well as a renewed opposition. These variations elude legislative enactments, and divide and weaken the force with which the opinion of the intelligent part of the community would act against them. But if a bad practice is rendered uniform, it becomes obnoxious in proportion to its extent to the full force of public opinion; the aggregate of its effects, immediate or collateral, which may appear insignificant, and unworthy of attention, in the single and obscure parish, or in any group of parishes, may be correctly estimated, and brought completely within the cognizance of the Legislature.”

Admitting that the range of the exercise of authority should be the range of the distinct perception of the particulars legislated upon, the distribution of the legislative functions may be regulated by considering, first, that there are large classes of facts practically, that is, easily and distinctly, cognizable by the supreme legislature, and which it may therefore, under the assurance of such knowledge, safely legislate upon. The rules deduced from these facts constitute the superior principles of legislation, which it should reserve to itself. Secondly, there are subordinate facts, details, and unforeseen contingencies, which cannot be practically or conveniently brought within its cognizance; but which are cognizable by a body like the Central Board, as being nearer to the field of action. These subordinate details should, therefore, be the province of the so called legislation of the Central Board. The rule prescribed by the supreme legislature may require great skill in the execution. In these cases, if the rule is to be executed, a skilled agency must be appointed to superintend the

execution. The good results arising from the new administration, are derived from the administration of precisely the same law under which the country was pauperised. There are still subordinate particulars which can only be distinctly seen by individuals on the field of action, a knowledge of which is requisite to the application of all rules, both superior and subordinate. There may thus be left a margin for still subordinate rules, which become the province of the Local Board of Guardians, or of the Assistant Commissioner. But the less the Central Board leave of subordinate legislation or of local regulation and discretionary authority in the administration of relief, the greater will be the security of the independent labourer, and of the public at large, against the warps of local interests and passions. Where, indeed, no discretionary regulations are left to be framed by a Board of Guardians, there is still left, unavoidably almost, too wide a range of discretionary authority and exercise of skill in the application of the rules to the hundreds of ever-varying cases of the paupers, submitted to them for consideration and relief.

It should be borne in mind throughout, that the principle of the central control is the very opposite of the *sic volo* despotism which it has been ignorantly and untruly described to be. In strict principle, it is the *Reason* which stands in the place of the *Will*. And the Commissioners should be jealously held responsible for the production of the whole of the evidence upon which they act, together with the *rationale* of every leading measure; so that the adequacy of their evidence, and the correctness of their conclusions, may at all times be determined. They should not be permitted to issue decrees in the style of the Autocrat, saying, 'We—of our ineffable wisdom—declare that this shall be done, or that not done;' but rather thus:—'We—having diligently sought and carefully examined all the information which is obtainable upon the subject, find the following are the chief facts, &c.; and we conclude, for the following reasons, that such will be the most beneficial course; and do, therefore, hereby order,' &c. This principle of action, before an enlightened public, will serve as a test of the capacity of the controlling agency, and of the due performance of its duties, and insure the zealous co-operation of the rational, and suppress the opposition of the ignorant, the passionate, and the interested. The Commissioners owe a great part of their success to the extent to which they have acted steadily upon this principle. They appear at all times to have preferred making requests to issuing orders. 'Self-management,' or 'independence of the central control,' is, in the vulgar sense of the phrase, the sentiment of

presumptuous ignorance, pride, and self-will, which disdains to act upon the widest experience.

(12) It cannot but be obnoxious to many of the inferior benches of magistrates, who have been in the habit of prescribing rules and regulations, which have been acted upon as statutes, and have been called as Acts of Parliament. Such was the celebrated order establishing the allowance system, which act superseded the statute of Elizabeth, and was actually called by the people in Berkshire the 'Speenhamland Act.' It has, indeed, been matter of praise of the local magistrates, who are not lawyers, that they have exercised a sovereign authority by setting aside the statutes, and acting upon law of their own. The clerk of one of the metropolitan offices stated, when under examination—

'If the law were administered by lawyers, it would be requisite to have it skilfully framed; for they (as compared with magistrates who are not lawyers) are in the habit of construing enactments strictly, and following the letter; magistrates, who are not lawyers, are rather in the habit of exercising a sound discretion, and frequently give greater satisfaction by departing from the strict letter of the law.

'[The witness was questioned at considerable length on this point, and the particular instances on which he founded his general statement were examined. In effect, he declared that the multitude of penal statutes which a magistrate had to administer were so badly framed and so oppressive, especially those where the penalties are arbitrarily fixed, that they occasioned much mischief when they were put into execution. Lawyers did execute these laws, considering themselves tied by them; whereas the unpaid magistrates, or the county magistrates who are not lawyers, exercised "a sound discretion," that is, they executed these statutes, or set them aside, or "modified them," (*i. e.* fashioned laws for the occasion), which gave the parties more satisfaction than the law made by the legislature. Such, the witness declared, was the result of his experience for many years at a public office in one of the most populous districts.]* *

The establishment of the Central Board gives the public and the legislature security, for the first time, that an administrative law, affecting the whole population, will be executed in a manner conformable to its intention.

The legislature, in dread of patronage and jobbing by the Central Board, gave the appointment of the paid officers to the local guardians; but confided to the Commissioners the power of prescribing the qualifications and salaries of the officers, and of determining their continuance in office. The paid officers are

thus made the officers of the public at large, rather than the particular locality. This was a subject of outcry, but on whom should the permanent paid officers depend? On the permanent superior body, charged with the execution of the regulations, and possessing the best information, or upon the annually elected, fluctuating, and least instructed body? To render them dependent upon the local boards, would be to place them in the position of agents acting as against the wider public authority, and would at the same time expose them to the hazard of displacement by rivals, who provoke annual elections for the purpose. But, in truth, it is found in practice to be the chief security for the fitness of the officer, to render him dependent exclusively on the distant and comparatively disinterested authority, who alone are the fit judges of the proper performance of his duties. Except in extraordinary cases, personal feelings in favour of an applicant, or the dread of personal animosities, always overcome the considerations of public duty. It is a common occurrence, that suggestions are made to the Central Board as to the propriety of withholding a sanction to an appointment of the Guardians, suggestions made by guardians, who have themselves (upon a canvass or otherwise) voted in favour of the candidate of whose unfitness they were convinced. All the proceedings have tended to establish the soundness of the policy of taking from those who have the right of nomination the right of removal; for this, amongst other reasons, that, whatever are the causes of a bad choice, pride and self-love join in preventing a better. But the choice of a Central Board must always, and of necessity, be the most pure in matters of personal influence, applied to the affairs of the public at large: for, were they not under high responsibilities in matter of patronage, were they determined to indulge in their private partialities at the public expense, the personal partialities of the few gentlemen constituting the Central Board, are limited and soon saturated—it is the personal influence of one body: but the appointments of public officers by the Local Boards are appointments influenced by as many more circles of undue influence as there are boards: it is as seven or eight hundred to one.

The declamation of the enemies of the measure against the extent of the powers exercised by the board, has been so loud and incessant, as to create an impression that there was some foundation for it. Whereas the organization of the new machinery, for the purpose of completing the reform of the branch of administration to which it is applied, is extremely imperfect. The Duke of Wellington is reported to have declared, that for his part, so far from the commissioners having too much power, he considered it to be the

great defect of the measure that they had not power enough for the complete accomplishment of their object. The attainment of the end,—the prevention of all but uninsurable cases of pauperism, having been willed, absurd prejudices and jealousies prevented the concession of the requisite means. Of these, are a more prompt and summary procedure for the execution of the existing duties of the Commission, especially in the prompt enforcement of their orders in distant localities, together with powers of stopping up indirect sources of pauperism. The jurisdiction of any such authority should extend over all the means for the relief of indigence, as well as over the main causes of indigence.

One great source of pauperism is misapplied charity—whether arising from funds obtained from bequests, or from subscriptions obtained by voluntary associations. A very large proportion of the charitable bequests is applied mischievously, and in modes which are essentially at variance with the intentions of the donors, though it is applied honestly but ignorantly by the trustees. The greater proportion of charity property was left with the general object of bettering the condition of the labouring classes; and, where specific application was directed with the view to the attainment of that object, and where such specific application is found practically to defeat the object, we should contend that it was the course of wise legislation to substitute the means which will attain it, and which the benevolent donor would, if he were living and saw his error, assuredly adopt. We should have no right to expect of posterity that our mischievous mistakes should be immortalized. We should expect that effect be given to our greater intentions by all the improved means which subsequent experience may develope. As most charitable estates are administered, they breed pauperism. Wherever a town abounds in charities, be the administration of the poor's rate what it may, it abounds in paupers, and is tainted with the vices and crimes found in the train of pauperism. Most assuredly, power should be conferred to arrest this mischief.

Many of the workhouses would seem to be hospitals or places of retreat for retired vagrants and beggars. The existing constabulary force of the towns, and even that excellent force the metropolitan police, is found not to possess the means of coping with the evil of vagrancy. All penal systems for its repression that have hitherto been tried have failed. But it has been proved that the principle of the poor law administration admits of successful application against mendicity and vagrancy—that the mendicant may be disarmed of his plea of impending starvation—and that the trade of the mendicant, like that of the pauper, may, by means which are not only unexceptionable, but laudable,

on the score of benevolence, be rendered less eligible than regular industry. Without the means of removing these sources of evil, the Commissioners are, as it were, charged with the labour of draining stagnant fens supplied by large and overflowing inlets which they are not allowed the means of stopping. The powers which the Local Boards of Guardians may exercise, are 'only' the same functions that are usually exercised in our rural districts by two ignorant and incompetent officers: namely, the overseer and the constable; yet when these functions are systematically enumerated, they appear to be of vast extent and importance, and to call upon the lover of liberty to ponder on the securities which may be obtained for their exercise.

We have already stated that the evidence of the progress of the measure in some districts tends to show that the humane assurance may be better maintained than heretofore, that no individual shall perish for want, and yet the amount of pauperism be ultimately reduced to a small proportion of cases of destitution from causes which are uninsurable. Were the first reduction accomplished, smaller establishments of paid officers would of course suffice for the relief of the reduced number of paupers. Already the Boards of Guardians of the several Unions where pauperism has been greatly diminished, have begun to suggest the expediency of reducing the number of their relieving officers, and reductions have been made. Hence a feeling is generated amongst the paid officers that they may carry the reductions 'too far' for the safety of their own places; and when a feeling is thus generated, it is in vain to expect that the unpaid officers—those who give occasional attendance, who have comparatively a weak interest—shall effectually counteract those who have the strongest interest, namely, their livelihood, and who can give their whole time and means to its pursuit. It is the main defect of all the arrangements by our police for the prevention of crime, that it is not made the interest of public agency to prevent crime to the uttermost extent, or that it is to the interest of the great body of subordinate agents that a certain amount of crime should be habitually committed. Further, a staff of paid officers must in any case be maintained; the country must be guarded, otherwise our enemies will again rush in upon us, and desolate it with new levies of Dane-gelt. If the paid officers be extensively dismissed, the feeling to which we have adverted must be generated extensively; if they be retained uselessly, then many other evils will be incurred. They who have conducted themselves meritoriously might be usefully and economically employed in officering the new Unions, or in filling up vacancies which occur from death or resignation; and the Commissioners have not the power of

doing this good without contending against the right of patronage in the local authorities. But, allowing for any abatements of adverse interests by the reappointments of the paid officers—admitting that the staff retained would perform its duties efficiently—yet, since it must be maintained (however little it may have to do), the spare time otherwise wasted may be beneficially applied to other objects, and may be so applied with the best effects as regards the chief object, the relief of the really destitute, and the repression of pauperism. We believe that the attention of the members of the Legislature, and of all thinking men, cannot be too early applied to these considerations.

A spirit of improvement in local administration is now abroad. The Poor-Law Commissioners' Report, and the Act to which it gives rise, which carry improvement into the administration of every parish, are now admitted to be of the greatest importance to the community. We trust that the efficiency of the act may not continue to be abated by the interference of half-knowledge actuated by petty jealousies, but that those who devised the measure may be so far requited for their labour and conflicts, that its principles may be followed out firmly and zealously, and all its capabilities for the public advantage fully developed.

ART. IX.—*The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, K. G., during his Administration in India.*
 Edited by Mr MONTGOMERY MARTIN. 8vo. Vol. I. London: 1836.

THE editor of this volume is probably known to most of our readers as having published a history of the British Colonies upon a somewhat extensive scale; and he states, in the Preface, that when a new edition of his larger work was in preparation, many persons suggested the expediency of obtaining a more full account of the important events of Lord Wellesley's administration than had yet been given to the public. This led to an application for the use of the documents in his Lordship's possession, which was granted, and Mr Martin has also received valuable assistance from Lord Powis, Lord Melville, the authorities at the India House, and others connected with the period of our Asiatic history over which the government of Lord Wellesley extends. The result is a publication of extraordinary interest in many points of view, and although the first volume only has appeared, we have no hesitation in bringing the subject of it before

our readers, rather than delay until the rest shall be published, not only because by far the most important part of the noble Marquis's long and brilliant administration is that to which this volume relates, but also because it is one involved in no controversy, and upon the merits of which no question has ever arisen. It ends with the capture of Seringapatam in 1799; and although the policy pursued by him in some of the succeeding years was made the subject of great discussion, mixed up with a large share of party animosity, nothing to which any part of these documents relates has ever, even in the most factious times, been a matter of dispute. The consummate ability, the truly statesman-like views, the admirable combination of temper and firmness, the rare union of patience with despatch, of vigour with perseverance, by which the formation and the execution of Lord Wellesley's plans were characterised, and by which their uniform and complete success was secured, have never been questioned by any one at all acquainted with the subject; and have indeed been amply recognised by the voice of his countrymen in Europe, as well as in India. Although the contemporary events of the continental war were calculated to draw aside men's regards from the theatre, how splendid soever, of a remoter empire, the government of Lord Wellesley, and the exploits of the captains who served under him, were anxiously canvassed at a time when the French Revolution was shaking the thrones of our hemisphere, and the political fortunes of Napoleon were dawning after the tempest, whose fury they were to direct rather than allay; nor is it to be doubted, that even after passages had occurred which created serious opposition to Lord Wellesley's views, and much of his public conduct had become the object of attack and defence by the adherents of conflicting political parties, there still prevailed a very general impression, both on the continent of Europe and in England itself, that in him we possessed the man whose genius, matured by long and varied experience of affairs, afforded the best chance of counteracting the vast plans of the French ruler,

But, as we have already observed, the transactions which are treated of in this volume have no relation to any of the controverted points in Lord Wellesley's Indian administration, and we proceed to state why the publication of it appears to be of so peculiar an interest. In fact, we have the whole history of the events given with a degree of authenticity and particularity, of which there is no other example. The whole of the brilliant policy which ended in crushing the great enemy of our Indian empire among the native powers, in restoring our political influence with the other courts, and in extinguishing that of France in the East, is here laid before our eyes in every part of its progress. We have

access to the plan in its first conception; we see it struggle with various difficulties previous to the execution; we can trace its progress to maturity; and have the means of ascertaining how those difficulties were overcome, and lesser minds were made to yield a compliance, sometimes reluctant—more frequently cheerful, while the instruments were always able as well as hearty, because they were the selection of the framer of the design, who hardly ever was disappointed in any one chosen by him; either for civil or military service. In short, the whole springs and wheels of the machine are exposed to our view; and although the collection of documents is professedly unconnected, unless by the subject, and there is nothing like a narrative to unite them; we doubt if any continuous history could arrest the attention, or occupy the mind, of any discerning reader more entirely than this mere series of state papers and demi-official letters is calculated to do.

In order to form a just estimate of the transactions to which they relate, it is necessary that we should first of all state the position of the British power in India with respect to its neighbours, or, what amounts to nearly the same thing, the force with which it had to cope, and that by which it might expect to be assailed; in a word, the balance of power in the peninsula, when Lord Wellesley assumed the government. This preliminary statement is the more necessary, because it cannot be expected to be fully given in the documents. These, of course, take for granted that the posture of affairs at the peace of Seringapatam, concluded by Lord Cornwallis, is known, and they only note such changes as had taken place in it during the interval. They refer to the balance of power as established by that treaty, and only mark the disturbances which had subsequently affected it. Thus, it was the leading instruction under which he proceeded to Bengal, that this balance should be maintained, and if decayed, should be restored. We must, therefore, begin by shortly considering in what state the events of 1791 and 1792 had left it.

The general outline of Indian affairs, we may presume, is sufficiently familiar to most readers. Whether for good or for evil to this country men have doubted, and may still dispute—whether for good or for evil to the natives of India, we believe, now that the exaggerations of oratory and the distortions of party ingenuity have been forgotten, no man of ordinary understanding can call in question—a footing had been at first slowly acquired, afterwards rapidly extended, by this country in the Indian peninsula, and was maintained by a small numerical force of our countrymen, but with the consent, at least the entire submission, of a vast body of the natives, and with the concurrence and the

help of many native powers, whose hostility among themselves we had turned to our advantage with great skill, and with pretty uniform success. It had long ceased to be a question whether or not this empire could be abandoned. Humanity towards our native subjects and our allies, as well as justice towards our own countrymen, forbade all thoughts of that description, even at times when there seemed a very general impression among our rival statesmen that the East Indian patronage was productive of such peril to the constitution of the Government at home, and the whole subject of Indian affairs beset with such inextricable difficulties, as justified a wish that we had never set foot on the banks of the Ganges. To continue in the same position, and abstain from all extension of a dominion already enormous, was therefore the only kind of moderation to which recourse could be had, and it is hardly necessary to observe, that even this was a resolve much easier to make than to keep by. For, suppose ever so fixed a purpose to be entertained, that no consideration should tempt us to increase our dominions, no man could maintain such a resolution inflexibly in all circumstances, and indeed least of all in the very event most likely to happen, namely, of some neighbouring state, greatly increasing its force, attacking us, or overpowering our allies, or even only menacing us, and endangering our existence, should no measures be adopted of a counteracting tendency. In truth, we had gotten into a position from which as it was impossible to retire, so was it not by any means within our own power to determine whether we should stand still or advance, and it might happen that the only choice was a total abandonment of our dominion, or an extension of its boundaries. We are aware that such an argument as this is liable to great abuse, and that it has often been employed to justify acts of glaring national wrong. But every thing depends upon the circumstances in which it is urged, and the particulars of the case to which it is applied. Nor do we at present state it with any reference to Lord Wellesley's proceedings in 1798 and 1799; these rest upon wholly different grounds. Our present purpose is to explain the conduct of Lord Cornwallis ten years before; and we think it can hardly be denied that he was left without a choice as to the course he should take, and that the war and the treaty which closed it were rather to be regarded as necessary measures of self-defence, than acts of aggression and of conquest. That they were so considered and defended upon this ground there can be no doubt; for although reference was made to the attacks by Tippoo upon our ally the Rajah of Travancore, it is quite clear that this alone did not justify the course which we pursued. The first attack had been repulsed: Tippoo had not repudiated our interference, but, on the contrary, set tip

a claim of right, grounded on what we ourselves distinctly admitted to be a gross misconduct of the Rajah; and, before the second attack, the Rajah had, in fact, become the aggressor, by invading the Mysore camp. Besides, if our whole object was to defend our ally, the success which early attended our operations had enabled us to attain that end with ease; and we derived no right from any such consideration to continue the war, as we did, for three years, refusing all offers of the enemy, and only consenting to make peace under the walls of his capital upon the terms of his giving up one-half of his dominions. But the true defence of our proceedings, and that which was by no means kept back at the time, was the dangerous policy of the enemy—the resources at his command, and which he had showed in the clearest manner a fixed determination to use, first against our allies, and then against ourselves—the imminent hazard to which our existence in the East was exposed as long as such power remained in the hands of a chief bent upon using it to our destruction. Indeed, the principal ground of complaint against the war was much less its injustice than its impolicy; the view taken of our interest in those parts being that which, twenty years before (in 1770), had been sanctioned by the authority of some of the local governments, namely, the expediency of acting with the Sultan of Mysore against the Mahrattas, and regarding the latter as the more formidable adversary—a view which may fairly be said to have become as obsolete in 1790, and as ill suited to the altered circumstances of the times as the policy of Queen Elizabeth with respect to the Spanish crown would have been at the same period in the management of our European concerns.

We may remark further upon that war, the strong testimony in its favour derived from the bare fact of Lord Cornwallis having been its promoter. The justly venerated name of that prudent and virtuous statesman affords a kind of security for the integrity, and, above all, for the moderation of any line of conduct which had its sanction. His Indian administration, so far from having ever been deemed any exception to his well-established character, was admitted by politicians of all classes, at a time when party ran highest upon the affairs of the East, to have been so exemplary, that his last appointment, in 1805, to be governor-general was the source of universal contentment in England, as well as India; and his loss, which so soon followed, was by all parties regarded as a great public calamity. When it is considered that such was the deliberate and unanimous opinion of our statesmen regarding the course formerly pursued by this excellent person, after so long a time had been given for reflection, and such ample opportunity afforded of learning lessons from

experience, and, above all, when this opinion was entertained at the very moment that the controversy raged the most vehemently upon the more recent measures of Lord Wellesley, there seems no escaping the conclusion that an unhesitating judgment was pronounced in favour of the policy pursued in 1789 and the two following years; and for the reasons to which we have already adverted, this judgment could only be rested upon the necessities of our situation in the East, with relation to the Mysore, its ruler, and our allies.

The peculiar circumstances which made Tippoo so formidable a neighbour are known to most readers. He ruled with absolute power over a highly fertile and populous country, of near two hundred thousand square miles in extent; from whence he raised a revenue of five millions sterling a-year, and an army of 150,000 men; and although the latter were very inferior in effective force to European troops, the revenue was equal to thrice as much in this country; and it was accumulating yearly in a treasure ready for the emergencies of war, while his soldiers were rapidly improving in discipline, and becoming every day more fit to meet ours upon equal terms. To his artillery he had given the greatest attention, and he had so formed his corps of gunners and elephants, that he could move a train of a hundred guns to any point with a rapidity unequalled in those countries by any other power. To these great elements of strength must be added the daring, subtle, and politic nature of the man, one of the most remarkable that have appeared in modern times. His ferocious tyranny to his own subjects; his cruel delight in religious persecution, which increased his power with the other bigots of his own persuasion; his inextinguishable hatred of the English, whom he had from his cradle been taught to regard as the implacable enemies of his family—these, though they undoubtedly form dark features in his character, augmented rather than lessened his influence in the peninsula, and made him an object of terror to all, whom admiration of his better qualities—his valour, perseverance, address, and patriotism—might fail to captivate. Although his fierce Mussulman zeal alienated him from all Christian nations, yet did his still fiercer animosity against the English so far conquer or assuage his fanaticism, as to make him court whatever power was hostile to our interests; and accordingly his constant endeavour was to gain the friendship and co-operation of France, from which he expected to derive the means of working our overthrow, and indeed of exterminating the British name in the East. In 1787, he had sent a great embassy to Paris, with the view of forming an alliance for offensive purposes; and one of the ministers of Louis XVI. (Ber-

trand, de Molleville) has declared that a most tempting proposal was made to the servants of that unfortunate prince in 1791, with great secrecy, and which they were disposed to receive favourably; but that Louis regretted too much the consequences of his former interference in our colonial affairs, and was then too bitterly reaping the fruits of it, to embark again in similar enterprises, even supposing that the internal state of his dominions had left him the option.

There can, we conceive, be no manner of doubt that the war of 1789 with this powerful and implacable enemy, though it effected a mighty diminution of his strength, yet left him more rancorous than ever in his hatred, and sufficiently strong to be regarded still as by far our most formidable neighbour. The cession of half his territories to the Company and its allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, had been extorted from him by main force; with many of his principal fortresses taken, his capital closely invested, and an assault impending, the issue of which the preceding successes of our troops before the place made no longer doubtful. Yet so bitter was the cup which was held to his lips, that even in his extremity he flew back from it, broke off the treaty, after two of his three eldest sons had been given into our hands as hostages, and prepared for a last effort of desperate resistance—when, finding that it was too late—that our position made the fall of Seringapatam inevitable, and that his utter destruction was the certain consequence of further refusal, he agreed to whatever was demanded, and, in the uttermost bitterness of spirit, suddenly signed the treaty. Such a personage, in such a frame of mind, though stript of half his dominions, was very certain to turn the remainder into means of more persevering annoyance—and only to seek life that he might, on some future day, slake his thirst of vengeance. The country which he retained was full of strong places, and bordered upon our dominions in the Carnatic by so many passes, that Madras could hardly ever be reckoned secure from his attack. His territory was centrally situated, between our settlements upon the two coasts, so as to command the line that joined them. He still possessed his capital, a place of prodigious strength, and which he could again fortify as he had done before. His despotic power placed the whole resources of a rich country at his absolute disposal, and the six years that followed the peace of Seringapatam were actively employed in preparing for that revenge which, ever since the disasters of 1792, had been burning in his breast. This is what might naturally have been expected, and it was certainly found to have taken place. But the course of events had still further favoured his designs. The dissensions among the other

native princes, and rebellions in the dominions of some, had greatly reduced their strength, while his kingdom had enjoyed a profound peace; and, unfortunately for the English interest, our chief ally, the Nizam, had been so much reduced in his strength and reputation by a disastrous war with the Peishwah, and by a very disgraceful peace which he had been compelled to make, that, as regarded our relative position, the Mysore might be almost said to have gained whatever had been lost to the Deccan. The state of affairs in France, too, had materially changed. There was no longer the same indisposition to engage in schemes of Indian aggression; and, although our superiority at sea made the arrival of French auxiliaries extremely difficult, it clearly appears that, before the expedition to Egypt, and independently of any hopes which he might build upon its successful issue, or upon the permanent establishment of the French in that country, Tippoo had entered into communication with the government of the Mauritius, for the purpose of furthering his favourite design, of obtaining their assistance to revenge himself upon the English settlements. The resort of French officers to his service had long placed at his disposal able engineers, as well as other military men; and his troops never were in so high a state of discipline, or his army so well appointed in all respects.

But it was not merely in his own dominions that he had important help to expect from his French connexions. Other native princes had adopted the same policy, and our ally, the Nizam, more than any. He had a corps of 1500 men under M. Raymond, a French commander, in the war of 1789, and this had since been increased to above 10,000, the officers of which were almost all French, and partook of the exasperation which unhappily at that time prevailed between the two countries—using every endeavour to undermine our influence at Hyderabad, and so little to be relied on in case of their services being required against Tippoo, that he might rather reckon upon them as friends than prepare to meet their hostility. Some alarm had been felt upon this head in the campaign of 1792; and although at that time the corps of Raymond was comparatively insignificant in amount, it had nevertheless been deemed, even then, necessary to make the Nizam take into his pay two other corps, one under an Irish, the other under an American officer, to serve as counterpoises to the French, upon the supposition that in the latter Tippoo had a natural ally. In 1798, the Irishman's battalion remained at Hyderabad, but numbered no more than 800 men; the American's had been disbanded, and had passed into the service of the Mahrattas; Raymond's, which had increased so much, that it formed the bulk of the Nizam's army, was ordered by him

to be still further reinforced, and carried to 14,000. It was recruited, in the proportion of a third of its number, from our territories in the Carnatic, and by desertion from our regiments; no pains were spared by its officers in promoting this spirit whenever its detachments were near the Madras frontier; and a constant correspondence was maintained by it with the French troops in Mysore. Its influence on the court of Hyderabad was so great as to alarm that minister of the Nizam who was chiefly in the interest of England. Finally, Tippoo looked to an invasion of our northern provinces, and those of our Mahratta allies, by Zemaun Shah, the sovereign of Caubul, with whom he had opened a communication, and who had recently succeeded, with but little opposition, in penetrating as far as Lahore, where he was stopt by some dissensions having broken out in his own dominions. The state of our affairs in Oude rendered that province a source of weakness, and compelled us to maintain an extraordinary force there. The Mahrattas had been extremely weakened by quarrels among themselves; and their chief state, that under the Peishwah, had been so crippled by a succession of internal revolutions, that in the event of aid being required against Mysore, little prospect was held out of any effectual co-operation from this quarter; while there, as in every court of India, the intrigues of Tippoo had been unremittingly employed to undermine our influence, and to stir up direct hostility against us.

It was in this state of affairs that Lord Wellesley assumed the government of India. He arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, on his way out, in February 1798, and these documents begin with his despatches and letters, written during his stay there. He deemed it expedient to open the India House despatches, which he met on their passage to Europe, and he found at the Cape, by a fortunate accident, Major Kirkpatrick, a gentleman of great experience and ability, and who had been the British resident both at the court of the Nizam and of Scindiah. The information which Lord Wellesley received of the state of Indian politics from him, and from the despatches, appears to have immediately formed the ground of the opinions which he acted upon throughout the difficult crisis that ensued. Indeed, there is nothing more remarkable in these transactions than the statements which he transmitted from the Cape. He evidently had there made up his mind upon the line of policy which it was fitting to pursue, in order to restore the British influence among the native powers, to emancipate our allies there from French influence, and to place them in circumstances that might enable them to maintain their independence, and fulfil their engagements with us. The first and most important of his operations when he arrived in India—the one,

indeed, which enabled him to attempt all the rest—was the reduction of the corps of Raymond; and we find in the despatches from the Cape a very distinct statement of the necessity of this operation, and of his determination to substitute for Raymond's corps, an additional British force, and resolutely to prevent its increase, until that substitution could be enforced. The general outline of the policy which he afterwards pursued with respect to other powers, is also very plainly sketched in these memorable despatches from the Cape; and as far as regarded Tippoo, although at the time no information had reached Lord Wellesley or the Government of any acts of hostility, or even of any preparations for a rupture, the course of conduct fit to be held with respect to him is pointed out distinctly.—‘My ideas on this subject,’ says his Lordship, are, ‘that as on the one hand we ought *never to use any high language towards Tippoo, nor ever attempt to deny him the smallest point of his just rights*, so on the other, where we have distinct proofs of his machinations against us, we ought to let him know that his treachery does not escape our observation, and to make him feel that he is within the reach of our vigilance. At present it appears to me that he is permitted to excite ill-will against us wherever he pleases, without the least attempt on our part to reprehend either him for the suggestion, or the Court, to whom he applies, for listening to it.’*

Lord Wellesley proceeded from the Cape to Madras, where he remained some weeks, in order to superintend the execution of the measures directed to be pursued with respect to a change in the sovereignty of Tanjore. But it subsequently appears, that this visit was of material use in giving him an accurate view of the character, talents, and dispositions of the principal persons concerned in the government of that presidency. There are few more striking documents in this volume than the letter containing an account of these persons, which he sent to Lord Clive (now Lord Powis), the new governor, soon after his arrival; and there can be no doubt that Lord Wellesley's personal observation of the individuals enabled him at once to detect the quarter from whence an attempt afterwards proceeded to thwart his designs, and to counteract and to frustrate them. Having incidentally adverted to this topic, it is fit that

* It is a remarkable, and we believe an unexampled circumstance, showing how accurately Lord Wellesley's opinions and plans were formed, that whole pages of his Minute, 12th August, at Calcutta, explaining his views, after they were perfected by a six months' residence in the country, are taken from the letters written by him at the Cape in February!

we should render justice to the conduct of the two principal persons at that station—Lord Clive and General Harris. No one can rise from a perusal of this correspondence without forming a very high opinion of the admirable good sense, and steady resolution to sacrifice all private feelings to the interests of the service, which guided the whole conduct, both of the governor and commander-in-chief. Both of them appear at once to have felt and obeyed the influence of a superior mind when the plans of Lord Wellesley were unfolded to them. His firmness, indeed, his confidence in his own resources, and his determination to carry through his own measures, were tempered on all occasions by the greatest urbanity and kindness of demeanour towards those coadjutors. Nevertheless, persons of less good sense, and less devoted to the discharge of their duty, would have been apt to make difficulties upon occasions when serious hazards were to be encountered, and men of a mean disposition, and a contracted understanding, would not have failed to play the part in which such persons commonly excel, prompted by envy, or even a preposterous jealousy, where the utter want of all equality makes it ridiculous—that of carping, and complaining, and repining, and creating difficulties; whereas those able and useful servants of the state showed as much zeal in executing the Governor-General's plan as if all his measures had been their own.

About the beginning of June, soon after his arrival at Calcutta, Lord Wellesley received intelligence of a proclamation having been issued at the Mauritius by General Malartic, the French governor, with a copy of that document. In the course of a fortnight its authenticity was proved beyond all doubt; and its importance was unquestionable. It announced the arrival of ambassadors from Tippoo; the offer to the Executive Directory of an alliance, offensive and defensive, against the English power; the demand of assistance; and the engagement of Tippoo to declare war as soon as it should arrive, for the purpose of expelling us from India; and it called upon the inhabitants of the colony to form a force, which should be transported to Mysore, and taken into the Sultan's service. It was ascertained that the ambassadors had given the most positive assurances in their master's name of his determination to act as the proclamation stated—had obtained the aid of a certain inconsiderable number of French officers and men—had returned with these in a French ship of war—and had presented them to Tippoo, who immediately took them into his service, having also received the ambassadors on their arrival with marks of distinction. His army was known to be on the footing of a war-establishment; that is to say, it was constantly in the field, excepting in the

monsoon season, and amounted to between 70,000 and 80,000 men, beside a numerous and well-appointed artillery; and the discipline of the infantry, in particular, had been of late very carefully improved. His treachery, exceeding even the measure of perfidy proverbially common to Eastern courts, had been displayed in the letters sent to the Government at Calcutta, both before Lord Wellesley's arrival, and also to himself, some of them on the very day when proceedings were taken in the negotiations with France. His intrigues with the native courts, and with Zemaun Shah, had likewise been discovered; and all pointed to the same object—the attack of our settlements the moment he was ready and saw any prospect of success.

In these circumstances Lord Wellesley's determination was immediately taken, to attack him without delay, unless he gave such ample security as should preclude all risk from his aggression when his plans were matured, and he received the further assistance which he expected—security which there was little, if any, reason to suppose he would agree to, after the agonies he had experienced from his losses in the last war. The plan which his Lordship had formed, in the event of hostilities, was to seize the Sultan's portion of the Malabar coast, by marching our army from Bombay; to move another force from the Carnatic upon Seringapatam; and thus compel him, both to give up that part of his dominions which enabled him to maintain his intercourse with France, and to dismiss all French officers and men from his service, to receive residents from us and from our allies, which he had, for obvious reasons, uniformly persisted in refusing, and to defray the expenses of the war. But upon examining the condition of the Company's resources, both military and financial, it was found quite impossible to undertake these operations so as to finish the war in one campaign. The Bombay establishment might, though with difficulty, have been able to bear its share of them; but that of Madras, on which the greater movement depended, was so crippled as to make it impossible for a sufficient force to march upon Seringapatam. Of ultimate success Lord Wellesley entertained no doubt; but he wisely judged that it would be unjustifiable in every view to undertake a war which could not, to a reasonable certainty, be finished within the season: And now we have to request the reader's best attention, while we endeavour to lay before him a sketch of that admirable combination of means by which the whole plan was not only successfully executed the next year, but by which its success appears to have been rendered as nearly a matter of absolute certainty as any thing in politics and in war can be. It will be seen that the designs of Tippoo were met and counteracted, and even the possi-

bilities of his defeating our schemes, were prevented by the adoption of a systematic course of policy in almost every quarter of India, in the native courts as well as in our own settlements; that he was, as it were, surrounded in all directions, so as to cut off each chance of escape; that he was guarded against in every avenue by which he might assail us, so as to be deprived of all means of offence; that wherever he turned to intrigue against us, there he found our agents on the watch, and our influence fortified—wherever common interests or common feelings gave him a prospect of succour, there a watchful and provident care had neutralized those natural advantages—wherever actual hostility to us had made ready for him some coadjutor, there a timely vigour—there a clear perception of the end—a determined will in choosing the means, and the prompt and unflinching use of them, paralysed his expected ally, if it failed to make him an enemy. For the details we must, of course, refer to the volume itself, which will amply repay the time bestowed upon it, and which will perhaps be read with the greater interest, after a perusal of the sketch we are about to give.

And first of all, in order to estimate the merits of the policy which we are going to survey, it is requisite that a clear idea be formed of the object in view. It was to reduce the Sultan's power by taking advantage next year of the cause of war already given by him, unless he could be made, in the mean time, to give the satisfaction and security required. But the army on the Madras establishment was incapable of defending that territory, much more of acting against Mysore. The funded debt of the Company had trebled within a few years, and their credit was so low, that eight per cent paper was at a discount of eighteen and twenty per cent; and even twelve per cent paper at a discount of four. The Nizam and the Peishwah were our two allies, bound to act with us against the Sultan. But the former, as we have seen, was reduced to a state almost of insignificance, and was in the hands of a military force favourable to Tippoo. The latter was still more crippled, and had a victorious rival in possession of the chief part of his territory, with an army which had subdued him. We allude to Scindiah, who had for a considerable time left his own country, situated in the north, between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, and taken post at Poonah, the Peishwah's capital. Then it became part of Lord Wellesley's object, and without which the rest must fail, to restore those two powers to independence, and make the aid of one, if not both, available to us, while neither should be suffered to act against us. Again, Scindiah himself was accessible to Tippoo's arts, and over him some check must be provided. It was indeed found that both he and the

Peishwah were secretly hostile to us ; and Scindiah, in particular, was in negotiation with the deposed Nabob of Oude, to overthrow our influence in the north, by restoring that prince, and dethroning the Nabob Vizir, whom we had raised to the throne. Next, there was the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah, who had prepared to cross the Attock, and was within six weeks' march of Delhi, maintaining by correspondence a friendly intercourse with Tippoo, and little likely to be opposed either by the Seiks or the Mahrattas. It became necessary, therefore, to secure the north against this double danger, both from the Shah and from Scindiah ; from the former, if Scindiah remained in the Deccan, abandoning his own dominions to the invader ; from the latter, if the Shah either retreated or was repulsed by the Mahratta power. Add to all these difficulties, that which appears to have greatly disconcerted Lord Wellesley at one moment, the prevailing despondency of leading men at Madras, who had formed so exaggerated an estimate of the danger attending a rupture with Mysore, through a recollection of what the Carnatic had formerly suffered from its proximity to the enemy, and had so lively a feeling of the weakness of their present establishment, that they arrived at this very singular and unfortunate opinion. They maintained that no preparation, even of a prospective nature—no increase, even of the means of defence—should be attempted, because no activity of exertion could enable them to resist the enemy, and any appearance of arming would only draw down upon them an immediate invasion.

Lord Wellesley's first proceeding was to put down with a strong hand the resistance which he met with on the part of those who held this extraordinary doctrine, and whose argument, as he most justly shows, against the prudence of preparing for defence, would become stronger every day as Tippoo's hostile preparations advanced, until at length we should be reduced to the alternative either of implicit submission, or being destroyed when and how the Sultan pleased. He therefore directed the army to be assembled in the Carnatic without delay ; he showed in what consisted the want of efficiency complained of, and applied the remedy, by giving directions to alter the system of supplying draught cattle ; he directed the proper stores for a campaign to be prepared and established on the Mysore frontier ; he made the European troops be moved to garrison in the same quarter, while the native forces should be collected in the field, and ready to act in case of invasion ; and he despatched a supply of specie from Bengal, together with such force of soldiers and marines as could be immediately spared. The resistance offered at Madras was met with temper, but with perfect

firmness, by the Governor in Council at Calcutta. 'If,' say they, after referring to the remonstrances of the Council at Madras; 'if we thought it proper to enter with you into any discussion of the policy of our late orders, we might refer you to the records of your own government, which furnish more than one example of the fatal consequences of neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of the enemy's equipments, and of resting the defence of the Carnatic, in such a crisis as the present, on any other security than a state of early and active preparation for war. But *being resolved to exclude all such discussions from the correspondence of the two governments*, we shall only repeat our confidence in your zealous and speedy execution of those parts of the public service which fall within the direct line of your peculiar duty.'

Lord Wellesley, while this correspondence proceeded, had carried on the operation of most importance in his foreign policy—the restoring and improving our relations with the Nizam and the Peishwah. Nothing could be more signal than the success of this policy as regarded the Nizam, and it proved the hinge upon which all his subsequent measures turned. By negotiations with the Nizam and his minister, admirably planned, and ably conducted through Captain Kirkpatrick, a treaty was concluded for increasing the English subsidiary force, and disbanding the corps formerly commanded by Raymond, and since his death (which had lately happened) by Piron. It was part of this treaty that the French officers and men should be sent to Europe by the Company, and that no Frenchman should again be taken into the Nizam's service. But the consent of the corps itself was to be obtained, and it is needless to add, that his Lordship's design was to have that without asking for it. Accordingly, while the negotiation was going on, the additional subsidiary force of three thousand men was moved to the Guntoor Circar, a portion of the Deccan ceded to the Company in 1778, and which lies near to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam. This force, as soon as the treaty was signed, marched to Hyderabad, and was joined by two thousand of the Nizam's cavalry. A mutiny having broken out in the French corps, advantage was judiciously taken of this to surround and disarm it, which was effected without any bloodshed. The greatest courtesy and kindness was shown towards the officers, who were immediately embarked with all their property (their arrears of pay having been settled through the intervention of the English resident), and sent first to Calcutta, and afterwards to France, not being treated as prisoners of war. This most important proceeding at once gave a new aspect to our affairs in the peninsula. The Nizam was restored to independence, and

became our firm friend ; his power was materially increased ; for Lord Wellesley's protection of him against the Peishwah and Scindiah, if it did not enable him to resume that station which he had lost since the war of 1795, yet gave him the means of effectually aiding the contemplated operations, and secured him from the possibility of becoming a prey either to Tippoo or his coadjutors. But the effect of the change at Hyderabad was not confined to the Deccan—it was felt all over India, and in our own settlements as well as at the native courts. The confidence which it at once inspired in Lord Wellesley, gave a vigour to his government which the mere possession of power never can bestow, especially where political as well as military operations are required ; for absolute command may extort implicit obedience, but the exertion of men's faculties, their abilities as well as their courage, can only be fully secured by filling them with zealous devotion to their superior. The Governor-general had the choice of excellent agents among the able men educated in the Company's service ; he pitched upon those who best deserved his confidence ; he gave it them freely ; and their entire reliance upon his capacity and upon his support, called forth their most strenuous exertions on every occasion.

It must certainly be ascribed chiefly to the change effected at Hyderabad, that he was enabled to prevent any unfavourable proceedings either on the Peishwah's part or on Scindiah's ; for their intentions were of the most hostile nature.* The negotiations carried on with them for the purpose of preventing any junction with Tippoo, and maintaining peace between them and the Nizam, were successful. But Scindiah could not be prevailed upon to quit the Deccan and return to his own dominions ; nor would the Peishwah so far break with Mysore as to dismiss the Sultan's ambassadors. The influence acquired at Hyderabad, and a force prepared at Bombay to assist either the Peishwah or Scindiah against the other, should hostilities break out between them, and to counteract both should they join against the Nizam, maintained the existing state of things until the disturb-

* Considerable assistance was derived from a change in the ministry at Poonah, brought about mainly by our influence. But though Nana Furnavese, who was restored to power, was uniformly our friend, his master's disposition underwent no change ; and after Lord Wellesley had peremptorily refused his proffered mediation, he was discovered to have taken measures for joining Tippoo, but they were, by our demonstrations, referred to in the text, delayed until the fall of that tyrant approached too close, to make any connexion with him safe.

ances in Scindiah's own country, and the discontents in the army he commanded, reduced his power to insignificance; and thus the whole military operations against Mysore were carried on ultimately without any interruption from either.

In addition to the holds over Scindiah, which have just been mentioned, the threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah afforded another. In order to protect the northern frontier, it became necessary to send a large force, under Sir J. Craig, into the field, which remained on the frontiers of Oude until the Shah retired from the Seik's country, which he had approached. This force was continued on the same line during the critical state of affairs in the south; and it had no doubt a powerful effect upon Scindiah, whose dominions lay exposed to it, had he made any hostile movement in the Deccan. The Rajah of Berar borders upon Scindiah in another line, the south-eastern side. Accordingly, negotiations were at the same time commenced with that prince, for the establishment of a defensive alliance, in case of Scindiah breaking the peace.

We thus perceive the great basis of the whole operation of Lord Wellesley. The Peishwah was secured either as an ally or a neutral by the change effected at Hyderabad, and a demonstration on the side of Bombay. Scindiah, whose power was much more formidable at first than the Peishwah's, and who was not bound to us by the same obligations of treaty, was not merely kept in check by the same two holds which Lord Wellesley had over the Court of Poonah, but he was further restrained by the movements in Oude, on one of his frontiers, and the arrangements with Berar on another. But the despatches relating to Scindiah should, above almost any other in the volume, be consulted. They relate to one of the most difficult and intricate parts of the whole proceedings, and their consummate ability (independently altogether of the far inferior merit of admirable composition) will strike any reader, in proportion, we will venture to assert, to his practical acquaintance with affairs.

That no quarter of the peninsula might be neglected, and every security taken for the success of his operations against Mysore, Lord Wellesley sent a resident to the Rajah of Travancore, a prince of comparatively small power, but whose position on the south-western frontier of the Sultan made it expedient to obtain his co-operation, and at any rate to watch his proceedings. Material assistance was also to be derived from him in the important department of the conveyance of the two armies, as from Travancore the communication was equally easy with the Malabar and Coromandel coasts.

The arrangements of which we have been speaking were car-

ried on at first from Calcutta, where the Governor-General remained until his measures had reached a certain point of maturity. But he wisely deemed it expedient, after this, to be upon the spot, that he might superintend the execution of his plan which now approached. Indeed, his departure from Calcutta might have been deferred some time longer, but for the experience which he had had of the resistance to him, among certain of the residents at Madras. This had not been confined to the original order for assembling the army, to which we have already adverted. His proceeding at Hyderabad had been very coldly seconded, and he seems to think even thwarted, by the same parties; for when he directed the subsidiary force to be prepared, and sent into the Guntoor Circar—a movement upon which the whole depended—he was met by remonstrances, instead of being seconded by zealous endeavours; and he complains of a delay, which might have proved fatal in the execution of that order, and which did defer the successful issue of the plan. We shall quote his Lordship's words, in writing to General Harris upon this subject, as evincing at once his strong sense of the treatment he thought he had received, and his resolute determination to trample upon all opposition. We quote this letter with the more satisfaction, because it renders justice to that excellent officer, exempting him from all share in the blame:—

‘ My letter of the 16th July will have informed you how essential a plan to the very existence of the British empire in India would have been defeated, if your honourable firmness had not overcome the suggestions of an opposition which would have persuaded you to violate the law, under the specious pretence of executing the spirit, by disobeying the letter of the orders of the Governor-General in Council. This opposition I am resolved to crush; I possess sufficient powers to do so; and I will exert those powers to the extreme point of their extent, rather than suffer the smallest particle of my plans for the public service to be frustrated by such unworthy means. With this view, my earnest request to you is, that you will communicate to me, without delay, the names of those who have arrogated to themselves the power of governing the empire committed to my charge; the ignorance and weakness of this self-created government have already appeared to you from the papers which I transmitted to you on the 18th July.’*

* We have no doubt, and very possibly, upon a calm review of the whole affair, the Governor-General may have as little, that those persons acted conscientiously in the discharge of what they conceived to

At the date of this letter, 19th August, the negotiations at Hyderabad had so far succeeded, mainly, no doubt, from the movement in the Guntoor Circar, as to show the shortsightedness of the opposition in question; but the great event of the disarming did not take place until two months more had elapsed. Lord Clive had now arrived at Madras, and he took the most steady and zealous part in seconding the Governor-General. Nevertheless, the existence of an opinion altogether unfavourable to Lord Wellesley's power among men in authority, and whose great experience was likely to render their opposition embarrassing during the *regni novitas* of Lord Clive, though it should fail to shake his purpose, rendered the personal presence of the Governor-General highly desirable; and he accordingly removed to Madras at the end of December, and there established the seat of government, leaving the affairs of Bengal to be administered in his absence by the Commander-in-chief Sir A. Clarke and the rest of the Council. But although his arrival at Madras had the effect, by law, of superseding Lord Clive, he most properly took the first opportunity of making a declaration, in the form of a minute in Council, that he should not interfere in any respect in the peculiar affairs of the presidency, or in any thing relating to its patronage, civil or military; but should confine himself to the general interests of the empire, and act with regard to these as if he had continued at Calcutta.

The occupation of Egypt by the French, which had taken place during the preceding summer, and the communication which Lord Wellesley immediately foresaw would be established between Buonaparte and Tippoo (and subsequent events * proved that he had conjectured rightly), induced him to direct Admiral Rainier's fleet to watch the Malabar coast with great care, so that all assistance from the Red Sea should be cut off as far as a naval force could effect this object; and in case any armament escaped the vigilance of the cruisers, the precautions taken on

be their duty. That they had fallen into a grievous error in their view of the policy fit to be pursued, we have stated more than once in the text; but we not only acquit them of all fault beyond error in judgment—we go further—and are disposed to hold that their duty required them, acting under that error, to express strongly their opinion. They were persons of great respectability, and long and varied experience in Indian affairs. This certainly only increased their influence, and augmented the difficulties of Lord Wellesley's position.

* Buonaparte's Letter to Tippoo was found some months afterwards on the taking of Seringapatam, with the other proofs of the Sultan's hostile proceedings.

the coast by land must be relied on, and especially the operation of the Bombay army.

When the Sultan perceived that on all sides preparations were in a forward state against him, and found every native court occupied by Lord Wellesley's agents, he appears to have felt considerable alarm, though he carefully dissembled it for some time. A town and district had been some time before Lord Wellesley's arrival occupied by the Company (called Wynaad); Tippoo had made representations against this; it appeared to have originated in mistake; the subject was examined, and Lord Wellesley at once ordered it to be restored, without any equivalent. Some other unimportant disputes were by both parties agreed to be terminated by an amicable enquiry. But Lord Wellesley took the opportunity of this correspondence, as soon as his preparations were sufficiently advanced, to inform Tippoo that he was quite aware of his hostile proceedings at the Mauritius and elsewhere—that his Lordship's preparations had been made to repel any aggression which might be attempted,—but that both he and his allies, being desirous of peace, were only anxious to place their relations with the Sultan upon a safe and distinctly understood footing; and, in order that this might be arranged, he required Tippoo to receive an ambassador, whom he named. This only produced an evasive answer, giving a ridiculously false explanation of the intercourse with the Mauritius, and putting aside the proposal of an embassy, but expressing boundless delight at the defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson, which Lord Wellesley had communicated to him, and applying to that nation every epithet of hatred and contempt, although it is clearly ascertained that his despair on receiving the news of their defeat knew no bounds. Again Lord Wellesley urged the receiving of an ambassador, and no direct answer could be obtained, while preparations were actively making to increase every part of the Mysore army. At length Lord Wellesley transmitted to him on the 9th of January (1799), recapitulating his whole conduct, and 'once more calling upon him, in the most serious and solemn manner, to assent to 'the admission of Major Doveton' (the ambassador), and earnestly requiring an answer within a day after the letter should reach him. Still the crafty Sultan gave no answer, though he continued his preparations; and on the 7th of February he despatched a French officer as his ambassador to the Executive Directory, with a renewed proposition for an offensive and defensive alliance to make war jointly on the English, partition their territories, and expel them from India. At the same time, with the despatch of this mission, he at length sent an answer, in which he said he was going upon a hunting excursion, and that

Major Doveton might come to him, but unattended. It was, however, now too late; for on the 3d of February (the Sultan's letter not arriving before the 13th) Lord Wellesley had ordered the army to march upon Seringapatam, and commence the siege without delay. Late, however, as the Sultan's consent to treat had been, and manifestly as it was designed only to gain time for his military preparations, and, above all, to wear away the time until the season for operations, already far advanced, should be gone, Lord Wellesley directed General Harris, under whose command the army had marched some days before the answer arrived, to receive any ambassador whom Tippoo might send, and to treat upon the basis of his securing the Company and its allies, by abandoning the coast of Malabar, dismissing his French troops, and receiving residents from the Company and the Nizam. The instructions given to General Harris were not confined to the terms of the negotiation, but embraced the various contingencies which might happen, provided for almost every conceivable event, and only left that gallant and able officer his own proper province of leading on the army and superintending its operations. After the march was begun, and when on the eve of entering Mysore, the General received a final instruction of a most important description—he was on no account to conclude any treaty until a junction had been effected of the Madras and Bombay armies, and there was a fair prospect of successfully beginning the siege.

The General entered Mysore on the 5th March, with an army said to be better equipped than any that had ever taken the field in the Peninsula, and amounting to about 22,000 men, of whom between 5000 and 6000 were Europeans, the rest natives. The Nizam's army, consisting of the English subsidiary force of 6000, and 16,000 of his own troops, had some weeks before been moved to the Carnatic, and joined General Harris at Vellore, before he entered Tippoo's territory. The Bombay army, of about 7000, moved upon Seringapatam, from the opposite quarter; and, although unexpected delays occurred during the march of the Madras army, occasioned chiefly by the failure of the cattle and the carriage department, in about four weeks the whole force reached Seringapatam, after encountering a comparatively slight opposition; one battle having been fought by each army—both, though successful, yet by no means decisive. It is well known that the Duke of Wellington, then Colonel Wellesley, commanded a brigade in this memorable expedition, and distinguished himself by that great military capacity which has since, on a far wider theatre, shone forth with such extraordinary lustre. He was also placed by his brother at the head of a commission, judiciously

formed for the purpose of conducting, under the General's authority, and in constant communication with him as well as with the government, all political operations during the advance of the army, as well as during the siege, and after its successful termination.

Into the events of this brilliant campaign it is not our purpose to enter; the reader is aware of its signal success. Never, perhaps, was an operation more complete in all its parts. In a month Seringapatam was taken; the Sultan falling while fighting in its defence with his wonted valour, now heightened by despair. All his chief captains submitted to the conquerors; and the Rajah of Mysore, whose family had been dethroned by the usurpation of Tippoo's father, and were detained captive, and subjected to every ignominious treatment by those cruel tyrants, was called to the throne of a portion of their former dominions, the rest being divided among the Company, the Nizam, and the Peishwah. Into this branch of the subject we do not here enter; it forms, indeed, no part of the volume now before us, which closes with the documents relating to the fall of Tippoo's capital, and one or two of those proofs which were found at Seringapatam, confirming beyond a doubt, the inferences respecting his hostile designs, drawn from Malartie's proclamation and the embassy to the Mauritius.

In surveying the operations of the war, however, and in comparing the Sultan's conduct of it with that of the campaigns in 1789, 90, and 91, we can hardly avoid being struck with the inferior vigour and resources displayed by him upon the present occasion. His troops were better disciplined; his own courage and theirs was as high as ever; nor was there any want of disposition to contest every inch of ground. Yet whether it be from the greatness of the force brought to bear upon him; or from his chagrin at having failed in his attempts to put off the invasion till the monsoon should set in; or from the discomfiture of all his plans to obtain the help of the native powers, and the disappointment of his hopes of French assistance—certain it is, that we see none of those rapid and daring movements which more than once, in the former contest, reduced our chances of victory to the possibility of escape, and made our final success appear any thing rather than a matter of certain calculation.

Upon the marvellous exhibition of capacity and vigour, which we have been surveying in the celebrated person to whom his defeat and destruction were owing, there is no occasion to add any comments. The best and most appropriate monument that can be raised to his fame, is the record which this volume contains of his actions. But we cannot dismiss the subject without a reflection upon the sphere in which he was placed by the policy

which this country has thought fit to pursue for so many ages in the East. This it is that has made schemes of aggrandisement not optional, but measures of self-defence, and has reduced upon so many occasions the men whom we intrust with the management of those remote settlements, to the harsh alternative of conquest or self-sacrifice.—‘Peace has her victories no less renowned than war.’ These it is that we should ever desire to see won by genius such as Lord Wellesley’s; and we greatly mistake his nature also, if he did not derive a higher delight from promoting the measures of conciliation, and presiding over the sound and liberal and manly policy best fitted to bestow the blessings of peace upon the country that has reason to be proud of having given him birth, than in enlarging the dominions of the distant empire which he was sent to govern, attended, though those conquests undeniably have been, with a mighty increase of happiness to all classes of the people. *

* The wise and beneficent measures of domestic policy, which our Eastern dominions owe to Lord Wellesley, form no part of the subjects discussed in these documents; and we have principally confined our remarks in this article to the contents of the book before us.—The truth of the statement with which this article began, that the first and most remarkable period of his administration, had never been made the subject of any controversy, is attested by the thanks of both Houses of Parliament having been voted to him unanimously and without a single adverse observation from any quarter. The volume before us contains also the invaluable testimony of Lord Cornwallis, in a letter written upon hearing of the fall of Tippoo.

No. CXXIX. will be published in October.

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